Social Conflict and Peace-building: The Perceptions, Experiences, and Contributions of Leaders of Selected Community-Based Organizations in Winnipeg, Manitoba

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Abstract

People perceive social conflict and conflict issues in different ways. My research is directed at understanding how leaders from some of Winnipeg's Community-Based Organizations (CBOs; faith and ethno-cultural NGOs) perceive and experience social conflict and to explore their contributions toward peace-building and conflict transformation. Historically, Winnipeg has been home to a plethora of faith-based, ethno-cultural community organizations, and NGOs whose mission is to provide crucial basic and spiritual needs to people. Their contribution to the nurturing of both the spiritual and social needs of their communities is also remarkable. This qualitative research is based on semi-structured interviews and participant observation as research instruments to observe social events related to conflict and peace-building. Critical ethnographic and grounded theory approaches inform the methodology while drawing necessary inferences from relevant quantitative data. From this research, several key findings become evident: 1) CBO leaders have a high level of personal motivation and employ a wide range of tools, such as the social capital of their organizations, to intervene in social conflict issues for the purpose of peace-building; 2) of the three types of CBO (faith, ethno-cultural and NGOs), the Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs) are the most networked and involved in transforming social conflicts and contributing toward peace-building in Winnipeg; 3) some respondents seemed to indicate that not all projects are contributing equally in addressing social conflict issues; 4) social conflict issues appear to be rooted in an unjust social structure and a number of socio-economic-political and cultural policies; 5) research participants cited five complex, interrelated conflict issues in Winnipeg; 6) a grounded theoretical concept (Perception-Expectation-Frustration) was generated to explain social conflict; and 7) these everyday leaders are using a plethora of strategies as everyday peace-builders who are engaged global citizens, and citizen diplomats to

create oases of peace in a society where people are struggling with social inequality, discrimination, and poverty in order to address people's immediate needs, promote awareness, and influence policy. In sum, the meso level CBO leaders perceive social conflict holistically and some of their peace-building projects may be contributing substantially towards a long-term process of social conflict transformation in Winnipeg.

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Dedication

I dedicate this research to all those inspired Winnipeggers who live in this great city and wake up every morning with hope for a peaceful and just society. This is a city, which welcomes people of all races, colours, ethnicities, sexual orientations, and faiths with compassion, tolerance and love – the true face of *Friendly Manitoba*. Winnipeg welcomes everybody as Rumi did in the city of Konya, Turkey:

> Come, come, whoever you are.
> Wanderer, worshipper, lover of leaving.
> It doesn't matter.
> Ours is not a caravan of despair.
> Come, even if you have broken your vow a hundred times.
> Come, yet again, come, come.
>
> — JALALUDDIN MOHAMMAD RUMI, *Masnavi*

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This research explored how community group leaders of selected community-based organizations (CBOs) perceive, experience, and understands social conflicts; how their work addresses these conflicts; and how they contribute toward peace-building. The CBO leaders in this study articulated a sophisticated analysis of what is going on in the city of Winnipeg. Further, they are agents of resistance who are working for social justice. Social conflict is referred to here as the expressed and under-reported struggle over resources, relationships, and ideologies, more specifically, "the clash of values and interests" of social groups (Coser 1957, 3,4). CBOs not only interact with diverse social groups, they also interact with the state and operate within the social structure.

My research participants are selected leaders of CBOs, which included as subsets—faith-based organizations (FBOs), ethno-cultural organizations (ECBOs), and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The distinguishable characteristics that essentially differentiate these three types of organizations are that FBOs are founded and operated by a community of ' faith believers;' ECBOs bear distinct ethno-cultural identities; and NGOs are organizations that represent a community with a shared set of beliefs, values, and aspirations about much needed social-political-economic development (i.e. peace-building) in order to create a 'just society'. These leaders are positioned between the top-level policymakers and the grassroots public, and work as conduits in providing social services and communication in Winnipeg. They have moral and institutional legitimacy, and their interpretation of social policy, ideology, and opinion

influences the people within their constituencies. According to Lederach (1997), civil society organizations (such as local NGOs) often are not directly controlled either by "the formal state apparatus or major opposition movements" (41). Hence, the perceptions and experiences of these community leaders are key to exploring conflict among different social groups in the city.

These leaders also represent different socio-cultural groups. For example, all of the ECBO leaders work as volunteers in their organizations with very few employed by them. They also represent seventeen different ethno-cultural groups in Winnipeg. The FBO leaders represent a mix of faith-based groups in Winnipeg that include all major religions and Aboriginal spirituality. The NGO leaders are leading a few of the largest NGOs in Winnipeg. The aim of this research project is to focus on the perceptions and experiential knowledge of these leaders; hence, elite level policymakers' views on conflict were not explored. Further, Winnipeg was chosen as the research area because it is the largest city in Manitoba (commercial and cultural hub) where people from different faiths and ethnic backgrounds intermingle.

I expect that my research would reinvigorate fresh thinking about social conflict issues (especially the relationships between the dominant mainstream social group, new immigrants, including refugees, and First Peoples[1]) arising within a multicultural setting. This exploratory study is purely qualitative in nature as my respondents discussed at length their views about peace-building and certain social conflict issues. Their honest and frank narratives are reported in this research so that a proper understanding between the researcher and participants can be seen. In addition, I spent considerable time attending a variety of social events where I could closely observe the interaction of various groups and my research participants. My reflections gathered from participant observation provide an important validation of the interviews in this research. In this way, I used both ethnographical 'etic' and 'emic' approaches simultaneously. In this regard

Kevin Avruch (1998) contends that an 'emic' frame for culture and conflict resolution, such as ethnography, center's the researcher deeply in the cultural context (insider) (p. 63). He argues that 'etic' schemes or approaches, such as high-low cultural contexts, assist the researcher in analyzing distinctions among all cultures (outsider) (p. 64). Emic approaches provide "thick description and rich context. Etic models offer cross cultural categories or discreetly arrayed variables that, being scalable, are amenable to coding in databases and statistical manipulations; they seem to be able to reduce tremendous cultural diversity onto a few manageable dimensions" (Avruch 1998, 68). Avruch contends that it is useful to combine both approaches.

Finally, I suggest some strategies and tools to intervene in social conflicts in Winnipeg keeping in mind the usefulness of peace-building tools as suggested by my research participants.

1.2 Guiding Questions and Objectives

The main research question is: How do CBO leaders in Winnipeg perceive social conflict arising from the social structure and what are their contributions toward peace-building? This research was designed and conducted in two phases. In phase one, I charted what are the perceptions and experiences of CBO leaders about understanding social conflict and conflict issues in the Winnipeg context. In phase two, I explored a few social conflict issues in depth (derived from phase one findings), as well as the CBO leaders' contributions toward peace-building (see Appendix 1 for details about the research questions). In doing so, this research seeks to shed light on two important questions in the field of conflict resolution and peace-building: How does change happen in a society? Can individuals and small groups really make social and structural change (especially in a Western urban context), and, if so, in what ways? Or are we helpless to watch and strive in vain, but not make a difference?

In this regard, my status as a researcher continuously changed as I switched role between an insider and outsider due to constantly shifting conditions of "social proximities and boundaries" (Allen (2004) and Ganga and Scott (2006) cited in Jenny Moore 2012, 11). Moreover, consistent with Kanuha's (2000) observation I also felt that there exists an implied "…contradiction in attempting to separate being an outside observer and being an insider with intimate knowledge of the population being studied" (p, 12, ibid). In sum, I was very much aware as an insider of the tension and complexities that was involved in the whole research process.

Consequently, I was also conscious of the ethnographic research method that I adopted for my thesis research and the interplay of both etic-emic approaches therein. Pike (1967) originally defined the terms while asserting that "…the etic viewpoint studies behavior as from outside of a particular system, and as an essential initial approach to an alien system. The emic viewpoint results from studying behavior as from inside the system" (37). On the one side, I was a very much a part of the research context and was familiar with the research participants (some of whom I also knew personally). On the other side, I consciously tried to maintain an objective distance in order to avoid possible biases. I conducted an ethnographic study and in doing so, I firmly believe that "ethnography is not simply a collection of the exotic 'other;' it is reflective of our own lives and cultural practices even when discussing another culture" (Tomaselli, Dyll, and Francis 2008, 352). Additionally, out of Pike's (1967) "ten principles" three influenced my whole research process significantly. These are: 1) "Units known in advance or discovered." The etic approach helped to determine a set of samples based on my previous assumption and knowledge while the emic approach helped to discover assisted me in discovering and add more samples subsequently. 2) "Creation or discovery of a system." The etic approach equipped me

with a frame of reference with regards to conflict and peace-building schemes and models while the emic approach helped me to uncover relevant social conflict issues experienced by the participants and how they used peace-building projects as conflict transformational tools. 3) "Non-integration and integration." The etic approach helped me to understand the impact of conflict issues and peace-building projects' impacts on conflict transformation independently while the emic approach suggested that conflict issues are parts of a larger social conflict system and these are also interconnected (Berry 1989, 722-723).

In all of the stages (the preparatory phase that included the determination of samples, fieldwork, and data analysis, report writing) of research an interplay of both etic and emic approaches prevailed. For example, in the preparatory phase, I used the etic approach to select the research samples and tried to remain objective in determining the research samples. I am aware that I approached some of the research participants to minimize accessibility issues and because I was simply 'comfortable' with them (see Bonner and Tolhurst 2002 cited in ibid, 13). In the fieldwork phase, I relied on an emic approach to feel and experience what the research participants shared with me in terms of their lived experiences. Nevertheless, I was aware that " a researcher's presence in a fieldwork situation must acknowledge the baggage his or her background brings to any research encounter; the whole impetus behind the method, however, is the need to communicate with researchers who are both part and are not part of that which they are analyzing" (Fabian (1979) and Ruby (1977) cited in ibid, 12). Finally, in the data analysis and report writing phase I again used the etic approach so that it assisted me in remaining objective and unbiased in documenting my research findings.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study is significant at several levels. This study of local CBOs adds to the theoretical and practical knowledge base in understanding the CBO strategies of cross-cultural conflict intervention. The research is of special interest to federal and provincial officials (Government of Canada 2012; Wells 2012), religious organizations (KAIROS 2013), NGOs (MCC 2014), and organizations responsible for informing the public. It is also useful for policymakers regarding the interventions of CBOs to transform social conflict and to promote peace-building locally. In addition, the research findings furnish knowledge to the federal Cross-Cultural Roundtable on Security (Public Safety canada 2014) and to the Kanishka Project (Public Safety Canada 2011). It might also assist the Immigration and Multiculturalism Ministry in Manitoba in assessing its current policies and strategies on ethnocultural communities (Government of Manitoba 2014c). Identification of strengths and weaknesses of the CBOs might also be useful for the CBO leaders in re-strategizing their roles in conflict transformation and peace-building. Importantly, this research is significant in the study of social conflicts and in exploring CBO contributions to peace-building in the Western urban (Canadian) context of Winnipeg in four ways: (1) understanding social conflict arising from the social structure; (2) exploring existing models of peace-building and conflict transformation through the experiences of CBO leaders; (3) exploring an asset based approach to peace-building in Winnipeg; and (4) the potential special role of FBOs in conflict transformation. These are further elaborated on below.

First, while it may be easier to understand violence in developing and underdeveloped countries, it is often difficult to discern the existence of conflict in rich Western urban centers because of a well-established environment of "negative peace" (the absence of war). Social elites, the media, and the dominant social group (primarily the early settlers and their

descendants in Winnipeg) often hesitate to acknowledge the existence of social and economic conflict, and even if they do so, they tend to downplay it since the mere acknowledgement of such conflict delegitimizes their power base (Dovidio, Saguy, and Shnabel 2009). In addition, people at the grassroots level are often reluctant to get into conflict resolution to resist oppressive state policies due to an intense economic pressure imposed upon them by the capitalistic social structure that ushers in the "survival for the fittest" or "hunger game" syndrome (Gresh 2012). However, social conflict can be perceived at various levels, and it is important to map social conflict as understood by CBO middle-tier leaders because they are aware of policies, and they also work with grassroots level peoples. In this study, conflict is referring to discrimination, inequalities, and the lack of basic human needs that can be seen as cultural and structural violence, as well as direct violence. Consequently, it may not be measurable whether a particular project could create transformational change in the culture. This study is not evaluation research of peace-building projects.

Second, what specific models of conflict transformation and peace-building are available in a Western urban (Canadian) context? The core argument for taking a transformational approach lies in the fact that "…social conflicts are natural, inevitable, and essential aspects of social life" (Kriesberg and Dayton 2012, 3). Therefore, in the fieldwork and later stages of my research I wanted to see not only how CBO leaders perceived conflict issues, but also why they thought some of their peace-building work is important in attempting to transform conflict in the settings that they work in. It was particularly important that I understood the dynamics of these projects and their related activities and how they are used strategically to try to impact conflict transformation in local settings. For example, Kriesberg (2007) observed that some peace-

building projects undertaken by local leaders based on shared values found in different faiths (i.e. Christians, Jews, and Muslims) make important contributions to conflict transformation.

The basic assumption of conflict transformation goes beyond our typical understanding of conflict resolution because some conflict issues (such as racism, inequalities, and discrimination directed toward a particular social group within a societal context) are deeply entrenched within a social system so that inter-group relationships need to be transformed as well as unjust structures (Lederach 1997). For example, Lederach posited that transformation should be understood "in two fundamental ways—descriptively and prescriptively—across four dimensions—personal, relational, structural, and cultural. Descriptively speaking, transformation refers to the empirical impact of conflict—in other words, to the effects that social conflict produces" (Lederach 1997, 82). Moreover, Lederach also suggested that "at a prescriptive level, transformation implies deliberate intervention to effect change" (ibid).

One of the key components of peace-building among different social groups is social relationship, which is made up of various elements such as trust. Positive inter-group social relationships can foster better understanding amongst social groups enabling them to look deeper into conflict, explore the root causes of conflict and eventually work to find a collaborative conflict transformation method. CBO leaders are uniquely positioned within the social hierarchy to influence inter-group relationships both positively and negatively. CBO leaders do not possess a lot of power yet they can motivate people to transform conflict, as they are perceived to be credible by people. As secondary mediators, not only are they able to connect people through existing social networks, their institutional and moral legitimacy gives them leverage to influence people and parties embroiled in conflict. In this research, it was observed that some of the leaders' influence transcends their own groups as well. In a fast-paced multicultural Western

urban context where various social groups interact, it is simply natural that conflict will occur and these groups may run short of trusting each other in working together to address the various unjust measures they encounter in society. However, how do people value trustful relationships, and how much do they rely on trust when they go through social upheavals and challenging times. Moreover, this relationship is two-dimensional because these social groups interact with each other, and at the same time, they interact with the state with regard to social-economic-political-cultural policy, environmental matters, and so on. Wallace (2013) highlighted this situation by pointing to the fact that "Canada has a historical and contemporary set of broken relations, one that will no longer stay submerged or quiet. It involves the distorted relationship between Canada and Indigenous peoples. It is a conflict over treaty, sovereignty and colonialism" (7).

In addition, the relationship of the state with its immigrants (including refugees) becomes challenging because of state policies on naturalization and rehabilitation, which affects the benefits of equality the new immigrants (including refugees) expect to enjoy in the socio-political sphere. So far, little research aimed at exploring the strengths and weaknesses of these relationships and mapping a trajectory for the future has been carried out in North American cities. Further, unique to the Canadian context in dealing with the Aboriginal people, the Canadian social psyche has been adversely affected. This is due to the controversial roles of Church and state in conducting the "governance projects" in general and in running the residential schools in particular with an aim of "civilizing the Indians" (Smith 2001, 253). Currently, although a reconciliation process has been launched, past issues have severely strained the relationships of Aboriginal people with the dominant settler group, the state and the Churches (Sinclair 2014). This could be one of the reasons why a broader discourse on faith-based peace-

building has not developed in Canada in general and in Winnipeg in particular (Chrisjohn 1991; Rogers, Bamat, and Ideh 2008).

Third, there is a large volume of academic literature available on CBOs and their contribution to peace-building (specifically the FBOs and NGOs) in areas affected by war in Africa, Central and South America, and Asia. There is little research exploring local (Western) home-based CBOs (faith, ethno-cultural, and NGO) as a combined unit of analysis, in working to promote cross-cultural awareness, social justice, conflict transformation, and peace-building especially in the Canadian context. Further, a recent UN report highlighted that "peace-building practice does not sufficiently address the role of actors and institutions based in developed economies in shaping conflict and peace dynamics" (Geneva Peacebuilding Platform 2015, 4). In Western urban contexts when it comes to wearing faith symbols (such as the hijab, kripan or kippah) in public, one thing is generally taken for granted, the tolerance of other faiths due to constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion. This is due to the state's official bias towards promoting secularism. Some citizens perceive secularism as an accepted trend (the state's non-interference in people's faith matters) in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2010). Yet my research participants confirmed a rising trend of religiosity among the minorities in Winnipeg. This particular trend of religiosity was identified through the increased attendance of people in their places of worships and their active participations in various faith related activities. For example, on a number of my participant observation encounters it was found that minority social faith groups raise funds to help disaster stricken peoples, participate in doing social good (such as feeding and sheltering vulnerable peoples), and also in resisting what they perceive as oppressive government policies using their faith platforms. Consequently, many NGOs operate in close cooperation with FBO and ECBOs. Yet their combined contribution using their unique

assets (i.e. social capital) to the field of conflict transformation and peace-building in Western urban contexts has not been fully explored.

Fourth, Winnipeg represents a typical Western secular society where a careful separation of faith-based activities and the city's functional activities are observed. Although a general perception appears to hold that faith has a less important role to play in people's lives, this research shows that faith-based actors may play significant roles in re-building people-to-people relationships. They also can take active part in conflict transformation by undertaking a plethora of peace-building activities locally.

1.4 Framework of the Study (Chapter Overviews)

This thesis intends to expand the body of knowledge available about the contribution of CBOs to peace-building and conflict transformation and social conflict analysis in a Western urban (Canadian) context. To this end, I have organized this thesis into eight chapters:

Chapter One (introductory chapter) provides a general introduction including the key research gaps and justification for this research project, describes its significance, identifies its limitations, and describes the overall framework of its presentation in this document.

Chapter Two provides the salient contextual features of the study area and identifies the motivation behind undertaking this research. It also outlines a historical backdrop and a brief background of various CBOs operating in this city.

Chapter Three describes a set of theories relevant to this research. The first set lays out theories related to CBOs and their roles in conflict intervention and peace-building and the second set details an understanding of complex social conflict.

Chapter Four (methodology) describes the critical ethnographic qualitative methodology used in this research. I also used grounded theory to access, synthesize, and present the

experiences, images and perceptions of CBO leaders in their understanding of social conflict and peace-building. This research strategy relied on one-on-one semi-structured interviews and participant observation with a view to capturing a maximum understanding of the topic. A grounded theory is found to be particularly useful to get at the sense of "what is happening" so that an inductive process can be maintained during data analysis and report generation.

Chapter Five marks the beginning of qualitative analysis by displaying data along with a discussion of the findings. It plotted CBO leaders' perceptions, motivations and their contributions toward understanding conflict, conflict transformation and peace-building in Winnipeg. It has four segments: CBO leaders' role as meso level actors, CBO leaders' views and experiences of conflicts in Winnipeg, CBO leaders' rationales of their work, and selected CBO activities in Winnipeg along with its analysis.

Chapter Six explores Winnipeg's CBOs tools, strengths, challenges and limitations in peace-building and conflict transformation. This chapter is organized into four segments. Segment one shows the road map of CBO leaders' techniques and knowledge of peace-building, Segment two provides the leaders perceptions of CBO peace-building strengths, challenges and limitations. Segment three displays CBO's state of social capital and an asset based approach to peace-building (ABAP).

Chapter Seven lays out how participants view Winnipeg's FBOs special role in peace-building and conflict transformation. The findings are presented in three segments: first by mapping out FBO actors and their activities followed by documenting their perceptions and experiences of effective conflict transformation, and finally by analyzing their hopes and dreams, and fear and worries.

Finally, Chapter Eight summarizes the key research findings. In this chapter, I also outline a middle-range theoretical concept of social conflict drawing lessons from the work of sociologist Robert Merton (1968). It also makes recommendations about social conflict intervention practice and theory, and provides suggestions for future research.

1.5 Conclusion

This study focuses on the perspectives, insights, and knowledge of the leaders of community-based organizations in Winnipeg. Winnipeg provides key opportunities and challenges to study social conflicts in a Western urban (Canadian) context. Here different social groups interact with each other and with the state at various levels. It is worth noting how the CBO leaders' deal with social conflict and contrive a conflict transformation process. Winnipeg might be considered as a unique place to study social conflict and peace-building in comparison with other cities across Canada because it contains two extreme conditions. Social conflict is at the forefront of everyday interactions. For example, a leading Canadian magazine—*Maclean's* claimed that Winnipeg was the most racist city in Canada in 2015. Yet Winnipeg still retains its reputation as the top Canadian city in charitable donations. Keeping this dichotomy in mind, this research sheds some light on the possible structural nature of social conflict, interrelated conflict issues, and the potential contribution of key peace-building projects toward conflict transformation and peace-building in the city.

Chapter Two

Research Context

Not far from the center of the American continent, midway between the oceans east and west, midway between the gulf and the Arctic sea, on the rim of a plain, snow swept in winter, flower decked in summer; but, whether in winter or in summer, beautiful in its sunlit glory, stands Winnipeg, the cosmopolitan capital of the last of the Anglo-Saxon empires, Winnipeg, city of the plain which from the eyes of the world cannot be hid. By hundreds and tens of hundreds they stream in and through this hospitable city, Saxon and Celt and Slav, each eager on his own quest, each paying his toll to the new land as he comes and goes, for good or for ill, but whether more for good than for ill only God knows.

— RALPH CONNOR
The Foreigner, Chapter 1, pp. 2–3

2.1 Introduction

Winnipeg was home to me for nearly four years before my recent move to Brandon, Manitoba (Canada). Initially, I planned to study the conflict in Western Sahara and its resolution since I served as a UN peacekeeper in this conflict zone. Yet a faith-based event that took place in a local mosque at night opened up a completely new horizon for me to study the contributions of local community leaders in peace-building.

One night, I was praying in a local mosque during the Holy month of Ramadan, and the Imam asked the attendees to stay after the prayer, which was a little unusual given the hour. We soon found there was a good reason for his request. A charity group had arrived from the UK and their leader spoke passionately to us, describing the flood situation in Pakistan. He appealed to us to help the people affected by this disaster.

It was a short talk that lasted less than ten minutes, yet I observed that people donated without hesitation. I was amazed when they announced the total number of funds raised. It dawned on me that despite being part of a marginalized group, immigrants had the strength to reach out to others to make a positive difference and the organizational leaders play instrumental

roles in mobilizing people for good things. Through this community organization based on faith, they find strength.

On another occasion, I met a gentleman at a social event to celebrate a faith festival who told me how he the collected meat of sacrificed animals and distributed it to Aboriginal people living on the nearby reserves. He was the leader of an FBO, and he explained that most people are happy to help if convincingly approached. These experiences raised three important questions in my mind: 1) Why do leaders of these community based organizations do what they do? 2) What are their experiences in transforming conflicts in the society? and 3) What kinds of peace-building works do they undertake in the city to transform conflicts?

These examples were enthralling to me as I found people were living within parallel streams of political-cultural-faith ideologies. I came to see this more and more during my work as an outreach activity member of my community. I also gained further exposure to the functions of CBOs both at the policy level and at the grassroots activism level. For example, immigrants (including refugees) usually are connected with their ethno-cultural organizations (funded by the ministry of immigration and multiculturalism) and they elect their leaders who serve voluntarily for their communities.

The leader of my community requested that I organize an event to celebrate International Mother Language Day (recognized by UNESCO as February 21). I approached the university authority and they in turn connected me with the Honourable Minister of Multiculturalism who gladly attended as the chief guest of the event. It was a starting point of a 'policymaker-community' relationship, which has since evolved and benefitted the community immensely. In addition, I also volunteered with a variety of Winnipeg-based CBOs in order to observe their contributions toward peace-building in the city. I was fascinated to note that the leaders, many of

whom were volunteers, were the key drivers of these organizations. Further, I saw Winnipeggers in general—and immigrants in particular—seek psychosocial support by participating collectively in their faith and in cultural events. This participation provides them with a sense of having "a home away from home," allows them to develop a sense of solidarity, enables social and professional networking, and gives them an avenue through which they can obtain information on Canadian socio-economic-political matters. Witnessing the abilities of community leaders, I was motivated to undertake the research to understand and then explore CBO leaders' activities and their contribution toward peace-building in Winnipeg.

This chapter lays out chronologically the geography of the study area (i.e. Winnipeg), the historical backdrop of different social groups (i.e. settlers, and immigrants including refugees). The backgrounds of various CBOs peace-building activities in the city are highlighted. The primary reason for documenting CBOs' past peace-building activities is to highlight that traditionally these groups worked to improve people's lives and still some of these groups maintained their historical legacies of doing such work.

2.2 Geography of the City, the History of Settlers and Immigrants (including refugees), and its Demography

Geographically, Winnipeg lies in the center of Canada at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers (City of Winnipeg 2014). The name Winnipeg (*Win* - muddy, N*ipee*- water) has its roots in the Cree Indian name given to Lake Winnipeg, which is 40 miles north of the city (Ibid). Modern-day cities are diverse, and if you compare Winnipeg with other metropolitan city centers in Canada (for example, Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal and Calgary), an outsider might be less tempted to listen to the stories of the Prairies. The glory and the glamour of the other

metropolises seem to outshine Winnipeg, which only has a few skyscrapers in the downtown area where the Red and Assiniboine rivers confluence.

Manitoba joined the confederation of Canada in 1870 sharing its rich agricultural products along with its vast land mass. Winnipeg is the capital of Manitoba and by far the largest city and the hub of social, economic, cultural, and administrative services. Winnipeg once was a thriving city, often compared with Chicago at the beginning of the last century when it was the hub of trade and transportation (Cited in Levine 2014). It has a long history of settlers intermingled with the First Peoples, all contributing to the life of this city in their own ways. Their hopes and dreams weave the tapestry of this city together every day despite chilling cold in the winter and occasional flooding of its rivers in the spring.

Scholars estimate that 250,000 to 500,000 Aboriginal people lived in Canada's territory before the first contact with the European settlers (Dickason 2002 and Jenness 2000 cited in Riendeau 2007, 8). Anthropologists agree that around 1000 CE, the Forks (meeting point of the Red and Assiniboine rivers) was occupied by Algonquian-speaking peoples from the east and northern part of Canada, and that by the beginning of 1300 CE the Anishinaabe, Cree, and Nakota (or Assiniboine) had also arrived in this area (The Canadian Encyclopedia). However, Riendeau (2007) notes that "unlike their Iroquois and Algonquian neighbors to the east, the indigenous people of the western Prairie region [including Manitoba] had little or no direct contact with European explorers and traders until well into the 18th century." (11). The relationship between colonial traders/settlers and Aboriginal people of Manitoba evolved through various treaties and commitments from the late 19th century (for example, the North-West Territories Act, 1875; the Indian Act, 1876) (Stobie 1985).[2] French early settlers including the Metis from the upper Great Lakes region arrived in Winnipeg in the early 1800s primarily to

expand their fur trade under the banner of the North West Company and they subsequently joined the settlers at Selkirk (near Winnipeg) (Jaenen 1992).

Although, since 1738, a number of fur trading posts were found in Winnipeg, a group of Scottish crofters arrived on 27 October 1812 and founded the first permanent settlement at the Point Douglas area of Winnipeg. Almost two years later, in June 1814, the arrival of the Kildonan Scots marked the true launching of the Red River Settlement (Hartman 2003). Later on immigrants began arriving in Winnipeg in the 1870s with the Icelandic communities (City of Winnipeg 2014). At that time, the federal government wanted to populate Manitoba with European settlers, and passed two legislative Acts to help support their plan: The Dominion Lands Act (1872) and the Indian Act (1876). A recent report summarized the content of these pieces of legislation as follows: "the Dominion Lands Act granted land to settlers for free or $10 while the Indian Act removed Indigenous people from land and limited their movement to ensure the 'safe' settlement of newcomers" (Jackie Hogue and Associates 2015, 4). The Irish communities joined the Icelandic settlers groups who came at the beginning of the twentieth century, and together they turned Point Douglas into a bustling city center in Winnipeg (Kraft 2006).

Ralph O'Connor's *The Foreigner—A Tale of Saskatchewan* presents a vivid description of immigration flow into the city and its early growth. Connor asserts that, unlike the Icelandic settlers who largely came to escape the aftermath of a volcanic eruption, the next wave of immigrant arrivals from Eastern Europe came for reasons that were more social in nature (to avoid religious persecution and political and economic turmoil prior to World War I) (Connor 1909, 3). Winnipeg gradually turned into a mosaic as various ethnic groups started arriving to settle from all over the world. Among the major ethnic groups who landed in Winnipeg, the

Ukrainians started arriving in 1890, and continued to come in two successive waves until 1920 (Martynowych 1991). The first Chinese immigrants arrived as railway laborers in 1858 from the U.S. West Coast in response to the newly found gold rush in British Columbia (B.C). In Winnipeg, a Chinese couple opened up a laundry business in 1877, and in 1909 Chinatown was founded (Kusch 2012). Filipino immigrants started arriving in Winnipeg in the 1950s and grew to be the largest ethnic community in Winnipeg (Lett 2012). South Asian people also landed in Winnipeg in 1960 (from the Punjab, India) (Kives 2012). African people started living in Winnipeg in the 1940s yet the census doesn't report their presence until the 1980s (Winnipeg Free Press 2012).

For reference purposes, as per STATSCAN's 2011 survey, 72% of the Manitoba population lives in Winnipeg.[3] Different populations of immigrants increased the religious diversity of the city. Newly arrived settler groups were tight knit communities. As soon as they got a piece of land to build their houses, they established their houses of prayers. In fact, churches were the hubs of community activities while faith played important roles in people's lives. For example, in Winnipeg, historic churches include St. Boniface's Roman Catholic Cathedral built in 1819, St. John's Anglican Cathedral built in 1833, the Kildonan Presbyterian Church founded in 1854, and the Grace Methodist Church opened in 1869 (Ibid).

Manitoba has the largest Mennonite population in North America. Popularly known as "Anabaptists," they emerged from the turmoil of reformation in Europe in the 1500s, and many of them follow the teachings of Menno Simons. Eventually, people of this group are called "Mennists" or "Mennonites" (in English) (Mennonite Historical Society of Canada). Manitoba was a popular destination for Russian and Ukrainian Mennonites and there were three reasons that drove such an influx of Mennonites in Manitoba. One, at that time Canada sought to develop

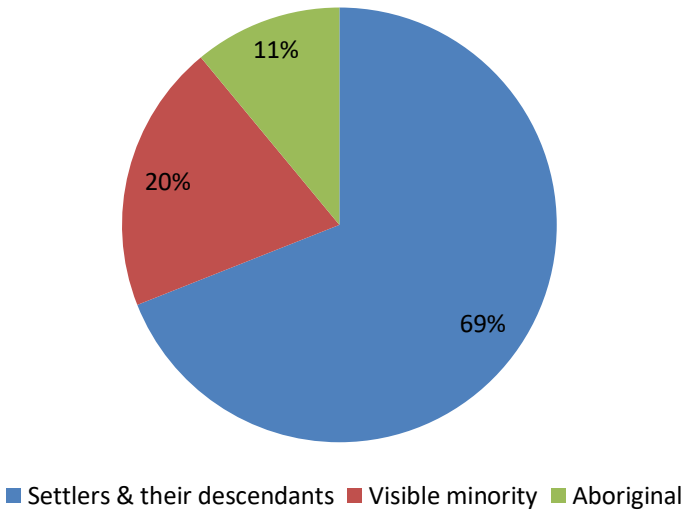
the Western Prairies by European immigrants with farming skills; two, they believed that new regulations in Russia would threaten their exemption from military service; and three, they hoped to have cheap farmland, along with guarantees of religious freedom and exemption from military service (Ibid). Mennonites first arrived from the Ukraine during the years 1874 to 1880 in Manitoba. Subsequently their number increased as a result of immigrations after the 1917 Russian revolution, and the end of WWII (Enns 1987). The Ukrainians came from the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna, and they settled as per their religious denomination: Bukovynians as Orthodox Christians and Galician as Greek Catholics (Government of Manitoba 2014a). The Hutterites came to Canada after 1918 and many of those who initially settled in North and South Dakota, USA fled the persecution that befell them due to their strict observance of non-violence and as conscientious objectors of war. Among them are the well-known family of Hofer brothers who also settled in Canada, with Alberta, and Manitoba as their popular destinations (The Canadian Encyclopedia). Further, the religious demography of Winnipeg released by STATSCAN, NHS, 2011 also shows that Roman Catholicism, Islam, Hinduism, and "no religious affiliation" groups are on the rise when comparing pre-1971 and 2006–2011 data (Ibid).

The first Muslim immigrants arrived in Manitoba from Eastern Europe, various Caribbean Islands, and Lebanon between the early 1900s and the 1950s. As per the STATSCAN report, Manitoba's Muslim population reached 3,525 in 1991, and grew to 12,405 in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2011). The Manitoba Islamic Association (MIA) was founded in 1967 and was legally incorporated in 1969. MIA was the first Muslim FBO to emerge in the city. The construction of the first mosque was completed in 1975 in Hazelwood, Winnipeg. The first Muslim faith-based school, Al Hijra, was founded in 1996. The Winnipeg Central Mosque was

inaugurated in 2004, followed by the construction of the Grand Mosque in 2007. In the same year, the first Muslim faith-based social service organization, the Islamic Social Services Association (ISSA) was founded (Manitoba Islamic Association (MIA) 2014). The only Shiite center in Winnipeg is the Yaseen Center of Manitoba, which was established in 2007 (Yaseen Centre of Manitoba 2014). The Manitoba Dawah Center was created in 2011, to promote Islamic awareness and inculcate Islamic values among Winnipeg's Muslims (Manitoba Dawah Centre 2014). Winnipeg has one Muslim Ahmadiyya Center-Mosque and only one Ismailia cultural center. Currently, there are eight Muslim FBOs operating in Winnipeg from different denominations. Besides these organizations, three Hindu, two Buddhist (one of which is Chinese), two Sikh (Punjabi) FBOs, and four Jewish synagogues are also active in Winnipeg.

The demography of Winnipeg is diverse, and it resembles other metropolitan cities in Canada. Although, my study participants represent various cross-cultural groups (faith and ethnic) in Winnipeg, they mostly reported conflict between the First Peoples (excluding the Métis and Inuit for this research), new immigrants (including refugees who came after 1990), and the dominant mainstream population (mainly composed of settlers and their descendants). The general demographic situation of Winnipeg is shown below in Figure 1, and Winnipeg's administrative community grouping based on geographical location is shown in Figure 11 in Appendix 10.

Figure 1: Actual Demographic Condition of Winnipeg



Source: (modified from) The Community Trends Report: Selected Demographic and Economic Information, October 2013 available at http://www.winnipeg.ca/cao/pdfs/TheCommunityTrendsReportOctober2013.pdf

In interviews, respondents pointed out how the city is divided into different regions, some are wealthy and others are poor (See the Winnipeg Income Map Figure 12 in Appendix 8), and that socially marginalized groups are concentrated in the poorer areas. Despite these geographical divisions, a number of CBOs actively worked and achieved specific achievements in terms of peace-building work in Winnipeg. They recognized particular social groups (i.e., First Nations) with special needs. The relatively modest metropolitan size of Winnipeg impacts inter-groups relations by often bringing groups in close contact with one another. There is a significant sentiment of love of and pride regarding Winnipeg. Perhaps less explicitly, the recognized possibilities exist for inter-group engagement for doing social good in Winnipeg.

2.3 Peace-building Context of the Faith, Ethno-Cultural and Non-governmental Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) in Winnipeg

It is nothing extraordinary for CBOs in general—and FBOs and ECBOs, in particular—to be involved in community outreach and development activities in North America (Hewitt and Regoli 2007). These organizations believe that "soul care and social care are really two sides of the same coin and that loving a neighbour is as practical as it is spiritual" (Sider, Olson, & Unruh, 2002 cited in Janzen and Wiebe 2010, 2). In the case of Canada, it is notable how various groups such as the Quakers, Mennonites, Hutterites, and Ukrainians came here because they were fleeing persecution in their home countries, and started settling mainly under the banners of their faith and ethno-cultural identities.

These social groups quickly established their networks and began supporting people coming to settle in Winnipeg as well. Initial peace-building work (here the term is used in a broad sense to assist to immigrants and refugees) was carried out by FBOs. As one report finds, "the bulk of settlement support in Winnipeg was delivered by faith communities and ethno cultural groups who formed volunteer organizations, such as Aid Societies, or offered informal support. One example, still active in supporting newcomers today, is Mount Carmel Clinic, established in 1903" (Jackie Hogue and Associates 2015, 4).

In this regard, CBOs have played and continue to play a significant role in providing settlement support (in the form of Service Providing Organizations— SPO) for the newcomers in Winnipeg (Ibid). To name a few SPOs, the Citizenship Council of Manitoba was established in Winnipeg in the 1940s by local faith and ethno-cultural organizations to help newcomers find employment, housing, recreation, and to meet their welfare needs (Ibid). In addition, the Manitoba Interfaith and Immigration Council (MIIC) was founded in the 1940s to support

displaced peoples arriving in Manitoba as a result of World War II (Ibid). Following the Government of Canada's decision to accommodate refugees in the 1980s, a number of NGOs and FBOs, such as Hospitality House Refugee Ministry and the Immigrant Refugee Health Program, were founded to help new refugees settle into life in Canada (Ibid).[4]

In addition, a number of FBOs in Winnipeg are involved in supporting the social economy and striving to restore equity in society. One such organization is the Jubilee Fund–Ethical Investing in Manitoba, which is an ecumenical Christian organization. It "started in 2000 as a Winnipeg-based expression of the millennium celebration of debt relief inspired by a Jewish practice described in Hebrew scripture that calls for the periodic redistribution of wealth and cancellation of debt" (McKeon 2009). Further, there has historically been close cooperation between state funded development agencies such as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and Christian missionary agencies (such as KAIROS). Research shows that "the importance of Christian organizations to Canadian development initiatives was even reflected in CIDA's organizational structure: within the NGO program, the objective of which was to create funding partnerships between CIDA and voluntary agencies, a 'Church Division' existed well into the 1990s that was solely responsible for overseeing CIDA's relationships with Canadian religious organizations" (Paras 2014, 445).

Moreover, FBOs are also involved in the health service sector. One such example of this is the Interfaith Health Care Association of Manitoba (IHCAM). IHCAM "is a voluntary provincial association of representatives of the Catholic, Baptist, Jewish, Lutheran, Mennonite, Pentecostal, Salvation Army, Seventh-day Adventist, and United Church faith groups that promote a Judeo-Christian approach to health care service" (Interfaith Health Care Association of Manitoba 2012, 1). Quite a few FBOs also make immense contributions to peace-building by

providing various social services and by protesting against social injustices (such as ISSA). ISSA is at the forefront of raising awareness through organizing events such as United Against Terrorism, campaigning against anti-terrorism bill C-51, and also in training Muslim youths to be constructive citizens. The United Way is one of the largest NGOs in Winnipeg, which traditionally works with various ethno-cultural organizations by providing them crucial funding to run community based projects.

Inter-faith dialogue events are often held in Winnipeg that aims at promoting understanding between and among faith-based groups. The province also encourages interfaith efforts in peace-building work. The Scarboro Mission's interfaith initiatives, the Arab-Jewish Dialogue group, the Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice, and the Ridd Institute for Religion and Global Policy's academic initiatives are examples of these efforts (Scarboro Mission; Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba). However, I observed that fewer non-Christian FBOs are actively involved in social justice issues in Winnipeg. The reasons for their inactivity are possibly due to a lack of funding and institutional support, smaller congregations, and a lack of determined leadership. Only one Muslim FBO was found to be active in social justice issues, and it regularly donates meat to First People reserves as a part of its charitable work (CBC News (2013).

Winnipeg regularly hosts national and international seminars, conferences on faith-based peace-building, and interfaith dialogue. For example, it hosted the sixth "World Religions Summit 2010—Interfaith Leaders in the G8 Nations," which is an annual pre-G8 meeting of faith leaders from all parts of the world. "The 2010 World Religions Summit brought together, as delegates, 80 senior leaders of religions and faith-based organizations from more than 20 countries of all regions of the world, representing Aboriginal, Baha'i, Buddhist, Christian,

Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Shinto, and Sikh traditions. Thirteen youth delegates also participated," an observer noted (G8 Information Centre 2010).

Today in Manitoba, 148 different languages are spoken by people from 150 different countries (Government of Manitoba 2013), and there is a plethora of non-profit voluntary civil society organizations in Winnipeg. There are approximately 300 ethnocultural community-based organizations (ECBOs) (Government of Manitoba 2013), over 200 faith-based organizations (FBOs)[5], over 100 community-based Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)[6], and 59 cultural organizations (Winnipeg Arts Council 2014). They all contribute to the diversity of Manitoba's communities (most are located in and provide services in Winnipeg). The strong presence of these organizations is also highlighted in a 2006 Government of Canada report. It points out how "voluntary and nonprofit organizations work in many activities and touch virtually all areas of life; Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the Territories housed 17,034 voluntary and nonprofit organizations in 2003. This is 11 percent of the national total" (Frankel 2006, vi).

CBOs widely use their 'social capital' for peace-building. Although, social capital means many things to many people, in this research I will define it as "the human network of relationships and resources ready to be shared between and among the communities." This human interaction through people-to-people networking is dynamic, and is affected, impacted, and influenced by multiple social factors. Through interaction, relationships evolve and assume new meanings within the community and beyond. Within Winnipeg, this human interaction is crucial as every day new people arrive to settle and start a new life here. They bring with them their history, attitudes, skills, hopes, dreams, fears, worries, and a huge volume of expectations, which are potential reservoirs for social conflict.

STATSCAN, in its first study of this kind, observed that a plethora of new immigrants from a variety of countries selected for their job skills and educational attainment are now arriving in Canada. "Despite being more highly educated, however, recent immigrants are having more difficulty adjusting to the Canadian economy than did their predecessors. It is taking newcomers longer to achieve employment and income levels similar to those of the Canadian-born" (Thomas 2011, 52). The STATSCAN's report suggests that one possible way of addressing this phenomenon may be to help new immigrants to maximize social capital or develop networks to promote their economic interests (Ibid). STATSCANs 2005 national survey report lumped three types of organizations into Non-profit and Voluntary Organizations (NVO), and it highlighted that individual citizens become connected to their local communities through voluntary not-for-profit organizations (Statistics Canada 2005, 10-13).[7]

In Winnipeg, besides the government agencies, the immigrant and refugee population is served by all three categories of organization: ECBOs, FBOs, and NGOs.[8] With a particular focus on serving the immigrant and refugee population, the ECBOs are founded under the Multiculturalism Act of Manitoba (1992) and are defined as:

> [B]odies possessing a minimal organization structure (i.e., a set of rules, a board of directors, including executive officers, voluntary or paid staff and members), which meet at least once annually, and, which are identifiable as an ethnic organization by virtue of the aims and activities that are associated with the religious, cultural traditions and practices unique to a group of immigrants (Chekki 2006 cited in Annis, Bucklaschuk, and Moss 2008, 9).

These ECBOs contribute greatly in preserving the socio-cultural traditions of various ethnic groups within Winnipeg, which helps group members thrive by celebrating their unique identities.

In addition, ECBOs are a unique Canadian concept; therefore, several definitions of ECBOs are available. For example, the Canadian Ethno-cultural Council (CEC) (Canadian

Ethnocultural Council 2014), an umbrella organization that monitors federal policy, defined them in terms of their functions for newcomers and for Canada as a whole in the following way:

> Ethno-cultural organizations support settlement programs and associations involved in meeting the needs of newcomers to the country. They also strengthen the development of structures that form the underpinning of the economic, cultural, and social well-being of our society. The structures become part of the vital Canadian voluntary sector and contribute to nation-building in Canada (Bucklaschuk 2008, 3).

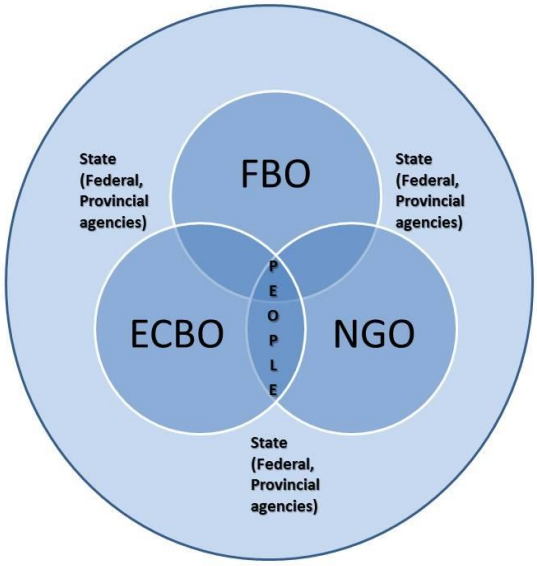
At the federal level, CEC works in close conjunction with the local ECBOs and supports the settlement and integration of new immigrants (including refugees). Nonetheless, for the purposes of funding and programming, the Province of Manitoba's Immigration and Multiculturalism Ministry defines ECBOs as following fixed criteria.[9] In addition, the secretariat also formed a twenty-one member Manitoba Ethno-Cultural Advisory and Advocacy Council (MEAAC) through the Manitoba Ethno-Cultural Advisory and Advocacy Council Act in July 2001. The MEAAC advocates for Manitoba's ethno-cultural communities by providing facts and counsel to the Ministry of Immigration and Multiculturalism (Government of Manitoba 2014b).[10]

However, FBOs can include a religious congregation, an organization/program/project based on community initiatives in response to social problems, sponsored/hosted by a religious congregation, a non-profit organization founded by either a religious congregation or an ethno-culturally motivated group.[11] FBOs in Winnipeg are organized into two broad categories: Religeocentric (Abu Nimer, Khoury, and Welty 2007), and Ecumenical/Interfaith (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana, and Abu-Nimer 2005). For the purpose of this research, only those NGOs have been chosen (purposive sampling) who work closely with the immigrant (including refugee) population and First Peoples on at least two to three projects in a year in these communities.

Several research reports highlighted the crucial role of these CBOs in Manitoba. New immigrants often want to connect with the previous generation of immigrants from their home country through the network of ethnocultural organizations and settlement agencies that they founded (Chekki 2006 cited in Annis et al., 2008, 9). The networks established through these relations become a provider of succor and connections, as well as offering settlement assistance and building on the social capital of the new milieu (Salaffet al. 2002, 9). The main objectives of these CBOs are "to provide integration and settlement support, to preserve culture, religion, and family values for the next generation, to maintain ethnic identity, and to preserve ancestral languages" (CCEDNet 2006b; Chekki 2006 cited in Ibid, 9).

In this study, I found CBOs as working and interacting with each other within an overall social sphere of action and influence in Winnipeg. However, the people remain as the core constituent element of CBO action and keeping people in the center helps to better understand the peace-building initiatives of CBOs in light of this perspective. Figure 2 below is a schematic presentation of this idea, which would be verified in chapter six.

Figure 2: CBOs and their Sphere of Action, Existence and Interactions



2.4 A Brief History of Social Conflicts, Social Justice, and Cross Cultural Events in Winnipeg

Winnipeg saw some of the significant conflicts in the past that eventually paved the way of providing the rights and liberties of many Canadians. A few are highlighted consequently just to bring home the point that although conflict was inevitable yet it gave opportunity to different social groups to come together and transform conflicts in order to ensure social justice.

Manitoba is the birthplace of the Métis population in Canada (Manitoba Metis Federation 2014). The Métis' founding leader, Louis Riel occupies a central role in the history of Manitoba for two reasons. One, his controversial resistance against the federal government during the Red River Resistance or North West Rebellion, later transformed him into the founding father of Manitoba (Braz 2003, ix). And two, his influence shaped the relationship of the Métis community with the rest of the people of Manitoba. In this regard, Stanley (1979) highlights that "the mere mention of his name [Louis Riel] bares those latent religious and racial animosities which seem to lie so close to the surface of Canadian politics […] Louis Riel became, for a few years, the symbol of the national aspirations of French Canada and the storm-centre of political Orangeism" (3).

However, once the "traitor" Louis Riel was transformed into a national hero there was a changing narrative of resistance because "Riel believed deeply that he was situated at the cusp of the emergence of the Canadian state as a multiethnic, geopolitical entity, and that he had a critical role to play in its materialization" (Reid 2008, 187). Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning:

> We often do not notice that we are continually surrounded by the symbols of Métis culture and heritage. Across the greater Métis Home land, there are many enduring emblematic reminders of the Métis historical presence: the Montana buffalo skull logo, the buffalo on Manitoba's Coat of Arms and on the seal of the Manitoba Federation; the blue Métis infinity flag; the fiddle and sash; the ubiquitous Red River Cart; and the

> numerous streets named after Métis patriots in cities and towns from Kansas City to Winnipeg, and from Edmonton to Yellowknife (Barkwell 2014, 1).

Métis people, thus, are part of the proud history of Manitoba and they contribute to the rich multicultural environment of this province.

In January 1916, Manitoba became the first province in Canada to acknowledge women's right to vote ushering in a new era of equality and social justice. At that period, it was a significant event that not only championed equality it also introduced a chain of social reforms as mentioned below:

> Other reforms that they [women] championed, such as the end of bilingual education, reflected fears that a pure society could only flourish if English cultural values were protected. These middle-class women, and most active suffrage campaigners came from the middle class, believed that they would make wiser political choices than immigrants. Other suffragists argued that women should have the vote strictly on the basis of equality (Manitobia 2013).

In this way, Manitoba women became the torchbearers of equality and justice in the country.

Additionally, Winnipeg is also the place where one of its famous Canadians—Thomas Clement "Tommy" Douglas, a social democratic politician and Baptist minister was the seventh Premier of Saskatchewan from 1944 to 1961. His "government was the first democratic socialist government in North America"— that came up with the idea of "the continent's first single-payer, universal health care program of universal health care" (Wikipedia). Douglas fondly recalled his memory when he was treated by Winnipeg doctors for Osteomyelitis that set in his leg shortly before his family moved out of Scotland to resettle in Winnipeg in 1910.

Contextualizing conflict and social justice for this research also requires understanding the history and impact of residential schools since it is one of the major conflict issues that still shape social relationship of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Manitoba. According to the report of the Manitoba Healing Resource Centre (1994) from 1889 to 1975, 12 residential

schools were in operation in Manitoba run by four major churches (the United Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, and the Presbyterian Church). These schools were set up by the Canadian government and administered mostly by Anglican Churches to "civilize" the Aboriginal people (Manitoba Healing Centre 1994). This scheme started officially in the 1870s. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) states the following:

> Residential schools for Aboriginal people in Canada date back to the 1870s. Over 130 residential schools were located across the country, and the last school closed in 1996. These government-funded, church-run schools were set up to eliminate parental involvement in the intellectual, cultural, and spiritual development of Aboriginal children. During this era, more than 150,000 First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children were placed in these schools often against their parents' wishes. Many were forbidden to speak their language and practice their own culture. While there is an estimated 80,000 former students living today, the ongoing impact of residential schools has been felt throughout generations and has contributed to social problems that continue to exist (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2014).

The aforementioned statistics merely confirm the grand design intended to 'civilize' the First Peoples, whose legacy is still felt in people lives.

The legacy of the residential schools is so immense that one inquiry pointed out the following:

> This history of purposeful genocide implicates every level of government in Canada, the RCMP; every mainline church, large corporations, and local police, doctors, and judges. The web of complicity in this killing machine was, and remains, so vast that its concealment has required an equally elaborate campaign of cover-up that has been engineered at the highest levels of power in our country; a cover-up that is continuing, especially now that eyewitnesses to murders and atrocities at the church-run native residential "schools" have come forward for the first time (The Truth Commission into Genocide in Canada 2001, 5).

The residential school system is understood as a process of genocide and a critical fault line in Aboriginal history and the relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal society and culture. This insight is considered only the beginning in a process that will seek healing, reconciliation, truth, and justice.

Winnipeg is also the home of the Canadian Museum of Human Rights (CMHR) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which is finding ways to reconcile the historic relationship between the Federal Government and the First Peoples of Canada. The head of the TRC Justice Murray Sinclair therefore stated, "Reconciliation is about forging and maintaining respectful relationships. There are no shortcuts." The TRC is doing "important work of truth-gathering from coast to coast to coast, as Survivors of the Residential School system share their experiences" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2014). The release of the inquiry report in 2015 outlined a number of measures for reconciliation and the Canadian government expressed its interest to implement some of them.

Winnipeg is also the birthplace of the collective bargaining of unionized employees and workers in North America (Kealey 1984). Worker's rights were secured through the historic Winnipeg Strike in 1919. On one side, lay the federal government and on the other side, the workers protesting to preserve their rights in the 1919 general strike. This is a classic example of how,

> Our ideas of the past keep changing. During the strike, the workers argued that they were simply striking for a living wage and the right to negotiate. The Citizens' Committee and the federal government said the strike was a revolution in the making. For this reason, they arrested the strike leaders and broke the strike. A Manitoba government commission of inquiry concluded that the General Strike was essentially a labour dispute, not a revolution. The federal government and the Citizens' Committee refused to accept this conclusion (Manitobia 2014).

Gene Sharp, a leader in nonviolence theory and practiced, views the Winnipeg Strike as one of the most significant largely nonviolent actions in North America (Peace Magazine 2003).

In Winnipeg, diversity and tolerance are promoted through cultural events such as Folklorama (Folklorama 2014) and the Winnipeg International Storytelling Festival (WISF) (Justice 2014). Folklorama is one of the significant yearly events in Winnipeg where different

ethno-cultural groups display their cultural traditions showing the cultural diversity that exists in the city. The event which runs for weeks draws people from all over the world and it promotes social harmony and cohesion (Folklorama 2015).

There is also a concentration of peace-related academic programs in Winnipeg. The longstanding undergraduate major in Conflict Resolution at the University of Winnipeg, offered through Menno Simons College, has one of the largest undergraduate programs in the world. In 2006, the first PhD program in the Peace and Conflict Studies in Canada as well as a Joint M.A. program in 2010 was established at the University of Manitoba through the work of faculty at the Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice. Canadian Mennonite University offers an undergraduate program in Conflict Transformation as well as the summer program, the Canadian School of Peace-building.

2.5 Conclusion

Winnipeg is a Canadian city that has some unique features. First, it is the largest urban location where large groups of Aboriginal people live side-by-side with new immigrants (including refugees) and the descendants of early settlers. The European settlers came with their culture and faith and they founded numerous settlements across Winnipeg. Many religiously persecuted groups (such as Mennonites, Hutterites) also inhabit Winnipeg because it offered them a safe and secure place to live and practice their faiths. This cohabitation also compels these social groups to continuously think about their relationships even though the evolution of positive relationships is not an easy task. Second, many of my respondents commented favorably on the size and composition of Winnipeg. They said that the people in Winnipeg still have not created their own silos and compartmentalized the geography as extensively as in other parts of the country. Third, three types of CBOs (faith-based, ethno-cultural, and other nongovernmental

organizations) contribute to the overall peace-building activities in Winnipeg. Often they complement each other's effort by working together to transform a particular social conflict issue. However, FBOs inherited a legacy of peace-building work from the past and they are still in the forefront to promote and strive for social justice for minority groups in Winnipeg. Fourth, Winnipeg provides a rich tapestry of both social conflict and social justice issues as it is the birthplace of some of the significant historical events that ensured human rights in Canada and the World. Fifth, the educational institutions are perceived as contributing towards our understanding of a multicultural Winnipeg through seminars, dialogue, publications, and by providing safe spaces for people to interact with each other. Sixth, Winnipeg claims to be the only city in Canada where multiculturalism is put on display every year through Folklorama and other multicultural events. Despite criticism about its cosmetic role, it still brings together a diverse group of people under one umbrella for a few weeks every year so that the citizens of Winnipeg may become more aware of their "unity in diversity."

Chapter Three

Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

Peace is often more difficult to understand than conflict since an overt conflict can be seen while peacefulness can only be felt during the absence of conflict (Webel and Galtung 2007, 7). Galtung coined the terms “positive peace” (social justice) and “negative peace” (the absence of war) to denote that negative peace is a situation where despite the absence of direct violence, underlying social structures perpetuate social conflict (Galtung 1969). Understanding “positive peace” is important in terms of analyzing peace-building activities of different actors since it is characterized by the absence of social inequalities and marginalization based on social identities. Positive peace requires the presence of social justice and human rights.

This chapter provides a theoretical background on CBOs and social conflicts. In order to examine CBOs peace-building activities, the literature on social capital and an asset-based approach of peace-building is reviewed. Analyzing how the CBO leaders deployed their social capitals based on their organizational assets shows the potential of CBOs in conflict intervention. Next, social conflict theory will be used, with a consideration of conflict complexity, intersectionality, and structural conflict theories. Social conflict is a complex phenomenon and analyzing conflict issues and its dynamics might enable us to understand the root causes of conflict. Additionally, a brief discussion of integrative conflict intervention (through transformative dialogue) is also laid out to highlight one of the conflict intervention methods.

3.2 Complex Social Conflict in a Western Urban (Canadian) Context

CBO leaders undertake peace-building activities for specific purposes, one of which is to transform social conflicts. Social conflict should be understood in broad terms as an inter- and intra-group struggle and/or a conflict within the social-political-cultural and socio-economic structures of a particular society. The resolution/transformation of social conflict thus can take on many different forms (Wagner-Pacifici and Hall 2012, 182), chief of which are the annihilation of one party, the submission/surrender of one party to another (Wagner-Pacifici 2005). It also includes the withdrawal of some or all parties (Dersley and Wootton 2001), long-term standoffs (Wagner-Pacifici 2000), active problem-solving (Burton 1969; Hopmann 1995; Kelman 1996), resolving structural conflict (Mitchell 2002; Galtung 1969) and power-sharing (Kaufmann 1996). It can also include truth and reconciliation initiatives (Galtung 1976; Teitel 2002), the reconciliation of all parties (Ross 2004), and promoting social justice to address colonialism, social inequality, and racism (Kulchyski 1995). Moreover, social conflicts are complex and interdependent in nature (Sandole 2011); they originate and thrive among the diverse social relations of human beings (Kriesberg 1973, 1). Some scholars contend that it is a social construct because individual and group "experiences" are the starting point of social conflict, which produces grievances leading to disputes (Felstiner, Abel, and Sarat 1980, 631-632). These experiences, whether negative or positive travel through different social institutions and various social groups use it to advance their goals (Wagner-Pacifici and Hall 2012).

3.2.1 Conflict Complexity and Intersectionality

From a sociological point of view, students of social conflict can take either a systems perspective or stakeholder's perspective to analyze conflict (Gamson, 1968 cited in Kriesberg 1973, 1). However, in this study, I assume both positions to analyze social conflict from a

structural perspective (system) as well as from the group perspective (actors, partisans). Further, the social structure is composed of a number of social, economic, cultural, and political institutions, which are supposed to provide resources to individuals living in a society to meet all of their basic human needs, such as food and shelter (Maiese 2003). But this is not the case. Additionally, these components of social structure also influence and shape as well as govern each social group's so that their perceptions about social justice is deeply embedded into the fact that whether these components deliver people's basic human needs consistently and without biases to all (ibid.). Nevertheless, in many cases, we find these social institutions are directly or indirectly exploitative, and may sustain a structure that does not promote equal access to social-economical-political resources (Ibid). This situation is a direct result of power inequality. Marginal social groups cannot access the core of the decision-making cycle of the dominant social group who hold key positions in those institutions (Ibid).

It is necessary at this point to define social conflict in specific terms. Conflict is both complex and interrelated and best understood by identifying its causes among social groups, communities or crowds because it is essentially different than "role conflict " (Oberschall 1978, 291). Consequently, to understand social conflict, I studied the experiences, and perceptions of three types of actors (i.e., faith, ethno-cultural and NGO leaders) and their interpretation of social groups' interaction with the existing social structure. Further, Coser's definition of social conflict is also useful here. He states that social conflict remains centered on a "struggle over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources" and as a result social groups involved in conflict might face elimination, which contributes to developing a defensive attitude in certain social group's psyche (Coser 1967, 232). In this statement, Coser (1967) puts forward two simultaneous arguments centered on the type and nature of struggle and the on the objective of

struggle (either to re-order the existing social hierarchy or at least gain an advantageous position in accessing resources).

In addition, another noteworthy definition of social conflict contends that it is important to understand stresses caused by various actors cohabiting in a social space and time (Black 2011). Peter Black argues that conflict occurs within a specific social space, which has the capacity to fluctuate and every fluctuation impacts social time (xii). Black's concept of "social" and "moral" time with regard to social conflict is particularly intriguing. In this research I explored how people's past experience of conflict may shape how one interprets and responds to present conflict as if the past is frozen in time and space—the past controls the present, which Volkan (2001) referred to as "time collapse." This phenomenon is closely linked with preserving the group identity of various social groups by invoking and remembering the "chosen trauma"—a traumatic past experience that the group endured, which is rekindled in different contexts across time threatening their very identities (Volkan 2001, 79). Moreover, I also found that my interviewees' understanding of current social conflict issues in Winnipeg and their recommendations for possible intervention mechanisms in those conflicts appear to be consistent with Black's (2011) idea of moral time. If we can understand it, we can forecast when conflict will occur and therefore we can prepare to prevent it (Ibid, xii). In addition, understanding the nature of the social structure is important because it helps to determine how to change inter-party relations and to generate structural transformation (Mitchell 2002). In the same vein, Mitchell (2005) also argues that the unequal distribution of politico-economic goods generates conflict, which again can be related to the "mismatch between social values and the social structure" (8).

I also drew inferences both from sociology and peace studies while analyzing the nature of structural conflict as I found it relevant to this study. For example, I drew from Galtung's

(1964) structural conflict and theory of aggression to elucidate that an unjust social structure leads to violence. There are two main "visions of social structure— institutional or cultural and relational or positional" (Bernardi, Gonzalez, and Requena 2011, 163) and both are relevant to this research. First, my respondents reported that the institutional structure has already established a set of norms and beliefs. This is similar to what Parsons (1951) outlined as "differentiated roles" (ibid.). Consequently, these roles give birth to a set of "cultural models" that various social groups use to differentiate from each other; additionally, this notion also sets out-group expectations (ibid.).

For example, the three main social groups identified in this research (i.e. new immigrants, including refugees; Aboriginals; and the mainstream population) use such notions because they are already socialized with pre-existing social-cultural-economic norms. And they are now expected to conform to such norms. However, if one group resists these notions and exerts pressure to change the norms then the action generates conflict expressed in the escalation of inter-group conflict directed both against the "other" and/or against the social structure. Here, we should explore the causes of such phenomenon in order to locate the foci of norms and beliefs that are embedded in the socio-political-legal-economic structure that already privileges one social group over the others. It may empower the dominant social group (by extension the state) to set the aforementioned norms. Thus, the dominant mainstream social group lays its historic claims on economic-political power and uses cultural norms as tools to oppress others (Byrne and Senehi 2012). Second, the "relational and distributive" model proposes that inter-group social relations create the social structure (Marx 1859; Simmel 1908; and Radcliffe-Brown 1940). Consequently, social relationships among and between various social groups gain importance depending on their relative dispositions to the center of power within a social

hierarchy. This approach also focuses on inequality, control and access to resources, and social capital (ibid.). Inherent in this approach is the nature of each social group's relationship with regard to the social-ideological-political structures of the society from where it draws its strength.

Moreover, the components of social structures that I observed and later explored are interdependent, and yet they set rules and norms and expect that social groups conform to them (Parsons 1949; Durkheim 2013). For example, the economic structure is dependent on the political and cultural structures yet more often than not the political structure influences actions in the other parts of the structure (See Althusser, 2006). Further, Galtung asserts that the root of aggression can originate from the social structure if one social group perceives that others stand in the way of their "self-assertion" (1964, 95). This assertion is particularly relevant in this research since my respondents spoke about the indirect nature of violence seeming to originate from the social structure (for example, the consistent trend of murdered and missing Aboriginal women in Winnipeg and the poverty that gives rise to gang related violence). An unjust social structure can perpetuate structural violence in the form of oppression (obstructing one's ability to pursue "self-affirmation"), discrimination (denying one's social, political, economic, and human rights), and through an economic structure (blocking one's ability to achieve a minimal living standard) (Jeong 2000, 21). For example, some have argued that the current social structure created an "institutional basis for anti-Aboriginal racism" in Winnipeg and eventually it helps the "white privilege" to sustain it in many forms be it child welfare, housing, and law and order enforcement (Comack et al. 2015). Nevertheless, I found that social groupings did not occur solely due to economic reasons as "social reputation, prestige and political power" also fortify the dominant group's relative higher position in the social hierarchy (Schellenberg 1996, 85).

Correspondingly, it was evident from my research that social conflict issues seem to be the manifestation of a larger problem embedded in the social structure. However, waging conflict constructively and in a "functional" manner requires all social groups to "…indulge in cost calculations which assess the relative benefits and costs both to parties and social systems" (Mitchell 1980, 68).

3.2.2 Social Construction of Conflict and its Structural Nature

A social constructionist approach further helped me explore the structural nature of conflict and in determining the underlying dynamics of the top five social conflict issues identified by my interviewees in this research. Moreover, this approach is also congruent with the grounded theory approach (Charmaz 2003, 2006) adopted for this research (details are discussed in chapter four). Within this approach, social identity plays an important role in a group's formation and in determining its position in a social hierarchy and often, social groups are observed to be embroiled in identity struggle. Connected with the identity struggle is the broader Canadian doctrine of multiculturalism, which espouses a common frame of identity for Canadians. Canada promulgated the doctrine of multiculturalism as a formal policy to promote a sense of equal acceptance of races, religions and cultures during the tenure of Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau during the 1970s and 1980s (Kohayashi 1993).

Since 1971, multiculturalism is the official Canadian government's policy, and since 1982, an integral component of Canadian law (Government of Canada 2014).[12] The reason for doing so as propounded by Trudeau was mostly grounded in the belief that the potential of immigrants would be best realized if they could observe their own cultural/faith traditions as well as subscribe toward a greater Canadian value. This was a "mosaic" approach rather than a "melting pot" approach common to other multiethnic Western societies. This very promise made

Canada unique and drew people to her from various parts of the world. At the provincial level, the Manitoba Multiculturalism Act stipulates that "the diversity of Manitobans is a fundamental characteristic of our society […] Racial harmony shall be promoted" (Manitoba Laws 1992). The doctrine of multiculturalism is implemented in Canadian society and a substantial amount of federal, and provincial resources are also allotted to promote it. In this regard, the report of the Winnipeg based Knowles-Woodsworth Center for Theology and Public Policy as well affirms that the connection between faith and progressive politics in Canada centers on multiculturalism (The Knowles-Woodsworth Centre For Theology and Public Policy 2014).[13]

Nevertheless, in the wake of Western criticism through Germany and Britain's official denouncement of multiculturalism as failed state policies (BBC News Europe 2010; BBC News Politics 2011), the Canadian policy of multiculturalism has also come under scrutiny and criticism. Some scholars have noted an inherent tension within it (Bissoondath 1994; Barry 2002; Bannerji 2000; Fleras and Elliott 2002; Mansur 2011) for two reasons. First, Canada has adopted multiculturalism as an official policy, thereby committing itself to promote this doctrine by investing in social policies and programs. Second, under the umbrella of this doctrine, various disenchanted ethnic/faith groups are gradually aspiring to introduce their core (often indicated as tribal, feudal, anti-Western, and anti-liberal values) ethnic/religious rights into the legal and political systems.

For example, some Muslim groups sought to implement *Sharia* law in Ontario to resolve family-level conflicts (James 2008) in ways that were deemed by the government to be detrimental to Canadian liberal values as this practice might endanger the ideal multicultural society as envisaged in the doctrine. This conflict came to the fore intensely when Quebec tabled a bill titled "Charter of Values" through which it proposed to ban the wearing of religious

symbols in public workplaces. Although Quebec's citizens rejected this move overwhelmingly and the Party Quebecois-PQ that proposed the bill lost its bid in the provincial election, it still threatened Quebec's minorities. It brought to the fore the potency of divisive social policy based on secularism and liberal values. Further, some people fear that under the liberal multicultural environment and acceptable diversity within Canada, some ethnic/religious groups desire too much political spaces, which might potentially exacerbate inter-group conflict (Davidson 2011; Foster 2011; Persichilli 2010). In this regard, Mansur's (2011) view is particularly important where he presented a prevailing dichotomy regarding multiculturalism. He posited that the notion emanated from this ideology, which asserts that all cultures (hence multi-culture) have equal value and deserve equal treatment, actually undermines the liberal values grounded in individual rights and freedom, and is a potential source of social conflict (12-27).

Unique to the Canadian context is its celebrated social policy of multiculturalism, which asserts that "multiculturalism is a sociological fact of Canadian life" (Library of Parliament 2009, 1). This axiom has given rise to ethno-cultural community-based organizations (ECBOs). Unlike other immigrant dependent countries like the US, the UK, many countries in Europe and Australia, the Canadian government invests in the promotion of this social policy. I found that little research has explored the effectiveness or the potential of multiculturalism at the grassroots level especially the effectiveness of these ECBOs in social conflict transformation and peace-building. For example, one of two studies about ECBOs in Manitoba (one exclusively focused on a single ethnocultural group—Bangladeshi's living in Winnipeg and the other focused on various cultural groups residing in rural Manitoba) discovered three conflicts. These "three emerging crises: 1) the emergence of conflicts and divisions, 2) the trauma of security vulnerability, and 3) identity crisis and identity-insecurity" (Mohiuddin 2009, 44). The other study focused on the

activities of ECBOs in rural Manitoba. It observed that "[e]thnocultural organizations value cultural celebration, and one of their top priorities is to preserve cultural traditions. Providing a source of social relationships and interaction is also valued by these organizations as well as extending assistance to newcomers" (Bucklaschuk 2008, ii). The literature on the present role and contributions of CBOs based in Winnipeg is not available.

Moreover, often researchers either try to understand elite-level actors in a society (Crawford and Olson 2001; Djupe and Gilbert 2003; Djupe, Olson, and Gilbert 2005) or grassroots-level actors/mass public (Green 1996; Kellstedt et al. 1994), missing the important link in between, which can build a bridge between top-level elites and grassroots-level citizens (Furbey and Lowndes 2009; Lederach 1997). Given this context, Canadian multiculturalism now stands at a crossroad between "utopia and social reality" (Zine 2012, 9). In addition, my interviewees noted the presence of a notion of "ambivalent character of the stranger" (Bygnes 2013, 127) in Canadian multiculturalism. They suggested that Aboriginal peoples (and new immigrants including refugees) do not quite feel like Canadians despite the fact that they are the original inhabitants of the land.

My research participants pointed out the existence of racism and intolerance in Winnipeg as a major conflict issue. The type of racism is not overtly manifested; rather, it appears to be subtle and often not pronounced, as it seems to be well hidden in the structure. Nevertheless, "racism is a social injustice" and it is a social construction based on false assumptions that are used to control the access to resources by the dominant social group (MacKinnon, 2004 cited in Loppie, Reading, and Leeuw 2014, 1). In this regard, critical race theory (CRT) is important in understanding how people think about the law, racial categories and privilege (Harris 1993). Originating in the 1970s in the U.S., CRT pointed towards the stalling of the American civil

rights movement's momentum, which promised social change by championing equity (Ian 2000). The findings of my research can also be related to four basic CRT philosophies. One, racism is normal, ordinary and people from a minority group experience it every day. Two, this type of informal racism is difficult to address and often the state adopts a "colour-blind" approach that apparently seeks to eliminate overt racism. For example, the promised advantage of 'employment equity' through the VM act in Canada's Charter of Rights, and provincial human rights code illustrate this point. Three, this type of racism advances the "interest-convergence" of both the ruling/dominating class (materially) and minority/working class (psychologically). For example, some might contend that the founding of the Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development ministry under the federal government and Multiculturalism ministry at the federal and provincial levels advances such interest convergence (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada 2014). Four, racism is a social construction derived from social relations and created by the meta narratives within a society. For example, Aboriginal people are portrayed as lazy and intellectually inferior; refugees always revert to social assistance; and all Sunni Muslims are terrorists (Ian 2000).

More interestingly, Ian's (2000) research shows that "differential racism" has been the practice in Canada for many years, which can also be explained using CRT. For example, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Canada began to seek skilled people to come to work in the agricultural sector. This brought Ukrainians, Mennonites, and Hutterites to Canada who all had a rich history of agricultural acumen. Nevertheless, when World War I started and the Austrians invaded a part of Ukraine, the people who lived in the occupied zone were perceived as enemy aliens (since Austria was fighting against the Commonwealth) even if they lived in Canada at that time; many Ukrainians eventually ended up in various internment camps throughout Canada

(Skrypuch 2012). A few other cases of a similar nature are worth mentioning namely, the "Chinese Exclusion Act" and head tax with regards to Chinese labourers in Canada (Library and Archives Canada 2009) and ethnoreligious conflict due to Orangeism and the powerful Protestant elite vs. French and Irish Catholics in Canada (Kaufmann 2007; McGowan 1999). This phenomenon of differential racism was also observed in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attack when some Canadians suddenly changed their attitudes towards their Muslims neighbors.

Based on the idea that race is a social construction, "human interaction" remains at the root of it because constant interactions create new meanings (Ian 2000, 168). In the same vein, the subjective meanings of one's experiences directed toward a certain object vary depending on the social-political-economic-cultural situation and geographical location. These meanings are varied and multiple, which led me to look for broader sets of views rather than narrower meanings in this study. Moreover, my research participants informed me that these subjective meanings could be negotiated socially and historically. They are not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interaction with others (social constructivism) and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individual's lives. Rather than starting with a theory, in this research I wanted to generate or inductively develop a theoretical conceptual pattern of meaning based on the social construction of knowledge (Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba 2011; Schwandt 2001; Neuman 2010). In this regard, I found the "constructivist" (i.e., shared construction of reality) approach useful in explaining most of the research findings (Kanselaar et al. 2000, 55).

Historically, there are two trends within the constructivist approach used to describe knowledge construction. First, cognitive constructivism, an individualistic perspective propounded by Jean Piaget (1896–1980) and second, the social-cultural constructivism (socio-

constructivist perspective) used by Lev Vygotsky (1896–1934). I prefer the latter approach, as it is more suitable to explain the present context of the research (Ibid., 55). In this approach, emphasis is placed on the inter-group interaction and the creation of understanding through the exchange of information. The participants in the research in the truest sense co-created the knowledge about the many causes of social conflict they observed, and they explained how social conflict issues affect people at different levels of their social lives. They also outlined how various CBO groups mediate the process of knowing through their interactions, and how they propose to transform conflict in Winnipeg.

Major historical events (for example, both World Wars, terrorist incidents) may influence states to be fearful of their own citizens who they may perceive to be internal security threats that may provoke them to take unprecedented security measures and securitization (Canada's War Measures Act is one such example) (The Canadian Encyclopedia 2014b). The result may be that certain minorities may become subjected to state surveillance and monitoring. Such a trend initiates the process of "racialization" as identified by Sheth (2009, 51). The media also plays a major role in propagating the idea of an "enemy within" perception, which may then be corroborated by state policies (for example, security certificate, counter terrorism acts, and state surveillance) (Bramadat and Dawson 2014). Consequently, deliberate securitization has given rise to a phenomenon of dual fear as on one side, government agencies have become afraid of some of its citizens' activities and on the other side, the citizens have become frightened of state law enforcement agencies.

For example, at an individual or micro level, due to the involvement of a few of its adherents in terrorism acts, the Muslim community has been vilified wholesale (Poynting and Perry 2007). However, at the macro or national level, the state wages a conflict in the name of

national security. This is how both the state and its citizens get embroiled in an asymmetric struggle. By the same token, state-sponsored fear originating at the macro level is difficult to overcome at the micro level and history is replete with examples where intimidated, desperate people chose asymmetric responses (i.e. domestic terrorism) as a means of resistance (Bowen 2004). Nevertheless, this does not suggest that violence should be adopted as a tool of resistance; it merely indicates a probability of violent resistance as a net output of securitization. In addition, it is often found that relationships among actors embroiled in terrorism and political violence are often not "linear" rather it is complex. This changes across time and context pushing less powerful actors to pursue their goals at an individual, national and strategic level too (Marsden 2012, 145). Consequent to the rise of securitization, stereotyping and generalizing become rampant intensifying inter-group conflict in society. For example, since 9/11, stereotyping based on ethnic/religious/cultural identity has become a trend in many Western societies, including Winnipeg (Abreu 2001; Kunda and Spencer 2003).

3.3 Community based Peace-building and Conflict Intervention

In this section, the literature related to identifying communities based on their collaborative peace-building works is enumerated. Among the CBOs there were faith, ethno-cultural, and NGOs. The faith community uses its faith identity whereas ethno-cultural groups use their ethnic and cultural identities, and NGOs use their altruistic philosophies as their working functional identities. The term 'community' is complex and widely debated, and subject to different interpretations that cover a variety of more or less overlapping notions. For this study, community is understood as "consisting of individuals, groups and institutions based in the same area and/or having shared interests" (OSCE 2014, 61-63). Grouping different types of people together creates a community and there are two principal approaches to do so namely,

geographical (mostly used at the top tier, policy level, development sectors); and ideological (middle tier and grassroots level, faith, religion, culture, activity, etc.). "Communities of interest" bring together individuals, groups, and institutions that have one or more interests in common" (note 6, cited in Ibid, 61-62). The FBOs, ECBOs, and NGOs that participated in this research all have some shared common interests, and that is to do social good and promote social justice for all. In this research, the above stated three different types of community organizations are treated as one unit—that is, the community-based organization.

It has been observed that while numerous researchers evaluated impacts of peace-building projects in conflict transformation in the context of developing and under-developed countries, little research has been carried out in a North American urban context. For example, Abu-Nimer and S.A. Kadayifci Orellana (2008) analyzed effective conflict resolution models and practices for sustainable peace in Muslim societies (data collected from the Balkans and the Great Lakes region). In their study, the authors evaluated Muslim peace-builders' efforts and their strengths and weaknesses in peace-building in two developing areas. They posited that religion can be a source of conflict as well as peace depending on the intentions of religious actors. Moreover, religion can be used to alter behavior and attitudes and to change negative stereotypes of different groups of people living in a society (i.e. the 'other').

Bouta et al. (2005) also studied faith-based peace-building in conflict situations by mapping and analyzing 27 Christian, Muslim, and multi-faith actors (i.e. FBOs) mostly operating in European cities. Their findings highlight that while faith actors have a strong motivation to do social good based on their moral commitment, their long-term presence within the conflict environment and a capacity to mobilize different social actors are invaluable. Nevertheless, their

work might “comprise the risk of proselytization and a possible lack of professionalism.” Additionally, measuring impacts of their work remains as a challenge (ibid).

Musa and Bendett (2010) studied conflict regarding domestic terrorism (with special emphasis on Islamic radicalization in the U.S.). They identified the contribution of a wide range of local partners (i.e. NGOs and FBOs) in its resolution. This was made possible by the fact that a faith community should not be reduced to a single identity since it is essentially “diverse along ethnic, social, confessional, and geopolitical lines and does not represent a single Islamic point of view” (ibid, 5).

Abu-Nimer et al. (2007) documented the effect of Interfaith Dialogue (IFD) processes in the Middle East. Drawing from their research findings, the authors dispel the assumption that religious differences are the core of political problems in the Middle East conflict. They also posited that a “successful IFD model” hardly exists. Rather, organized and, more often than not, un-organized dialogues by local faith based actors (FBO leaders) as well as lay people play an important role to bring embattled social groups on a common ground.

Morgan (2008) conducted a qualitative study about the faith-based values of exemplar Muslim and Christian interfaith peacemakers (i.e. FBO leaders) to promote Muslim Christian dialogue in the U.S. While exploring their work, he discovered their “peacemaking methodologies” (ibid, 37). He also observed five dominating themes amongst the peacemakers: principles, personal responsibility, purpose, process, and praxis (ibid, pp, 45-63). These thematic areas and their interplay are important in understanding local peace-building in Western urban contexts.

Bercovitch and Kadayifci-Orellana (2009) and Sampson (2007) discussed the role of faith-based mediation in international relations and explored the impacts of religion and peace-

building in national and international conflict negotiations. One of the important findings from their research points out that faith-based actors (i.e. FBOs) naturally enjoy some degree of legitimacy over other actors engaged in mediation and they can leverage from their networks and experiences to successfully mediate between conflict parties. Johnston (2003) argued that due to the lack of understanding of religious dynamics in many regions (such as the Middle East and South Asia) diplomacy to resolve international conflicts often does not succeed. Paffenholz (2005) studied the linkage between peace-building and integrated development in some conflict zones in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. She found that development activities, while undertaken with good intention, do not contribute to conflict resolution, and sometimes exacerbate conflicts. She also highlighted the absence of methods and a commonly agreed upon assessment criteria to evaluate peace and development work in post-conflict areas.

Yilmaz (2010) examined the utilization of social capital for sustainable development and peace-building in global conflict zones by faith-based movements. He found that volunteer faith actors are a part of civil society, and organize and lead numerous faith-based movements in developing and developed countries. Most importantly, their educational and charity projects can contribute significantly in ensuring social equity and socio-economic-political sustainability without costing anything to the public purse. He also believed that "these movements utilize their social capital, without any cost to the host states, to help realize their citizens' full potential by offering them educational services" (ibid, 191).

Dicklitch and Rice (2004) analyzed the contributions of Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and other faith-based NGOs providing aid in Africa. Reflecting on MCCs work in 20 African countries, they observed how MCCs holistic approach to basic rights and human empowerment programs founded on the ideologies of social justice can contribute to conflict

transformation. Further, they found that small incremental work is indeed effective for grassroots level conflict intervention in the long run. This insight is particularly relevant to my research. Haynes (2009) researched the role of religion, conflict resolution, and peace-building for conflicts in Mozambique, Nigeria, and Cambodia. Based on a series of case studies, he found that "religious forces can play constructive role in helping to resolve conflict… [in] providing early warnings for conflict and good offices once conflict has erupted" (ibid, 52).

Moyer et al. (2004) documented the activities of faith-based organizations in environmental and developmental work in Kenya. In particular, they observed that FBOs have the capacity to produce social capital and effect "sustainable and holistic change" because FBOs are rooted in its communities that respect and value its work (ibid, 959). Kelleher and Johnson (2008) compared the activities of religious communities as peacemakers to investigate grassroots peace processes in Sudan (north and south) and Northern Ireland. One of the important findings of this study shows that local NGOs have the capacity to bring deeply divided social groups into "constructive inter-ethnic interaction" affecting the reconciliation process (ibid, 148). Obiekwe (2009) explored an appropriate peacemaking/peace-building paradigm through a religious point of view. He conceptualized this as the "moral trajectory of reconciliation at peace" in dealing with Africa's intrastate violent conflicts because he found that conflicts are localized and complex in nature (ibid, 5). Here he used Lederach's faith-based conflict transformation peace-building approach that underpinned two essential concepts: "conflict is good and change is a constructive human endeavor" (ibid, 6).

Gerstbauer et al. (2010) analyzed the faith-based peace-building work of World Vision, Catholic Relief Services, and MCC in underdeveloped countries searching for the answer to the often under explored question of why these organizations undertake peace-building work. These

scholars opined that agency leadership and the compatibility of peace-building within these NGOs' primary missions as faith-based relief and development agencies, in fact, motivate them to do so.

Kirmani and Khan (2008) examined the contributions of the Islamic Relief's Services work with refugees and internally displaced persons (IDP) worldwide. They observed that this FBO helps to build trust amongst refugee communities by responding to and in facilitating a greater sensitivity to their spiritual needs. They also assert that if interfaith cooperation amongst FBOs is fostered within the conflict area, the possible resolution of conflict can happen. Nevertheless, they also found that due to the very status of these types of FBOs certain complicacies (such as tension between state and NGO) might also occur in certain contexts.

Some research has been conducted about community-based peace-building in conflict-affected societies (Haider 2009) and in small families (Hearts 4 Peace 2010). However, little academic research has taken into account the role of CBOs in peace-building in a Canadian context and this is why I decided to explore the CBOs capacity in peace-building. According to the "ineractionist paradigm" in sociology, community-based organizations provide members with a sense of connection to the larger group and a sense of meaning and purpose (Godwyn and Hoffer 2011, xv). I was particularly interested in exploring the existing literature on community driven conflict intervention because a large number of faith, ethno-religious, and NGOs operate and contribute greatly in the peace-building landscape of Winnipeg. Moreover, during my research fieldwork, I was fascinated to explore the fact that both secular ideology driven and faith driven community organizations work side by side yet the current knowledge is inadequate to understand the role faith plays in peacemaking and peace-building in a Western urban (Canadian context). A faith-based approach to conflict transformation and peace-building

remains understudied in a Western urban context such as Winnipeg's because of an assumption that faith has a limited role to play in public life. Western states categorically remained uncommitted to most faith-based peace-building actions because its citizens might think that states purposefully promote certain faiths over others, therefore, violating neutrality. This is further corroborated by the fact that "years of academic neglect and avoidance of studying religious-related topics have left social scientists of our time lacking the know-how and the real experience in studying faith-based organizations [and their contributions in peace-building]" (Cnaan and Boddie 2006, 9).

Further, community-based NGOs oftentimes can play an important role in grassroots level peace-building provided they are reasonably empowered. For example, Byrne and Ayulo's (1998) and Byrne and Irvin's (2001) research in Northern Ireland and the Border region of the Irish Republic shows that states can be challenged by the empowerment of NGOs through economic aid. Thus, it is not only difficult to see but also equally difficult to acknowledge the work of hundreds of Church-based organizations and non-Christian FBOs in alleviating poverty, sheltering the homeless, and providing a voice for the voiceless. Religious institutions tend to be the reservoirs of moral virtues that teach spiritual discipline (William 2004, 169). This study also confirms a trend of rapid decline in attendance in the mainstream Christian denominations (i.e., United Church of Canada and the Anglican Church) particularly within the mainstream social group in Winnipeg. Yet at the same time it also confirms the surge of attendance among other faith adherents (for example, Catholic Christian immigrants from the Philippines, Pakistan, and Africa; and Evangelicals) and non-Christian faiths (for example, Jewish, Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim faiths). As the number of immigrants steadily increases so too does their attendance at various religious/faith functions, ceremonies and activities because religious identity may be the

most secure identity for them. For example, a local charity raised a lot of money to help the disaster stricken people during the cyclone on the Philippines coast in 2013 (Bender 2013) and when Norendra Modi, the Indian Prime Minister visited Canada recently his top destinations in Toronto, Ottawa, and Vancouver included traditional Hindu temples founded by the Hindu Diaspora.

Further, as more and more mainstream and Evangelical Churches are getting involved in social justice issues, they are attracting people to their ministries (Hoef 2013). This seems to confirm the fact that "people's overall belief in God hasn't declined. What's declined is people's participation in religion" (Wente 2012). This is to say that the blanket critiquing of any faith activities in the defense of state secularism is not healthy for a multicultural society like Winnipeg. Such efforts essentially may enliven and reinforce "dogmatism, illiberalism, scapegoating, arbitrary power, antidemocratic authority, and the propensity to dissemble and lie" (Ibid, 164). Besides a declining Church attendance, the 2011 NHS, STATSCAN survey found that 29 percent of Winnipeggers reported no religious affiliation (STATSCAN 2013b). On the other hand, the Evangelical Christian right is popular and gaining ground by providing Basic Human Needs (BHN) to the poor and needy. Hezbollah in Lebanon also adopted such a strategy providing social service and charity to the Shiite populace (Flanigan and Abdel-Samad 2009). So, there are two contending streams seeking to attract and retain their followers along with the third (secular) stream equally powerful in Winnipeg making it a complex and contested ground.

Over the last two decades, numerous international initiatives were undertaken to bring different faith groups' leaders together to envision world peace through dialogue. At a fundamental level, dialogue is a tool of social conflict intervention (Fisher 1997, 124). This is advocated at an institutional level—for example, the religion and peacemaking center at the UN

University of Peace, the World Parliament of Religions (Council for a Parliament of the World's Religion 2014) or by King Hassan of Jordan's initiative on inter-religious dialogue (The Royal Institute for Inter-faith Studies 2013). At the academic level, numerous Mennonite, Quaker, Catholic, and Church of the Brethren universities and colleges offer degree programs in social justice and peace-building. At an individual level, scholars such as Scott Appleby (2000) brought forward justice, religion, and human rights into the center of peace studies (x). David Little (2007) also demonstrated how religiously motivated individuals across the globe leverage their "unique statures" (4) to bring intractable conflicts to an end nonviolently as in East Timor. Further, Marc Gopin (2000) stressed that the "theories of peacemaking and conflict resolution need to analyze the nature of the leaders in society who have the courage to advocate peace with an enemy even when they are subject to ridicule" (15). Abu-Nimer et al. (2007) and Abu-Nimer (1999) emphasized the central role of interfaith dialogue in peace-building. Through his academic work and activism, Abu-Nimer also posited that dialogue could play a significant role in bringing about social change if properly applied dialogue can be an effective tool for political activism. He is involved with the King Abdullah Bin Abdulaziz International Centre for Interreligious and Intercultural Dialogue (KAICIID) because he believes "that dialogue among people of different religions and cultures is the path to lasting peace and social cohesion" (KAICIID 2015).

Core ideas regarding peace-building can be traced back to the then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali in the 1992 and 1995 editions of "An Agenda for Peace." He underlined this concept as an extension of existing Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs), which emphasized "support structures" that prevents conflicts from reoccurring (Boutros-Ghali 1995, 822). The concept of peace-building is often labeled as "elastic, popular, and ambitious" in terms of its

attainment, but in essence, it relies on creating infrastructures and enabling conditions so that a sustainable or lasting peace prevails in countries once ravaged by armed conflict (David 1999, 25). Peace-building includes, but is not limited to, creative intervention methods undertaken in concert with various actors so that the causes of overt violence are significantly reduced (Byrne et al. 2008). Moreover, the stimuli causing structural conflict needs to be taken care of in order to build structures for sustainable peace (Galtung 1969).

In this study, the term "peace-building" is used to denote a "sustained, co-operative work to deal with underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems" (Annan 1992). Kofi Annan, who followed Boutros Ghali as UN Secretary General, elaborated upon the concept of peace-building. He called it a dynamic process that aims at building social-economic structures through various creative activities. In turn, these structures should reduce the risk of a relapse into violence and would facilitate "reconciliation, reconstruction and recovery" (Annan 2004, 28). Annan also emphasized the need for "laying a solid foundation" during the peace-building process. Although peace-building encompasses a wide variety of actions, it includes "longer-term development, and the building of governance structures" (Morris 2000). In this regard Lederach (1997) used the "construction" metaphor to explain peace-building, which underpins two essential elements: a long term process and a transformation of social relationships through structural relational change (82–83). Thus, peace-building "is a multilateral and not a unilateral process" (Sandole 2011, 14). In addition, Haugerudbraaten (1998) suggested six dimensions of peace-building, namely, the aim, the means, the temporal aspects, the main actors, the process/action dimension, and the organization (18-19).

Having discussed peace-building in general terms in the preceding paragraphs, it is pertinent to understand how various community organizations translate the core philosophies of

peace-building in their work. In this regard, some scholars found value in determining the strength and weaknesses of inter-group social relationships and social groups interaction with the social structure in peace-building, recognizing the fact that the conflict reality is also dependent on inter-group social interaction (Follett 1924, 42 cited in Godwyn and Hoffer 2011, xvi). Here the relatedness of peace-building work and the integration of different social groups within a scheme of conflict transformation are of paramount importance. They also connect with the concept of social capital and an asset-based approach to peace-building in this research, what Ansell (2009) termed "a relational" scheme (cited in Ibid, xvi). Moreover, I tried to understand the works of CBOs through their leader's perceptions about social conflict transformations through interpreting the meaning of social life. I was interested in how they perceived the historical problems of domination, alienation, and social struggles, and how they critiqued society to envision new possibilities (See Morrow and Brown 1994). Thus, various CBOs in Winnipeg carry out their peace-building work with the resources available, and they are using them creatively to develop new approaches to transform conflicts (Mediation Services 2012).

After examining the multidisciplinary character of peace research, Alger (2007) concluded that "virtually all organizations have peacemaking and peace-building potential: governmental, NGO/civil society and business" (122). Similarly, Lederach (1997) propounded a conceptually integrated peace-building framework which suggests an all-inclusive approach to conflict transformation by addressing structural issues and the progression of conflict through reconciliation and in building relationships. Likewise, another comprehensive framework for conflict transformation and peace-building is proposed by Diamond and McDonald (1996) who defined it as Multi-Track diplomacy. This approach had been adopted in this research in addition to the concepts of Track One diplomacy (formal government diplomatic actions), Track Two

diplomacy (non-governmental informal diplomatic actions or "citizen diplomacy"), and it consists of nine tracks peace-building activities (Ibid, 4-7). In this regard several holistic approaches to peace-building are also taken into account in this research while analyzing different peace-building projects (See Galtung 1976, 2006; Montiel 2001; McEvoy-Levy 2006a; Paffenholz 2009).

Just as finding the strength and weakness of inter-group social relationships is important to measure the sustainability of peace-building activities, so too is the measurement of social groups expectation with regard to social justice (perceived or real). Selected CBO leaders reported that they were not only increasingly paying attention to people's needs, their organizations were also seeking people's active participation in promoting social justice. Most importantly, the expectation for minority social class/groups to be equally served with justice is so profound in this society that it has created a different reality where they dream of being equally treated, therefore, any unmet justice naturally frustrates them. Drawing from the seminal work of John Rawls' *Theory of Justice* (1972) social justice can be said to depend on an individual's worldview. It can also be explained in terms of broader perspectives—"libertarian, conservative, liberal democratic, communitarian, feminist and Marxist" (Pinkerton and Campbell 2002, 725). Despite having a diversified concept of social justice, Galtung (1964) viewed it as the "integration of human society" (Cited in Galtung 1969, 2) to include all components of society without discrimination. Drawing upon the idea of a "sphere of justice" where inequality is viewed as a complex affair in a lasting struggle of controlling the "dominant good" (for example, physical power, familial reputation, religious or political authority, wealth, capital, and technical knowledge), it is useful to relate oppression and domination in terms of spheres (Waltzer 1983) within a society. More precisely, equity is tied to the idea of understanding and

providing people "what they need to enjoy full, healthy lives" whereas equality, "aims to ensure that everyone gets the same things in order to enjoy full, healthy lives" [14]. Simply put, "equity is the means, equality is the result".[15]

Although, interpreting the inequality from a material point of view relates to the unequal distribution of goods, and services, economic inequality also encompasses the intersectionality of culture, gender, environment, education, race, and the social esteem of people living in a society (Giesen and Nobre 2010). Inequality has several effects, including the deprived segment of a population's compliance with powerful non-state actors or radical groups willing to wage social unrest. While equality is about the distribution of goods and services, equity is viewed as people's perceptions that they are being treated justly through the equitable apportionment of resources. It also emphasizes "equitable relationships" between, and among all members of a social group based on relative worth (Walster, Berscheid, and Walster 1976, 2). An inequitable relationship can cause conflict and proper attention must be given in a conflict resolution process to eliminate inequity (Hatfield and Sprecher 1983).

CBOs participation and contribution in peace-building can be marred by the fact that most, if not all, CBOs cannot dissociate from the current social, political, economic, and cultural structures within which they operate They are often perceived as extensions of colonial institutions used to oppress people. For example, Canada in general and Winnipeg in particular inherited the legacy of an oppressive situation that appears to be still fostered by the state and its social structure using a meta-narrative (us vs. them) while reviewing the history of residential schools, and people's perceptions of minority issues (Henderson and Wakeham 2009). Nevertheless, I also became aware of a notion of resistance going on against the present social

structure in Winnipeg by the Idle No More (INM) and other environmental protection movements, what Said termed as a bi-product of colonization (Ibid, xii).

Yet resistance to authority and replacing its grand-narrative with a counter-narrative or story is inherently challenging and a more complex endeavor (Senehi, 2009). However, we now observe intolerance towards constructive criticism of social policies, state agencies, and social discourse on politically contentious issues (such as national security). Nevertheless, through research and activism, Foucault suggested generating an "insurrection of subjugated knowledges," which is not associated with the elite level rather it resides among the downtrodden (Foucault 1980, 80-82) to challenge the majoritarian attitude. That is probably why Foucault recommended the Nietzschean term "genealogy" to deconstruct the grand-narrative and uncover the hidden conflict and power dynamics that prevails in a social structure. In this regard, Foucault also referred to people's relations with power through a "bottom-up model of power" (Cited in Sara 2003, 34). Nevertheless, liberation from the conflict grand-narrative requires critical study of the society and its subjects through the use of "conscientizaco." It helps in "the awakening of critical consciousness [that] leads the way to the expression of social discontents precisely because these discontents are real components of an oppressive situation" (Francisco Weffort 1967 cited in Freire 2000, 36). In this regard, Senehi (2009) also observed that sometimes "destructive storytelling" has a role in reinforcing the prevailing grand-narrative if it "mask[s] inequalities and injustice, inflame negative emotions, and misrepresent society" (203). Moreover, a linkage exists between narrative and the action of various social groups because "narratives serve as a rationale for action" (Senehi 2002, 43). In addition, society may create its own reality to serve its purpose (with specific reference to capitalist societies) is useful here (Illich, 3).

3.3.1 Community Based (CB) Peace-building in Context

Community is a fluid term commonly found in development, peace-building, conflict intervention, and last but not the least governance and politics related academic literatures. In the same vein, one community expert posits that the definitions of communities are "elusive, imprecise, contradictory and controversial" (Popple 1995, 3 cited in Asiedu 2010, 56). Another scholar while referring to Jocelyn Cornwell's community-based works in East London identified the definition of community as a "ubiquitous term which has been used in personal, political, cultural, geographical, historical, national and international settings" (Asiedu 2010, 56). Nevertheless, for my research I did not confine myself to a rigid set of concepts to define community such as a community formed within a specific geographical area within the city, or a group of people with a common ethno-cultural identity living in a particular place. Rather I relied on "a core feature of regular, cooperative interactions among a set of people over time" for undertaking peace-building activities (ibid, 57). Hence, my approach to identify a community is based on the idea of "same values and norms" since "it is assumed that people with same values and norms can solve problems among themselves better than people with different values can" (Agarwal and Gibson 1999, cited in ibid). Finally, for peace-building activity purposes, my understanding of a community includes the following three assumptions: (1) comprising a group of people who share broad developmental goals; (2) governing social behaviour and relationships by social norms; and (3) excluding those who do not belong to that community" (OED, 2005,76, cited in ibid, 57).

Schwarz (2005) posited that peace-building activities of various external actors in the modern state (i.e. Western societies) can be categorized into "three core functions of the Weberian state, namely to provide security, socio-economic opportunities and well-being

(welfare), and a robust framework of justice and the rule of law (representation)" (2). Keeping this broad framework in mind, this research particularly looked into CBO leader's perceptions of their communities and how they view their activities. These fall within the ambit of community-based (CB) peace-building instead of just Community Located (CL) activities (Asiedu 2010). A clear distinction can be made between these two types of activities: CB projects are those who are "chosen, selected or/and controlled by the community" (ibid, 2). CL projects are merely located within a community (ethnic, cultural or faith), has some community participation that are planned and directed by outside agencies (governmental, non-governmental or international) (ibid, 2). In this research, although, both CB and CL projects were identified and leaders' perceptions were mapped based on their peace-building experiences, it was observed that FBOs run more CB projects than ECBOs and NGOs in Winnipeg.

The literature on the meso level community actors as peace-building agents especially in a Western urban context in general and Canada in particular is relatively few. In fact, most of the academic literature on CB or CL peace-building work covered developing, under developed, and post-armed conflict areas. For example, Boege (2011, 433) pointed out the existing and emerging "hybrid political orders" prevailing in the global south where "non-state traditional actors and institutions [NGOs, multi-national enterprises]" contribute to resolve violent conflicts and contribute to peace-building. Similarly, Bush (2004) used Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) tools to show how the nexus between local government and peace-building activities in places like Philippines, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Palestinian territories helped to transform conflicts. Bush (2004) also discussed not only the potential and capacities of Canadian municipal government in local peace-building he also saw the possibility of extrapolating such experiences of local peace-builders in conflict prone areas outside Canada. In

the same vein Jeong (2005) discussed similar activities for conflict intervention once linked to a long-term peace-building process can bring desired results. Jarstad and Sisk (2008) shared their experiences of dilemmas of peace-building during post-war situations. Bollens (1999) compared the nature and dynamics of urban peace-building in Belfast and Johannesburg. McEvoy-Levy (2006b) discussed youth related peace-building activities in post–peace accord Northern Ireland. Reychler and Paffenholz (2001) documented the roles of NGOs and civil society for disarmament in conflict zones. Cousens, Kumar, and Wermester (2001) analyzed peace-building activities in Somalia, Cambodia, Haiti, Bosnia, and El Salvador, while Dicklitch and Rice (2004) shared the experiences of the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and faith-based NGO aid activities in Africa.

The 1992 UN document initially used the term peace-building and UN programs traditionally promote peace-building activities in conflict-torn areas. In this regard some studies reflect on the contributions of "conflict mediators" or external actors in peace-building (Papagianni, 2010 cited in Chetail and Jütersonke 2015). Others illustrate how a complex linkage develops among donor, program delivering agencies, and subscribers while working in security and development related activities within a broader peace-building environment (Uvin, 2002, Hazen 2007 cited in ibid). Similarly, Cutter (2005) cited John Paul Lederach's (1998) work in peace-building with special emphasis on the "independent consultants based in the global North or West (i.e., the 'developed' countries) who work on conflict and crises in the global South (i.e. 'developing' countries)" (782). This is particularly important because while the knowledge, resource and expertise for peace-building work is generally imported from the global North to the South (some scholars termed it as "liberal peace-building" (Richmond 2006) or "liberal internationalism"), similar activities when undertaken within the 'global North's own

communities' draws little or no criticism. However, the critiques of externally driven peace-building models justifiably abound because they are often planned based on superficial consensus between the donor and subscriber, what Heathershaw (2008) called "pragmatic peace-building" (599). It is needless to mention here that peace-building activities in Winnipeg also exhibit some or most of the phenomenon highlighted above.

Assessing the impacts of peace-building work for conflict transformation is challenging. For example, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, and the UK (commonly referred to as the U4) met at Utstein in 1999. They highlighted the inevitable problem of evaluating peace-building activities that these countries funded in developing and underdeveloped nations throughout the globe. In this regard, a study report was released, which states the obvious as follows:

> The study identifies a major strategic deficit in the peace-building efforts of the U4. The problem is visible in the fact that more than 55 per cent of the projects do not show any link to a broader strategy for the country in which they are implemented. Some projects are not linked to a broader strategy because there is no strategy for them to be linked to. Planning is based on relatively little analysis, and there are important conceptual confusions and uncertainties. There are problems about the timing of financial flows. The influx of resources has unwanted effects in war torn countries. There is no known way of reliably assessing the impact of peace-building projects. There is recognition of a major need for coordination within and between governments and with IGOs and NGOs. The knowledge of key personnel about peace-building issues is improving with experience (Smith 2004a, 10, 11).

This adequately sums up not only the challenges of carrying out the impact assessment of peace-building work but also points to the necessity of coordination among the agencies and states who are involved in it.

3.3.2 Social Capital and an Asset-Based Approach to Peace-building (ABAP)

Understanding social capital is critical for exploring a range of peace-building activities that the CBOs undertake to transform conflict. In its simplest form, social capital attempts to explain human "behaviour" by analyzing factors such as "trust, networks and norms" (Bartkus and Davis 2010, 1). Social capital also means the "intangible resources of community, shared values and

trust upon which we draw in daily life" (Bloomfield 2003, i). This theoretical concept can be traced to the classical idea of the Marxist notion of capital (the surplus value) and the process through which social interaction between bourgeoisie and proletariat took place during commodity production and the consumption process (Lin 2004). Since Adam Smith's (1937) first use of the term human capital, the concept was given credibility in 1961 by Theodore W. Schulz's presidential address at the American Economic Association where he identified sets of "mutually beneficial collective actions" (Krishna 2002, ix). The concept also attempts to identify existing relationships among actors who live and work hard to achieve some goals based on their values and relying on their relationships (Field 2008, 1). The utility of social capital is found in poverty reduction strategies and "local neighbourhood revitalization" projects and ensuring equalities (Jennings 2007, 1). Further, social capital is generated through the interaction of social connections and social relations. These can be useful tools not only in identifying resources used by CBOs but also in building upon the existing resources. In addition, Coleman (1994, 302) suggests that "social capital is defined by its function" (Cited in Bloomfield 2003, 26).

There is a growing interest among academics and practitioners alike in understanding the impact of "social capital theory in peace studies" and also in "exploring the roles of trust and associational membership in violence and in conflict resolution" (Cox 2008, 2). However, a significant amount of research has explored social capital's evil impact in promoting ethnopolitical and criminal violence in Northern Ireland (Roberto 2008), Russia (Leah 2008), and Latin America (Jose 2008; Patriciah 2008). Conversely, social capital has also been a catalyst for peace at least in Sri Lanka (Sandya 2008), Mali (Keith 2008), and Cyprus (Raymond 2008). Of special interest is to observe how social relationships between and among the actors based on bonding and bridging (elements of social capital) affects societal cohesion, as Putnam

(2000) argues. This is similar to Woolcock's (1998) suggestion that at the micro and macro level both “bonding (embeddedness) and bridging (autonomous)” can contribute to economic development (Nan 2008, 172). In addition, Nan (2008) also suggests that “social capital in networks” can also help conflict resolution processes and peace-building (Ibid, 173). Consequently, an attempt to define social capital should not be viewed without the pervasive existence of the social structure. Here, we might take into account two contending approaches proposed by Bourdieu (1983/1986) who suggested that social capital as a process might reinforce the privileged status-quo, whereas Coleman (1990), and Putnam (1993, 1995) contended that it is all about public good whomever promotes or contributes to its advancement (Cited in Lin 2004, 24). Theoretically, the former view is close to Marx’s view on capitalism and the latter to Durkheim’s social integration perspective (Ibid). Nevertheless, faith communities and their connections are also elements of social capital as the Joseph Rowntree Foundation report explains in terms of geographical frameworks and of organizational frameworks (Furbey et al. 2006, 12, 15).

Consequently, the existing social relationships or potential relationships found around social networks are treated as human assets that can be mobilized in conflict intervention. This research shows an existing and evolving relationship among FBOs, ECBOs, and NGOs, which is of vital importance since they all strive for the common good of the people living in Winnipeg. However, if we can visualize their existing inter-group relationships on a horizontal plane then we also see that a part of their relationship is active on a vertical plane with the social structure (i.e., the state and its policymakers who create such structures) within which they live and operate, and on which they depend. Consequently, a continuous interaction within this horizontal and vertical space defines their existence and challenges FBO, ECBO, and NGO actions. Thus,

we can assess the values of these human assets (i.e. relationship) as they emphasize the quality of human network (Coleman, 1990 Cited in Roderick 2010, 277) built upon "reciprocity and trustworthiness" (Putnam 2000) (19). Further, the network may reinforce community feelings and support "collective actions" (Gilchrist 2009, 5).

A number of studies have been carried out on poverty alleviation using an asset-based approach (Siegel 2005; Attanasio and Székely 1999; Brandolini, Magri, and Smeeding 2010), disaster management (Vatsa 2004), and development (Mathie and Cunningham 2003).Yet the asset-based approach has been less researched in social conflict intervention and peace-building. I have adapted an asset-based approach to peace-building in this research. First, while referring to assets in this particular context, I mean CBO community assets primarily referring to the relationship and motivation of their leaders to "to keep, build upon, and sustain for future generations" something they think is important (Fuller, Guy, and Pletsch 2002, 5). Second, I was particularly interested in exploring all the good things about community, prioritizing the most valued aspects of community and finding the reasons why people place high value on assets in their community. Third, I wanted to investigate the value of culture (as CBO leaders consider it an asset) and the power of associations to preserve those assets (See John 2013, 2, 8).

3.3.3 Special role of FBOs in Peace-building and Conflict Intervention in Winnipeg

FBOs occupy a special role in the history of Winnipeg in terms of conflict intervention. They help government agencies with service delivery as well as resisting and opposing state policies. To start with, although the Mennonites' presence in Manitoba can be traced back at least 200 years, the Mennonite Central Committee of (Canada) MCCC was only founded in 1963. Since its inception, it brought a paradigmatic shift in terms of faith-based peace-building in Western urban contexts. For example, during its foundational period it focused on:

> 1) A helpful communication link between Canadian institutions and the Mennonites as a whole. Through an established agency, the government could now speak to and hear from all the Mennonite groups on issues ranging from foreign aid to alternative service, 2) it became pioneer in aid and development project of which its sponsorship Indo-Chinese refugees in the late '70s, 3) most importantly in the context of multiculturalism and ongoing Canadian life, it encouraged minority survival in the midst of the assimilative pressure of majority institutions. (Ruth 1980, 2)

The aforementioned activities that MCCC has undertaken can hardly be related to the classic roles of a faith organization rather they have assisted policymakers to understand the social conditions prevailing at that period and also in helping immigrants to settle and adapt to life in Canada Since then MCC has mobilized its resources to transform conflicts in Winnipeg.

One study finds that in Winnipeg, historically, different social and economic forces impacted people's lives that contribute towards "urban decay" (here, 'decay' was caused by poverty and inequality that also caused social unrest) (Roberts 1998, 2). In this regard, the study found that it was the Churches, which contributed essentially to the "revitalization process" of the city and "betterment of society" in two distinct ways as highlighted below:

> First, despite government attempts to address "urban problems" [conflict issues], there are more extensive rudimentary forces that both contribute to decay and limit the success of government recovery efforts (the discussion identifies these forces as they relate to city planning, housing, and neighborhood revitalization). Secondly, because of these forces churches are important and often necessary change agents, doing with other organizations, in the remedy of urban decay (ibid).

The aforementioned quote suggests that 'urban problems' are better handled if faith organizations team up with government agencies.

It was Carl Jung who argued against the Freudian "biologically deterministic based psychology" and asserted that "the spiritual dimension" was in fact "the essence of human nature" (Serrnabeikian, 1994, p. 179 cited in Rocke 1998). His theories provided an understanding of spirituality to be "viewed as an integral aspect of the self, resulting in the professional understanding that spiritual urges should not be dismissed as psychological

neuroses" (Mack, 1994, p. 16 cited in ibid.). Jung differentiated between religion and spirituality while he contended that spiritual needs are "as real as hunger and the fear of death' (Jung, 1928, Coll. Wks, para. 403)—as basic, as profound, as essential as these other deep guides, or archetypal patterns, which govern how we try to live" (Clark 2010).

In the same vein, another study observed the benefits of spiritual interventions in dealing with Aboriginal people's conflict issues such as poverty, discrimination, alcohol/drug abuse, domestic violence, child abuse and neglect (Rocke 1998). Rocke used the Hatcher (1982) and Danesh (1994) paradigm to design and implement a group intervention with a young mothers' support group (Aboriginal ancestry) within a legislated child protection agency (provincial) (Rocke 1998, 2,3). Such a finding is instructive even today as we find a failing system where nearly 10,000 children are reported to be in the provincial Child and Family Services (CFS) care (highest in Canada of which 90 percent are Aboriginal children) (Carlson 2014).

Traditionally, in Winnipeg FBOs tried different social experiments such as advancing Canadian citizenship through the social gospel by the Lutheran Church minister of All People's Missionary with special emphasis on integrating non-Anglo Saxon immigrants. Nevertheless, the state was found in opposition to faith groups, when the pro Christian and pro-British judge John E Adamson ordered Mennonites to take up arms for the country in the Second World War against their philosophy of pacifism (Payment 1999). It is a testimony to how external conflict affected faith groups in Manitoba.

However, FBO's involvement in the past with the Aboriginal people in Manitoba is not unblemished. In this regard, one study explored records form the Church Missionary Society archives in Manitoba, and evaluated the encounter between the Aboriginal peoples of Red River and the Anglican missionaries between 1820 and 1865. The findings showed that the "sustained

attack on Aboriginal spirituality and kinship systems, and particularly the strategies used to transform traditional self-identities, were deeply invasive technologies of governance" (Peikoff 2000, 2).

3.3.4 Integrative Conflict Intervention through Transformative Dialogue (TD)

Gaining popularity after the Cold War, the social-psychological approach to peace-building and conflict transformation still remains relevant because it asserts that in order to resolve deep-rooted conflict social relationships must be changed among various actors (Saunders 1999, 31 cited in Gerald 2013, 37). In this approach, the challenge is to bring about macro-level changes through the activities and initiatives carried out at the micro-level since most of the causes of structural conflict lie in the macro-level political and policymaking spheres (Azar 1990; Ronald 2009; Fisher 2007). Commonly identified as a bottom-up approach of peace-building, the "people-to-people" (P2P) oriented intervention mechanism is a preferred peace-building intervention process because it helps "to create the broad empathy" between social groups for peace-building (Chigas 2007, 559-560 cited in Gerald 2013, 43). Further, this approach is particularly useful in changing "the dehumanized and stereotyped perceptions of the 'other'" (Perlmand and Nasser-Najjab, 2006 cited in Ibid, 44). The "contact hypothesis" developed by Allport (1954) suggests the significance of direct inter-group communication through shared experiences, and this approach was used to address racial injustices in the U.S. in the 1960s (Gerald 2013). However, several intervention models are used in peace-building, and my research proposes a hybrid model taking elements from the intercultural learning, community and dispute, and public policy and environment fields (Abu-Nimer 1999, 17).

Abu-Nimer also suggested that an effective conflict intervention model should rely on the micro- to macro-level "spillover" effect (ibid, 47) through a series of dialogue organized at the

grassroots level attempting to positively change the perceptions of actors in a specific conflict. For example, in Winnipeg, the federally funded Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has done important work with regard to uncovering the story of the residential schools survivors. As it is a federally funded project, it has a limited life span and the important question now being asked is what will happen after the Commission submits its final reports in 2016, and, even more crucially, where do we go from here? Even though the Commission has closed its operation, the report was recently published, the seminars were held, and the knowledge of the conflict was generated, there is hardly any indication of policy change at the federal level towards First Peoples issues in Canada. The First Peoples are not only suffering from the trauma of the residential schools, they are also submerged in a host of other social-political-economic-cultural problems that need to be addressed holistically and positively (Ross 2014). An intervention mechanism thus needs to take into consideration the time and space constraints to implement a sustainable conflict transformation process (Ibid 2014).

Dialogue may play an important role in terms of a positive and integrative intervention in social conflicts. It attempts to bring both policymakers and grassroots level activists onto a common platform even if the process is sometimes critiqued as having little or no significance in changing government's position on some social issues (Ross 2014). In this regard, TD is gaining popularity as an intervention process to reduce inter-group distance and facilitate discussion on critical social issues. It draws from various Interfaith Dialogue (IFD) models and it not only acknowledges the interdependent nature of actors embroiled in a society recognizing that those groups beliefs and faith provides a power bridging link among those actors (Abu Nimer, Khoury, and Welty 2007, 15). For example, many scholars/proponents of IFD contend that the nucleus of dialogue is "engagement with the other"; it seeks to "know the other" not only by exchanging

official, political or doctrinal ideas, but by compassionate listening and attending to the "meaning beyond the words" (R. Scott Appleby, 2007 cited in Abu Nimer, Khoury, and Welty 2007, xii). In the international arena, IFD has come a long way through the 1960s introduction of *Nostra-Aetate* by Pope John Paul XXIII and the founding of the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP) in 1968. In August 2000, the UN hosted the Millennium Summit of World Religious Leaders where more than 1,000 representatives of transnational and Indigenous religious leaders gathered. It provided a much-needed momentum and recognized the roles of FBO leaders in peace-building (Smith 2004b). Moreover, in 2003, the Jordanian Interfaith Coexistence Research Center (JICRC) was established to suggest practical initiatives to promote peace through inter-religious dialogue (Jordanian Interfaith Coexistence Research Center (JICRC) 2011). It organizes an annual conference for leading Muslims and Christians from the Middle East under the leadership of King Abdullah II.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have elaborated on relevant theories of social conflict and peace-building as they relate to understanding a Western urban (Winnipeg) context. I discussed theories related to the state and civil-society actors and structural conflict followed by identity, the social construction of conflict and securitization. In the section on social conflict, I elaborated on several theories that explain social conflict (inter-group conflict, mostly) and then explained the structural nature of conflict where besides the state as the principal actor, various CBO actors are also active. Second, I presented the role of CBOs in social conflict, conflict transformation, and peace-building. In this section, I explained social capital and an asset-based approach to peace-building followed by a justification of an integrative strategy for conflict intervention.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I aim to elaborate first on the research approach that I undertook followed by detailed information about the research participants. Next, I shall touch upon my role as a researcher. I shall also discuss various ethical aspects of this research subsequently. In discussing the research procedure, I shall elaborate on the technique that I followed to choose the research participants, the sampling procedure, data gathering and the analysis process, highlighting the validity and reliability aspects of this research. Subsequently, I also touch upon some of the limitations of the study and append a brief summary of my experiences gathered during the participant observation part of the fieldwork.

Forty-eight CBO leaders in Winnipeg took part in this research project, which is primarily qualitative in nature. This research project focused on (1) CBO leaders' understanding of social conflict and its root causes in a Western urban Canadian (Winnipeg) context; and (2) their discussion of existing CBO peace-building efforts and their approaches to peace-building. This is an exploratory study of the perceptions and experiences of selected CBO leaders in Winnipeg as such the findings are not generalizable to the wider society, to other urban contexts or to other CBOs in Winnipeg.

This research has two core components: one, understanding social conflict, its root causes and identifying the respondents' key social conflict issues; and two, identifying their ideas about peace-building projects and conflict intervention. The research methodology is qualitative as one-one-on participant interviews and participant observations were the two primary data

gathering sources. However, the necessary inferences were also drawn from various quantitative data sets (for example, federal STATSCAN, independent polling and survey organizations and provincial government agencies) pertaining to the research.

The primary source of data collection was semi-structured one-on-one interviews with detailed participant observations. In addition, data were analyzed from various policy documents, and briefs. Within the broad qualitative method I used critical ethnography and grounded theory as the two main approaches to inquiry for this research (Creswell 2007). I sought an understanding grounded in the experience and perspectives of the actors engaged in working at cross cultural conflict transformation strategies within a multicultural urban (Winnipeg) setting.

The fieldwork for the research was carried out in two phases. In Phase One, I aimed at "idea generation" about social conflicts. In Phase Two, I created a taxonomy of social conflict issues based on what was reported to me by the interviewees. The root causes of conflict were derived from phase one. I then mapped out how the CBO leaders dealt with or are dealing with these social conflict issues in their contribution toward peace-building. Further, I explored selected social conflict issues in depth as well as peace-building processes shared with me by my interviewees.

4.2 Detailed Description of the Research Approach, Strategy, and Method.

I used the social constructivist (sometimes combined with interpretivism) paradigm in this research because I sought an understanding of the environment where I live and work (Creswell 2007). This helped me to inductively generate research findings to determine a pattern of conflict and a peace-building process. Moreover, using the interpretive position, I benefited from listening to the voices of some underrepresented groups (based on their social positions in society). In this section, I shall attempt to justify the reason for adopting a qualitative

methodology for this research in general and an ethnographic approach in particular. Later on, I shall also describe how a grounded theory approach helped me in the data analysis part of the research project followed by a brief discussion of the research strategy. A summary of an asset mapping technique, which is used to identify community based resources mobilized for peace-building will also be appended.

As aforementioned, a qualitative research strategy was used in this research. It provides the potential for a more in depth understanding of the issues at stake, of the interests and needs of the participants, of relationships among the stakeholders, as well as their perceptions and experiences of social conflict and its transformation. McMillan and Wergin (2006, 94) suggested that a qualitative research strategy uses a certain way of knowledge construction where reality is subjective and fundamentally depends on the context. Understanding can only be gathered from the perspective of whomever and whatever is being studied. Moreover, some scholars opined that since qualitative research produces data that is rich in its description of people, places, conversations, and behaviour, it also empowers a researcher to study social conflicts in a holistic way (Bogdan and Biklen 2007; Creswell 2007; Marshall and Rossman 2011). This study was further informed by critical ethnography (Creswell 2007) and a grounded theory approach (Charmaz 2006, 2003).

Ethnography is the centerpiece of qualitative inquiry that has been derived from anthropology and qualitative sociology (Marshall and Rossman 2011). I decided to use ethnography (within which lies the critical approach) as the method because as a researcher I wanted to observe and/or interact with research participants in their real-life environment. Since understanding the impacts of the CBO leaders' peace-building work in conflict transformation was the principal aim of this research, ethnography seemed to be the ideal method to use in this

study. As an ethnographer and a curious observer, I was keen to observe and interpret the behaviours of various social groups and CBO leaders in their natural setup in order to gain a deeper understanding of their motivations to do peace-building work. In doing so, I not only observed but I also participated in events to ensure the sights and sounds of the research participants were grasped with maximum accuracy.

The decision to adopt an ethnographic research approach is tied up in the process of the negotiation of self vs. context what Herbert Blumer (1966) (expanding on Mead's theory) explained as an understanding of "self" in relation to "society" through symbols and meanings that play a significant role in anthropological research (cited in Robben and Sluka 2007, 110). However, this method was important because it compels the researcher to self-reflect and challenge his/her own perceptions while examining conflict issues (Robben and Sluka 2007, 110).

Cohen (2007) argues that without resolving and reconciling the nature of "self," an ethnographer will seldom become successful in his or her research enterprise. A researcher must position himself/herself in a proper context and establish a relationship between the "self" and that of the participants so that the "sights and sounds" of the ethnographic data carry "thick description"[16] and clear meaning. He also postulates that perception of "self" and "participant" is often found to be incongruent. He further argues that a constant tension exists within the anthropological discipline related to segregating the researcher's "self from participants other selves" in order to achieve objectivity and neutrality in the research. While doing so, the principal aim of ethnographic research, which is to understand the "other," might be compromised since the researcher needs to live within the same environment of the participants, constantly interacting with them, and thereby becoming a part of their community.

An objective interpretation of ethnographic data obviously demands an "etic" approach using a reflexive process but during the data collection phase, if the researcher does not follow an "emic" approach, then the interpretation and authenticity of the data might be questioned (Ho and Cheung 2007, 140-142). Coined by Pike (1954), "etic" means "studying a phenomenon without a culture-free approach or outsider perspective," and "emic" refers to "studying a phenomenon with a culture-specific approach or insider perspective" (Ibid., also see Avruch 1998). Thus, a researcher must guard against a continuous temptation to generalize to "others". Keeping the aforementioned caveats in mind, my fieldwork consisted of one-on-one interviews and participant observation. Fieldwork remains the most important activity in this research because it gives the context/circumstances on which the research was carried out and it also explains the experiences upon which the text of the research is based (Robben and Sluka 2007). I conducted my participant observations (my secondary source of data collection and to some extent, to validate the findings of the interviews) by immersing myself within the participants' cultural environment. I took part in a number of religious and cultural events, seminars, nonviolent peaceful demonstrations, and annual general meetings of a few CBOs.

I want to make a point here about using the critical ethnographic approach in this research. Critical ethnography was used in educational research in the 1980s but gained momentum in the 1990s in cultural studies, sociology, and anthropology. I began this research with an assumption that systemic inequalities (especially in the Western urban Canadian context) are exceptions rather than the norm in societies and it may originate from an unjust social structure. Therefore, I attempted to study such inequalities and suggest some ways to reduce them through my research (Carspecken and Walford 2001, 4). Beverly Moss (1992, 56) provides a succinct and useful distinction between ethnography and critical ethnography. "While

ethnography in general is concerned with describing and analyzing a culture. […] [critical ethnography] is concerned more narrowly with communicative behavior or the interrelationship of language and culture" (Cited in Brown and Dobrin 2004, 3). Critical ethnographic research has its roots in renowned educationist Paulo Freire's idea that "the ethical, political, and social turn in critical ethnography derives not only from Freirean praxis, however, but from the intellectual tradition of academic feminism" (Ibid., 4). In addition, I chose to use the critical approach because this is best suited to unraveling conflict from a seemingly conflict free situation (Herzfeld 1989, 4). I followed a grounded theory approach because it was important to rely on the study environment and figure out "what was going on" about social conflict rather than providing an accurate description of it (Glaser 2001, 145).

While adopting a grounded theory approach for this research I maintained a constructivist direction, which "takes a middle ground between postmodernism and positivism" (Charmaz 2003, 250; 2006) rather than the classical approach (Glaser 2001). During the research process, I felt that there is no one reality rather there is "multiple social realities" (Charmaz, 2003, 250). However, it is useful to mention here that my approach does not stand contradictory to the classical grounded theory approach, which seeks to identify a design of behaviors that can provide a conceptual scheme to understand social groups actions and motivations (Breckenridge et al. 2012, 66). Moreover, the purpose of grounded theory is to develop a theory that is grounded in the data (McMillan and Wergin 2006). If a theory already exists concerning a particular phenomenon but is deemed somehow inadequate or underdeveloped, the theory may be elaborated on or modified as the researcher analyses the data on an ongoing basis (Schram 2003, 77).

The key grounded theory characteristics adopted in this research include the iterative process (early data collection and step-by-step analyses to help the purposive sampling procedure while remaining open to new emergent possibilities). It also includes the generation of a social conflict theory (in light of the research questions), and the creation of analytical codes and categories of codes from the data. Concepts are identified and their properties explored, which is representative of the data itself covering a wide range of observation, including participant observation. In every stage of the research, systematic comparisons are made to identify patterns and variation in the data). Finally, theoretical density ensures that a certain stage has been achieved where a required depth of analysis and observation occurred to present a theory and make a general hypothesis, which took place when data saturation occurred (Hutchison, Johnston, and Breckon 2010, 284). In addition, I used an asset mapping technique for peace-building, which enabled me to map the existing resources of the CBOs committed to peace-building. I was also able to explore the relationship between and among the actors and groups, and to understand how to mobilize the resources for peace-building through active engagement in TD (Beaulieu 2002). From a conceptual framework, asset-mapping also highlights stakeholders motivation for mobilizing their community based resources for conflict transformation (Mathie and Cunningham 2005, 175).

The asset-mapping technique (AMT) is a popular method in the field of Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) where a researcher basically identifies strengths and resources of a community for conflict intervention and development instead of using a needs analysis (McKnight and Kretzmann 1993; Mathie and Cunningham 2003). This was relevant for my research because of the four reasons essential for conflict intervention through peace-building work: 1) identification and mapping of community assets (social networks, local talents,

committed leadership); 2) understanding the current state of social relationships of community members, leadership, and social structure; 3) finding means to mobilize identified assets for conflict intervention; and 4) creating a common platform for different actors to promote a shared vision for conflict transformation (ibid.)

An open ended semi-structured interviewing strategy (Bernard 2002) was used in this research since it allowed me to further develop and expand upon particularly interesting responses (Hitchcock and Hughes 1995; Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith 2008). Most of these were in person. In a few cases, Skype interviewing was also carried out where my accessibility to participants was difficult. Conducting interviews with multiple participants presented a difficulty for me in verifying each individual's information (Pearson d'Estree 2009, 64). However, the interviewing process was realistic and necessary (Gillham 2000, 61). The interviews as well as my participation in various social events and functions produced enormous amounts of data, and I maintained field notes in a research log book (Bernard 2002). The interviewees' responses were noted against several carefully designed open-ended questions. A tactful control of applying controlling measures by serving as a topic guide before the interview and asking probing questions during the interview was also used to gather quality data (Blee and Taylor 2002). The interviews subsequently presented multiple opportunities for participant observation (Hammersley and Atkinson 2009) and the participants were asked to guide me in various social and religious ceremonies and community gatherings to facilitate those participant observations.

4.3 Research Participant's Information

The details of my study participants are listed in Tables 1, 2 and 3 below:

Table 1: Demography, Gender Distribution of Research Participants

Total participants (n=48)		Percentage (%)
Male	30	62.5%
Female	18	37.5%

Table 2: Types of CBOs Participating in Research in Winnipeg

Types of CBO (n=48)	Number	Percentage (%)
FBO	23	47.9%
ECBO	17	35.4%
NGO	8	16.66%

Table 3: Male and Female Participant Distribution Within The CBOs

Total participants (n=48)	Gender	Age Range	Number	Percentage
FBO (n=23)	Male	45-60	12	51%
	Female	40-60	11	49%
ECBO (n=17)	Male	30-45	13	76%
	Female	35-50	4	24%
NGO (n=8)	Male	40-75	5	62.5%
	Female	45-60	3	37.5%

4.4 Researcher's Position and Role

I lived in Winnipeg until recently and was able to observe the cultural, faith-based, and other research related events for a sustained period. I remained close to some of the interviewees that put me in a difficult situation in maintaining a neutral researcher-participant relationship. The term "going native" (Malinowski 2001) is attributed to Malinowski's method of studying an indigenous culture while physically being with the people and in the place. I felt that I was already a "native" since I had lived and worked for five years amongst the research participants and within the research environment. I chose such a research project in which I was not only "deeply situated, whether by geography, tradition, or simply inside experience, but also one in which [I am] invested in those factors and others as they inform the "act" of [my] research"

(Kanuha 2000, 441). Consequently, Bonner and Tolhurst et al. (2002), in the same line, also argued that "the researcher is already 'a native', 'indigenous' or 'inside' before the study begins. 'Insiders' are individuals who have a place in the social group being studied before the start of the investigation and 'outsiders' are non-members of the group" (Jenny Moore 2012, 11). Nevertheless, Ritchie et al (2009) suggested that in qualitative research a thin line separates "insiderness" from "outsiderness." Consequently, "…it is more appropriate to define the stance of researchers by their physical and psychological distance from the phenomenon being studied, and less by their paradigmatic position" (ibid, 11). Further, it was very important for me to not only understood the "researcher-subject dichotomy" but also to "walk the hyphens of the Self and Other" (Fine, 1992, 74) by critically analyzing the reflexive relationship between "us" and "them" (Kanuha 2000, 440). Nevertheless, I always believed—as per Pouligny (2002, 204)—that the participants in the recruiting process (1) were capable of affirming and asserting themselves as authentic actors within their social spaces; (2) held significant knowledge expertise about their personal and contextual experiences; and (3) were able to comment on their experiences.

Scholars of ethnography often suggest a dual role suitable for conducting ethnographic research—immersing oneself in the culture to be a part of that culture as well as maintaining an outsider's stance as a trained professional from outside the participants' culture (Powdermaker 1966:9 cited in Robben and Sluka 2007, 1). I lived in Winnipeg when I carried out my research fieldwork and it was possible for me to adopt such a dual role. Additionally, scholars also suggest a process of immersion during the stage of employing such a method aimed at capturing some shared pattern of behaviors, beliefs, and values of the "culture-sharing group" (in this case the social groups) (Harris, 1968 cited in Creswell 2007, 68). I tried to immerse myself into my study environment as deeply and consistently as possible by taking help from my research

participants. Living within the study area also assisted me in reaping maximum benefits from using this approach.

However, interviews with research participants should provide the backbone of ethnographic research in addition to participating in the respondents suggested activities (Hammersley and Atkinson 2009, 3). My rationale for using ethnography for this research derived from similar reasons and I tried to remain engaged meaningfully with the research participants while participating in peace-building events related to conflict intervention. Moreover, even if I had some understanding of a "foreshadowed problem" (the term used by Malinowski) my "orientation" was basically an explanatory one (Ibid., 3).

Another crucial aspect to consider using an ethnographic approach is to remain aware of the "outsider-insider" myth as observed by Styles (Styles 1979, 148 cited in Hammersley and Atkinson 2009, 87). In this study, I used my outsider perspective as much as possible as a researcher and professional while I utilized my insider perspectives to gain access and establish rapport with the research participants. I was also aware of the danger of "going-native"; my specific role in this research was "maintaining a more or less marginal position" (ibid., 88–89). In addition, I carried out participant observations which according to Taylor and Bogdan (1984, 15) involves social interaction between the researcher and respondents within a particular context to gain "first-hand the day-to-day experience" and also to capture their "feelings and interpretations" (Cited in David 2004, 154).

4.5 Ethical Aspects of the Study

The research participants were asked to render informed consent before their participation in the interview process and they were given the option of remaining anonymous in the dissemination of the research results. The consent form included the rights of the research participants to

discontinue their participation and withdraw from the research project at any given time. No one chose this option. There were no physical, psychological, and/or emotional risks involved during the research process and I did not feel that any of the participants felt marginalized. I anticipated that none of the participants would be especially vulnerable or would require extra precautions during the research process since all the interviewees remain anonymous.

I was concerned that some faith leaders with radical beliefs might be identified yet no such individuals took part in this research. However, written permission was taken from a select group of FBO and ECBO leaders whose identities can't be associated with the name of the organizations they worked for. All information was kept strictly confidential. Documents related to the interviews are stored in my password-protected personal computer. Tapes and hand-written notes are stored in a locked cabinet in my home.

I transcribed all of the interviews and in the process removed all personal identifiers. Data containing personal identifiers were destroyed immediately after the research ended. All data (recordings, transcripts, printouts, completed interview schedules, notes, etc.) will be destroyed within five years of the completion of this research. I did not take any photographs during my data collection phase and I shall destroy the audio recordings after the completion of the research.

Some of the respondents had a chance to review their contributions. The transcripts of their interviews were emailed or mailed to them so that they could clarify, verify, and if necessary alter their responses. No deceptions were used in this research. There were no benefits, financial or otherwise, provided to the participants.

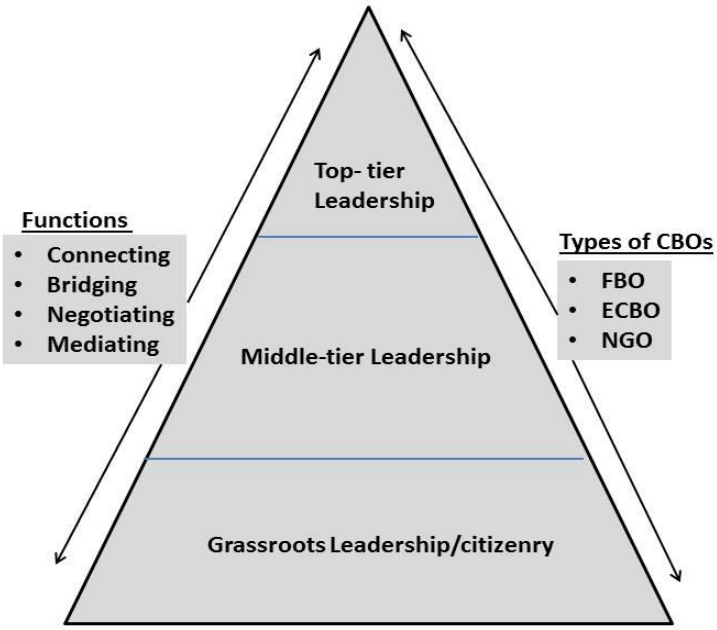
4.6 Research Procedures

The details of the research procedures as described below include justification for the selection of the research participants, the sampling procedure, data gathering and analysis process, validation and reliability issues, and finally a summary of my experiences of participatory observations conducted during the fieldwork.

4.6.1 Selection of Participants

I used purposive sampling. I decided early in the design stage who would be my research participants since I wanted, as per (Tongco 2007), "to study a certain cultural domain with knowledgeable experts within" (Tongco 2007, 147). My rationale for the purposive sampling arises from the work of Lederach (1997) who argued that middle-range leaders are positioned so that they can connect with top-level leadership and their foreknowledge about grassroots level activism can also make them credible enough for partnering in conflict intervention (Ibid., 41). One approach to look at this group of leaders is by talking to persons who are not only respected but who also occupy formal leadership positions voluntarily or otherwise (Ibid). This concept illustrated above is modified from Lederach (1997: 39) in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Middle Tier Leadership (modified) and Conflict Intervention



On the left side of Figure 3, the various functions of these leaders are shown and on the right side the types of CBOs considered for this research are highlighted (modified from Lederach 1997, 39). In this regard, I identified a mix of FBO, ECBO, and NGO leaders/key persons in Winnipeg. I wished to have a representative sample of approximately -40 percent FBO, -30 percent ECBO, and -30 percent NGO. There is a plethora of CBOs working in community development in Winnipeg, so in my initial screening I set out four criteria for those organizations leaders to be able to qualify as my research participants. First, the leaders must have been living and working in Winnipeg for at least ten years. Second, the leaders must have contributed to cross-cultural, faith-based development and peace-building through at least three projects within the last ten years. Third, the leaders preferably should not be from high profile organizations as they are already covered by the media or may have fallen into some kind of controversy. Fourth, the leaders in the past preferably have had some inter-faith, inter-ethnic interactions with various

social groups. I meticulously selected the NGOs based on their involvement with marginal communities in Winnipeg and their contribution to publishing policies related to poverty, social justice, and community collaboration (for example, those who had/have ongoing projects in the city).

After making a short list of 76 organizations, I started communicating with the leaders and key persons within these organizations and explained the purpose of the study. Email contacts included a letter of invitation and it highlighted the research project's description, justification, methodology, human ethics assurances, and my short biography. A template of the letter of invitation is included in Appendix 2, the informed consent form can be found in Appendix 3 and the interview questions is located in Appendix 4. I requested that the potential participants contact me directly by phone or email. If an organization or individual did not respond the first time, I tried twice more. In Phases One and Two, I interviewed a total of forty-nine participants and forty-eight interviews were used for analysis purposes. All of these CBOs were located within Winnipeg. Access to the sample depended upon (1) the availability of the interviewees, and (2) the interviewees' voluntary participation in the study. Interviews were pre-scheduled and were conducted over a period of sixteen to twenty weeks with each person interviewed once, twice or more for roughly eighty to one hundred and twenty minutes. I also participated in or observed thirteen different faith-based and inter-cultural events and demonstrations recommended by my research participants within the period of fieldwork during this period. I had followed the organizations events in the social media and was physically present at their events from January 2011 onwards. Nevertheless, the sample respondents and organizations are not representative of the entire population of Winnipeg, and therefore caution should be made to generalize about the overall city of Winnipeg.

4.6.2 Sampling Procedure

In this research, I used a purposive sampling technique because I pre-planned to interview only a selected type of community based leaders namely faith, ethno-cultural and those NGOs who work with them. The data gathered among these CBOs pertains to only those who voluntarily participated in the research and is not a representative sample of all the faith, ethno-cultural and NGOs in Winnipeg. This study is neither about the entire population of Winnipeg nor about the work of all the CBOs in Winnipeg. Rather it is a selective exploratory case study of some of the Winnipeg based CBO leaders who deal with and observe social conflicts of certain population groups. In order to explore my research theme I used a "collective casework" approach that necessitates more cases to be chosen from a number of possible alternatives (Curtisa, Geslerb, and Washburnb 2000, 1002). The following are my principal justifications behind adopting such a sampling technique. First, I selected a small sample so that an intense study could be carried out generating a large amount of information. Second, from the very outset, it is conceptually driven and uses a pre-determined theoretical framework to select samples following broad research questions. However, I kept an open mind so that inductively an evolving theory might be derived from the data. In Phase one of the research, I contacted some CBOs on my list and I requested that they refer me to other possible participants engaged in peace-building activities for the second phase that incorporated a snowball strategy (Creswell 2007, 125). While I understand that a snowball strategy may induce bias in the study, as participants are likely to recommend like-minded candidates for interviews, reaching out to low profile or underreported peace-building activities or organizations would have been challenging without their help within this short period of fieldwork time. Thus, referrals and introductions remained a useful strategy in accessing individuals and groups during my fieldwork. Nevertheless, the sample of

respondents (i.e., the leaders of CBOs) is not representative of the entire population or of all of Winnipeg's CBOs. Rather this sample was chosen purposely to meet the objective of the research, which was highlighted in the guiding questions of this thesis.

4.6.3 Data Gathering

The following are the data sources:

a) Interviewing (48 one-on-one interviews, one interview was dropped from the study).
b) Participant observation (13 events).
c) Analysis of policy documents of the City of Winnipeg, the Province of Manitoba, Winnipeg Police, NGOs, and the federal government of Canada.
d) STATSCAN data – National Household Survey (NHS), 2011, a, and polling data. Leading national and provincial newspapers and electronic media articles.

4.6.4 Data Analysis Procedures

I started with my initial interview questions asking the participants to share their experiences and interpretation of social conflict. This was conducted in the first phase or the "idea generation" phase of the research with open-ended questions. My approach in this phase was to get the pulse of the participants about how they perceived social conflict as I assumed that they would come up with a diverse range of responses. My assumptions proved partially correct as I gathered data after phase one and carried out the initial data analysis. I noticed that the participants often avoided using the term social conflict *per se* yet they identified a host of issues causing conflict. Nevertheless, the central theme that ran through their first phase responses was centered on social injustices and inequity disproportionately affecting a particular social group. In the second phase of the data analysis, I wanted to know more in depth about the root causes of social injustices and which particular conflict issues they were passionately referring to. Thus, the

inductive process that I followed in the analysis process led me to uncover what my respondents identified as the possible unjust nature of the social structure that gave rise to a host of conflict issues in the city. In addition, I also observed how some of the participants spoke about their involvement in conflict intervention and peace-building.

I analyzed data from STATSCAN (NHS data mostly) as I believe that qualitative projects can often be informed by quantitative data (Druckman 2005, 8). The importance of being open to using multiple approaches and techniques in research has been discussed by a number of social science scholars (Maoz 2002; Bennett 2004; Druckman 2009; Sprinz and Wolinsky-Nahmias 2004). At the end, my research also yielded quantitative results as the responses were coded and categorized to produce measures indicating participants' response percentages using Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) named QSR nVivo 10. There are some compelling reasons to use CAQDAS because it creates an "auditable footprint of the progressive dialogue between the researcher and their data" (See Sinkovics and Alfoldi 2012, 5 cited in Maureen 2013, 2). Moreover, QSR nVivo 10 helps in data analysis from multiple sources through different stages of coding, and then by running queries and finally in creating a model for theory generation within a reasonable amount of time (Bazeley and Richards 2000; Welsh 2002).

I first carried out open coding using QSR nVivo 10 to generate initial categories and themes. Later on, I grouped them into major thematic categories and then carried out axial coding (into QSR nVivo nodes)[17] to refine the themes. In this process, I also kept in mind the research questions so that there remains a consistency in the coding process of each of my participant's interviews. During the entire data analysis process, I kept recording memos in QSR nVivo 10 to keep track of my thought process, to note emerging concepts, and to note

memorable quotes of the participants. At the end of this process, I arrived at identifiable themes with categories and sub-categories, which eventually helped me to design my qualitative chapters. The node list in a hierarchical form contains the number of sources and references used for coding. In the qualitative chapters five, six, and seven, I mostly used some of the verbatim quotes of the participants, which I had coded earlier, weaving them together within the chapters to maintain a consistent flow of participants' responses and my ideas. I ran multiple visualization models to generate charts, and a number of simple and compound queries using QSR nVivo 10 in each category. Some of these charts are included in the discussion sections of the chapters to provide a snapshot of the findings. Various elements of grounded theory generation using nVivo 10 include keeping a research diary, reflecting on data gathering and analysis, conceptual analysis of themes and sub-themes, noting emergent research questions, explaining, and elucidating grounded theory (i.e. Perception-Expectation-Frustration) (Hutchison, Johnston, and Breckon 2010, 287).

4.6.5 Validation and Reliability

Many argue that validation in qualitative research is a contentious matter having multiple competing viewpoints (Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle 2001). However, I rely on the interpretive approach to qualitative research where Angen (2000) suggested validation is "a judgment of the trustworthiness or goodness of a piece of research" (387) (Cited in Creswell 2007, 205). Yet at the same time I also believe that validation is an attempt to assess the accuracy or authenticity of the research findings while keeping in mind that any reporting is a representation made by the researcher who comes with her/his own orientation (Druckman 2005, 331). In this research, I used Lather's (1991) "triangulation (multiple data sources and theoretical schemes), and construct validation (recognizing the constructs that exist rather than imposing

theories/constructs on informants or the context)" (Kidder, 1982, 56 cited in Creswell 2007, 204). I analyzed data from various sources such as interviews, participant observations, and government documents. I chose participants from different organizations as I kept in mind the male-female ratio. Sometimes I went back to the participants to verify my observations after the initial stages of data analysis. Returning to the participants was a time consuming matter, yet it proved to be useful in maintaining authenticity in the reporting. Finally, during the data analysis and writing up of the findings, I constantly checked four criteria for validity: (1) credibility (are the results a near accurate interpretation of the participants' responses? Yes); (2) authenticity, (are different voices heard? Yes); (3) criticality (is there a critical appraisal of all aspects of the research? Yes); and (4) integrity (am I self-critical? Yes) (Modified from Whittemore, Chase and Mandle 2001 cited in Ibid, 206). Nevertheless, reliability or achieving similar results by two different researchers on a research topic is not always possible in qualitative research (Bogdan and Biklen 2007, 39) because the context and participants yield different results. However, I have cited the verbatim responses of the participants in this thesis to compensate for such deficiency and to overcome biasness. During this study, I kept field diaries, and used two high-quality audio recorders with one acting as a backup for all of the interviews.

4.7 Limitations of the Study

Several limitations of the study are also outlined below.

One, this research was carried out in two phases. In phase one, I endeavoured to understand the perceptions and experiences of CBO leaders about social conflict, and how they approach and deal with it. In the second phase I explored with them a few selected conflict issues derived from phase one. These included what they perceived to be the root causes of conflict, and how they understood the efficacy of their work and processes of conflict transformation, and

peace-building. There was a time gap of six weeks between both phases, and I found that a few of my research participants were not available to take part in phase two. This caused me considerable difficulty in data compilation since I aimed at interviewing the same participants in both phases. However, this research reflects the perceptions and experiences of forty-eight CBO participants who took part in both phases.

Two, I wanted to further explore the social conflict issue with regard to the social relationships between the First Peoples and other social groups as reported by my research participants in Phase one. In order to do that I contacted several Aboriginal organizations in Winnipeg. While the organizations were mostly welcoming in their taking part in the research, I noted that access to some organizations is regulated by a few gatekeepers/vanguards. However, some members of the Aboriginal community eventually agreed to take part in the research and my experience with those I interviewed showed that they could be engaged with in a meaningful discussion. If I had overcome this limitation, I probably could have gathered together more participants resulting in an even more diversified base of knowledge with regards to social conflict transformation.

Three, I contacted the Manitoba Métis Federation who invited me to join its annual general meeting held in Brandon, Manitoba. I also contacted the Louis Riel Academy for Research. Unfortunately, after waiting three months both organizations declined my invitation to take part in the study that resulted in the absence of Métis participation in the research. The FBOs from the Francophone community also declined to participate in this research.

Four, I relied on participant observation to a substantial extent not only as a source of data gathering but also to validate the data gathered from one-on-one interviews. However, often times it was challenging to attend and remain present throughout certain events because: 1) a

number of events concurrently took place; and 2) in the later part of the field- work I relocated to a city outside the study area (Winnipeg).

Five, this research is designed to capture the perceptions and experiences of Winnipeg based CBO middle-tier or middle-range leadership about social conflict and peace-building. It thus deliberately excluded elite level policymakers or representatives from the dominant social group. However, some of the leaders of the CBOs hail from the dominant social group as well. In addition, a plethora of faith, ethno-cultural and NGOs operate in Winnipeg and the sample presented in this research does not include all types nor is it an equal representation of all types of CBOs working in Winnipeg.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter outlined a detailed description of my research methodology, tools, and processes adopted for this research. I used a qualitative methodology to capture the rich context of the research. Within this category, I used critical ethnography with a grounded theory approach as I aimed at listening to the stories of the research participants to understand deeply the causes of social conflict and how they approach transforming these. I used computer-aided programs to analyze a large-volume of data, to visualize conflict patterns, and to generate a grounded theory. This research process helped me to arrive at concrete conclusions about social conflicts in Winnipeg. It also helped me to formulate a possible intervention strategy for conflict intervention based on the interviews. Chapter five contains analysis of CBO leaders' position as meso level actors, their views and experiences of conflict, major conflict issues, and their activities in Winnipeg.

Chapter Five

Working for the Common Good:

Leaders of Community-Based Organizations as Peacebuilders

5.1 Introduction

During my research, in the middle of winter in Manitoba, I met with one of the leaders of Idle No More (INM) who was organizing a rally to protest against Bill C-45[18] in Winnipeg. His deep and resonant voice rang with conviction as he talked about INM's future and the value of protest. I asked what particularly motivated him to join the protest. He said that the indomitable spirit of Aboriginal people inspired him:

> Well, I was in the marines for six years. That is a tough outfit in the states. But when I saw these women walking in from The Pas, and they are walking in from Norway House, I thought, "That is strength. That is determination. That is true grit."
>
> I was just humbled. I was just totally humbled that they could do that, that they would do that. It was like wow. That's strong. That was motivating. That was leadership.
>
> They did it in a humble and good way. They impressed me.

After the research interview, and being a newcomer to Manitoba, I purchased a Manitoba map from a nearby 7-Eleven convenience store and, with curiosity, looked for the places the research participant just mentioned. Before then, I had never been far outside of Winnipeg's city limits. That day, I decided to travel to see for myself what it meant for the protesters to march from The Pas and from Norway House to Winnipeg.

The following weekend, I rented a car and drove out early in the morning mindful of the treacherous winter weather. I reached The Pas just past noon, having traveled a distance of about 640 km. The temperature dipped below the 30-degree Celsius mark, which was the normal temperature for that time of year. There were few gas stations between Winnipeg and the Pas, which made the journey that much more challenging. I stayed the night in a local motel and

traveled the next day to Norway House, another 450 km north. Norway House is one of the largest reserves in Northern Manitoba.

As I drove across the vast stretch of winter Prairie, a number of things crossed my mind. That the people who wanted to register their protests had to travel such a distance, spoke not only about their convictions, but also demonstrated the movement's sense of solidarity with other First Nation groups. The spirit of this solidarity is expressed by the movement's name, which calls for no more idleness. While Aboriginal people were the original inhabitants of this region, they were dispossessed and are now isolated in remote areas. Even to reach their voices out to the government they have to travel an enormous amount of distance, notwithstanding the climate conditions they had to endure.

The CBO leader quoted above, speaks about the people he hopes will benefit from efforts in a way that elevates and dignifies them, and he humbles himself. A brief snapshot of my experience exemplifies the fact that some of the CBO leaders play an important role in affecting change from the 'bottom up' in a society. The CBO leaders' work experiences with grassroots citizenry can help them to understand the root causes of conflict and at the same time they are able to mobilize social capital for conflict intervention.

In this chapter, I explore CBO leaders' role as meso-level actors. First, different types of CBOs are discussed. Further, major conflict issues perceived by the CBO leaders are laid out. Next, CBO leaders' motivations and core philosophies are identified. Finally, CBO leaders' key peace-building works along with their major approaches to intervene in social conflicts are reviewed.

5.2 Local CBO Leaders as the Meso-level Social Actors in Winnipeg

In this section, the roles of CBO leaders as social actors are analyzed and an effort is made to understand their position as bridge-builders within a social hierarchy, situated and mediating between policymakers, at the top level, and the people, at the bottom level. These leaders are part of civil society, which can be defined as the "aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest the interests and will of citizens,"[19] which is often referred to as the "third sector" (besides government and business) of a society by the United Nations (UN).[20] Understanding their positions and roles is important since it helps to find out their ability to bring about changes in society by undertaking peace-building works and bridging gaps between the policy and grassroots levels. As mentioned earlier, three main types of CBO activities will be discussed subsequently.

5.2.1 Types of CBOs and their Work Environment for Peace-building in Winnipeg

A plethora of community organizations are found in Winnipeg, which work in numerous socio-economic developmental sectors. However, three types of CBOs—nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), ethnic community-based organizations (EBCOs), and faith-based organizations (FBOs)—were chosen based on the nature of their peace-building and their inter-connectivity with regards to resource-sharing for conflict intervention. There is a common thread that runs through these organizations with regards to the process, delivery, motivation, and decision of undertaking peace-building works for conflict transformation.

5.2.1.1 NGO Work Environment and its Leaders' Experiences

According to a list published by the University of Winnipeg, more than 50 NGOs are found working in various socio-cultural-development sectors in Winnipeg alone.[21] Most are funded by both the local or federal governments on a short- and long-term basis and work according to their

project funding guidelines determined by the funders. NGOs, as reported by the research participants in this study, contribute to social development in a wide variety of ways yet their work primarily helps people in five distinct ways:

1) helping marginalized people (Aboriginal and refugees) to gain social and employment skills;
2) assisting smaller NGOs and ECBOs to join together to improve young and elderly peoples' living conditions;
3) providing safe spaces for children for learning and sports;
4) committing alternative medical and healthcare services; and
5) contributing economic development opportunities for various marginalized communities (especially new immigrants and refugees).

Some of the NGOs prefer collaborative work with other CBOs based on project types and objectives.

One of the important aspects of NGO activities in Winnipeg is its nature of bi- and multi-lateral engagement with other ECBO and FBOs. What was observed here is that the big NGOs (in terms of capacity and funding) often encourage smaller NGOs and ECBOs to form a coalition based on a common goal (i.e., projects). Consequently, once a number of CBOs see the value of coming together to form a coalition based on shared values and project objectives, it becomes easier for the funding organization to invest in addressing wider social conflict issues (such as discrimination, racism, inequality, and poverty) by reaching out to a larger population in a sustainable manner. Here, one of the CBO leaders explains how his organization's approach to building a coalition is determined for collaborative works:

> Right now we are in relationship with an organization called 'X'. I think for the last ten years (or maybe even more) or so it is trying to bring together leaders from many of the

> African communities together so that it can speak with one voice. As an organization it finds the job extremely difficult yet it continues to work on it.
>
> Sometimes we also tend to say that we know Aboriginal issue through a few Aboriginal people but one Aboriginal person doesn't speak with the voice of all.
>
> We need to recognize that there are many voices when we speak about the Aboriginal community; likewise, there are many voices when we think about the African community. So, our organization keeps these things in mind when developing collaboration.

Here, NGO and ECBO collaboration was highlighted after acknowledging the nature of diversity among many ethno-cultural groups.

Bi- and multi-lateral engagement also serves two important purposes towards conflict transformation: once mutual cooperation is built it helps in building a collaborative atmosphere and in this process conflict stakeholders can meet, see, and share each other's stories and concerns with regards to a particular conflict. Bi- and multi-lateral engagement directly helps to build empathy, reduce inter-group "social distance", and improve social relationships. Moreover, in some cases, it was found that some NGOs even engage with FBOs to fund certain projects (which are not specifically aimed at promoting religious activities rather than solely addressing conflict issues), contrary to the popularly held belief that NGOs are strictly secular in nature.

For example, one NGO leader expressed thoughts on the capacity of NGOs in improving social relationships in the following quote:

> I will just tell you that I believe the best in individuals and I think that the key is relationship-building in conflict transformation.
>
> And I think that when people don't see a place for themselves in society or in a community they become more and more isolated. So I think it is critical that we create places of belonging for everybody.
>
> Do I see there are places where many newcomers are engaged in our community? There are. Yes. Probably those are isolated. But there are many more that aren't.
>
> And I think we need to see this NGO invest in a number of different ways, so we might invest in some type of mainstream type of investments where people could go and access critical social service.

This leader emphasizes the need for inclusion and to reach out to newcomers of diverse cultural backgrounds so that they are an integral part of the community. The community is a place where everyone belongs.

Another leader expressed the belief that, despite the challenges, coalition-building among ethno-cultural communities reduces ethnic tension:

> [We] are continuing to work as a group not only to understand, but also to recognize that the experiences of people in their own countries don't need to be the experience here when they come and live together in Canada.
>
> So, I think that even within their group or a particular group or ethnic group, that people are trying to understand the differences between themselves.

ECBO leaders are working in intentional ways to address inter-group conflicts through their collaborations. This is a process of a post-conflict peace-building among groups from conflict zones who are now in the Diaspora, in Canada.

5.2.1.2 ECBOs: Work Environment and Leaders' Experiences

As discussed in Chapter 2, ECBOs are the outcome of Canada's official multiculturalism policy. The Manitoba government's ministry of multiculturalism funds and monitors the work of the registered Manitoba ECBOs in coordination with its federal counterpart. The Ethnocultural Community Support Program (ECSP) outlines various conditions of funding and related ECBO matters. However, the ECBOs are founded based on immigrants' ethnocultural identities (including refugees) only. Research participants reported that there were as many as 100 such organizations functioning in Winnipeg.

These organizations act as an important link between policymakers and grassroots immigrant (including refugee) people in Manitoba for promoting and sustaining multiculturalism. ECBOs are tasked to help new immigrants (including refugees) to settle and integrate within mainstream society. Consequently, ECBOs are uniquely positioned among the

three types of community organizations because it directly assists new immigrants (including refugees) who come to Canada with great hope and expectations to settle. Their cultural adaptation to a new society is often difficult as they face enormous challenges in terms of language adaptability, skill transfer, food habit, and maintaining their own cultural practices. Most importantly these organizations play important roles in: creating a welcoming environment for the new immigrants (including refugees), helping new comers to gain necessary information about laws, regulations, customs, indigenous populations and resources so that they can access for settlement, providing housing and medical support services for low income families, and connecting people of the same race and creed together. For example, one leader expressed that his organization works in connecting with similar organizations in Winnipeg to foster better inter-group understanding:

> We do cultural activities with the Bangladeshi community and we invite artists to sing as we gather together. But I think a lot can be and should be done in this aspect. For example, we are planning to bring musicians and then we would invite people from various communities to come and enjoy music and that is how we build relationship with other communities.

In the above statement, the ECBO leaders emphasized that common cultural identity helps connecting people easily in this society.

Another leader expressed that with government help his ECBO has undertaken a unique project to save the language of his group in the following statement:

> I think it [ECBO work] is extremely important. Not only for the reason to keep your cultural identity intact; the main point is that every language in this world is powerful and it must be conserved. For example, in my opinion in late 2000 there were 7,000 languages throughout the world. Now every day we are losing two or three languages. And nowadays probably there are 4,000. Other languages are being extinct or lost.
>
> So we organize Bangla class for children so that they do not lose touch with it. We as parents know Bangla but our kids don't know Bangla and we end up having communication problems at home and they cannot read what we are reading.

Here, one ECBO leader highlighted the importance of maintaining one's identity through language training since it binds people to their roots.

ECBO leaders expressed that they work voluntarily since the meager funding that they receive from the government does not allow them to hire full time workers. However, despite resource constraints they think such steps encourage them to undertake a number of peace-building works within the community.

5.2.1.3 FBOs Work Environment and Leaders' Experiences

The city of Winnipeg is punctuated by numerous prayer places of different faith groups and it represents a true diversity of this society. More than 400 registered faith-based organizations were listed in the 2013 Winnipeg phonebook *Yellow Pages.* FBOs are the oldest community based organizations in Winnipeg and some of their roots can be traced back to late 1800s and early 1900s as the settlers first started to pour into the prairies. A finding of this study is that FBO leaders undertake numerous peace-building efforts in the city, from meeting socially marginalized and vulnerable people's basic human needs (BHN) (such as food and shelter) as well as meeting spiritual needs. It is important to emphasize that meeting people's BHN is considered as peace-building work not only for the reason that some CBOs are pro-actively engaged in such activities, also its leaders believed that without meeting such needs sustainable peace cannot be achieved in the society.

When I sent a general invitation to all the potential participants in this research, I found respondents from faith organizations who expressed their willingness to participate voluntarily more than others. These FBO leaders shared intriguing information, analysis, and their life experiences of dealing with conflict issues. They also told me that their perceptions and experiences of conflict affected their decisions in conflict intervention. Contrary to my earlier

expectation that in a secular society, the role of faith groups might be at least marginal, I observed that contributions of FBOs in conflict transformation are indeed significant.

For the purpose of this research, I observed four types of FBOs: Christian (both mainstream Catholics and Evangelicals), Muslim (pre-dominantly Sunni), Jewish, and non-denominational faith groups (such as Masons, multifaith council, Baha'is, Quaker, and Falun Gong). As expected, the FBO leaders unequivocally expressed that they were inspired because they were firmly grounded in their faith traditions, which stimulated them to do social good and stand up for a just cause. Some of the mainstream Catholic faith organizations have a long history and work tradition in Winnipeg that dates back to the late 1800s. Consequently, they have a wider social network and they can mobilize people for social causes. Moreover, it was observed that some of the Christian FBOs came together to form an alliance because they believe that they must play an important role to promote social and environmental justice and equity in the society, which is the core philosophy of their respective faiths.

For example, one FBO leader expressed what motivates him to work for social justice:

> I will start by answering in religious or scriptural terms in that one of our injunctions in the New Testament is that we are to enter or seek the Kingdom of God. This is a clear set of teachings that Jesus gives and Jesus illustrates that by this notion of the reign or Kingdom of God.
>
> He illustrates this by healing people, by liberating them from oppression. And in that context it's the oppression of the dehumanization but clearly the concept is liberation from oppression.

From the above explanation, it is clear that the FBO leader thought of social justice in terms of ensuring people's basic human needs. The teachings of every faith tradition provide ample justifications to work for social justice. I also observed that some of the FBO leaders team up with other ECBO and NGO leaders to resist social injustices in Winnipeg; they said that faith inspired them most to do so.

5.2.1.4 CBO Leaders Role as the Meso-level Actors

This research shows that social groups in Winnipeg are often connected through meso-level non-state actors/agencies within a social space. In Winnipeg, these meso-level actors hail from nongovernmental, ethnocultural, and faith-based organizations. They are found working between the state (macro level) and grassroots citizenry/activists (micro-level) to apply innovative conflict resolution methods to difficult conflict situations. Therefore, we can call them 'intermediate leaders.'

For example, one FBO leader observed their level of engagement is essential to foster interconnectivity among people and organizations in the following way:

> I think, personally, there exists interconnectivity between the communities and organizations that create bondage and fulfill the sense of communities.
>
> I think some communities are very connected and some other communities don't have that same connection with each other.
>
> And I think those communities that we struggle the most with working through conflict—it is often because there is little relationship between the parties before conflict happens and it leads to escalation of conflict unfortunately.

Relationship building among communities is a means of conflict prevention and/or allows avenues for conflict de-escalation when it emerges.

Another NGO leader averred that certain CBOs could provide an essential linkage between the elites and grassroots level peoples in the society:

> I can give you my perspective on the implementation of any process [or policies] where I was in the government.
>
> My belief was we should utilize whatever human power or organizations can do things best and most effectively for the benefit of the public interest.
>
> So you need to make sure that civil services people are functioning optimally and community organizations are acting as facilitators by empowering people.

That is, civil society organizations build capacity for the city, province, and Canada as a whole.

It was found that these non-state meso-level actors/agencies are commonly treated under the rubric of civil society and hence my exploration of their leaders' perceptions of conflict

transformation and peace-building. While it appeared that the CBOs are a bridge between the elite and grassroots levels they seemed to be less effective in influencing policy decisions regarding the transformation of social conflict issues such as racism and discrimination. This might be because not only are racism and discrimination impervious to be resolved in the short term but many CBOs can only focus on dealing with immediate manifestations of conflict issues given their resource constraint. Moreover, in as much as racism and discrimination are structurally embedded, these are also hugely divisive issues in the society. In this regard, although, some CBO leaders expressed that they were interested in doing something about the issue, yet they were obliged to not place their organizations in an uncomfortable or controversial position by taking on racism issues in Winnipeg. Nevertheless, I also observed that CBOs roles and actions did overlap, and sometimes they engaged both top and grassroots level actors using their faith, ethnocultural, or organizational platforms.

In analyzing some of my respondent's experiences as middle-level actors in key peace-building projects, I identified that CBO leaders' roles are better understood using Lederach's (1998, 2006) conflict transformation pyramid model, which can be used to empower CBOs to create an appropriate conflict transformation process for addressing conflicts in Winnipeg. Thus, Lederach discussed various actors positioned at three levels along with various conflict dimensions. He duly emphasized the middle-tier leadership because often intervention policies decided at the macro level fail to address grassroots level needs. In addition, he also posited that all intervention mechanisms devised at the macro level intend to directly meet people's needs at the micro-level; yet Lederach (1998) states that they are unable to connect actors placed at two ends of a conflict spectrum at the individual (micro) and elite (macro) levels for a multitude of reasons. Therefore, the significance of middle-tier meso-level actors comes into play, which can

create knowledge through various activities such as dialogue and workshops that can then be transferred to the main stakeholders in conflict, namely, policymakers and action advocacy groups at the grassroots level. Nevertheless, the rationale for such an analysis is also to understand how much impact CBO peace-building projects have on the structural, cultural, relational, and individual aspects within a conflict transformation process (See Lederach, Neufeldt, and Culbertson 2007).

In this sub-section, CBO leaders reported that community can be based on types of service such as child support, training, and social welfare provided by government agencies and other NGOs or on geographical and administrative boundaries set by the city. According to some participants, interconnectedness between/among the communities are imperative for a healthy community dynamic to exist. Additionally, the CBO leaders consider themselves acting as a bridge between policymakers and grassroots level citizens and they think that they can constructively contribute toward social conflict resolution.

5.3 CBO Actors' Views and Experiences of Conflict in Winnipeg

Peace-building suggests that there are conflicts and violence to be addressed. Throughout this study, I asked my research participants whether they perceived themselves to be locked in a conflict, and how they view the possibility of transforming this conflict and moving toward creating a peaceful and just society. Research participants clearly identified the key point that social conflict is about achieving social justice and equity (here equity is defined "as fairness achieved through proactive measures that result in equality for all")[22] with reference to different social groups.

5.3.1 Major Conflict Issues

I explicitly requested the research participants to name and rank five social conflict issues (as per their own priority, one being the most intense and five being the least) that they have experienced in this city.[23]

In the subsequent paragraphs, I present the conflict issues; however, conflict related to gang violence is not analyzed as only a few participants actually discussed this conflict issue resulting in a lack of representative data to produce substantial analysis.

5.3.1.1 Conflict related to Aboriginal Peoples

Most of my research participants identified racism, discrimination, stereotyping, and intolerance related to the Aboriginal population of Winnipeg as one of the key social conflict issues. They argued that it is caused by the cultural-political-economic part of the social structure. According to them racism is institutionalized and caused by institutional policies where it is subtle, systemic and often remains unspoken. Many also suggested that racism comes from the legacy of colonialism.

Further, several participants contended that a subtler difference exists between racism and racialism. As one FBO leaders put it:

> So, for me, race is a cultural construction. Race doesn't exist in biology. And in the European tradition "race" is at least 500 years old beginning in the colonial period. So for, me race, is a cultural social construction.
>
> And so that racialism is the assumption for many people that outward appearance differences reflect something more substantial in human differences and we call that race.
>
> Racism is the sustained oppression or the deliberate marginalization of a community because of a perceived racial difference.
>
> So racialism is a softer word and it just deposits that there are races. But this is a highly controversial thing. How many races do we have? In what sense is there an overlap?
>
> But the mere positing of human differences based on outward things such as skin color, shape of hair, and other things we perceive to be these become products of social construction.

The respondent in the above statement carefully differentiated between racism and racialism and opined that socio-economic-cultural factors may sometimes act as common denominators that contribute to the social construction of racism, and discrimination in a society.

One NGO leader said that stereotyping creates a perception that is responsible for discrimination and racism against the Aboriginal people in Winnipeg. For example, new immigrants (including refugees) settling in Winnipeg form their impressions about Aboriginal people from their relatives and friends and those who already live here and may perceive Aboriginal peoples as inferior:

> I think [discrimination] is institutional in a sense as newcomers see it. I think a lot of times newcomers to Canada, think Canada are a safe place to be, sort of a wealthy country in that sense. And whether it is due to immigration or new people coming from some conflict areas as refugees, I figure the whole preparation of coming to Canada and the orientation to know who the original people are (which would be Aboriginal people) is problematic.
>
> I think what happens in terms of the institutional perceptions and it is how people talk generally about the other and that all the stereotypes about Aboriginal people, the historic ones where Aboriginal people were depicted in movies from the past in John Wayne type movies.

Newcomers are influenced by the racism in their milieu in Winnipeg as perceptions of racism experienced by their fellow country mates are gradually transferred to them. How newcomers stereotype Aboriginal people is one example of stereotyping that happens in the city. Some organizations are explicitly working to address this situation.

An ECBO leader also shared how stereotyping and racism are perpetrated against Aboriginal people in Winnipeg by new immigrants (including refugees), and described an incident where an Aboriginal person was murdered by two immigrants just to experience how it felt like killing an Aboriginal. This happened because new immigrants are usually fed with

destructive stories about Aboriginal people so that they become hostile to them. This general stereotyping of Aboriginals illustrates a conflict between Aboriginal and newcomers:

> I remember when the new immigrants come into Canada, you would think that they would look up to the native people and say, this is your land and we thank you."
>
> But instead the native people get pushed further and further down that ladder, that hierarchy where they are at the bottom and the immigrants quite often will look down at the native people because everybody needs somebody to step on.
>
> So, I remember in the early '70s there was a murder and a native man was murdered somewhere near Main Street by two young Vietnamese men that had just recently arrived in Canada. And they murdered this native person.
>
> And when the judge asked them why they did it, they said, "Because we wanted to know what it felt like to kill an Indian."

Racist stereotype is dehumanizing and it sometimes tend to justify violence.

Some CBO leaders stated that discrimination and racism originate from the social structure that causes violence in the society:

> I would have to say that part of it is structural—not only in terms of government structure but also in terms of social structure.
>
> I think the current way in which we are trying to address issues of racism are a lot of times: "Well let's just throw some money at it." Organizing seminars, symposia as opposed to trying to look at the greater picture in terms of what do these people need.
>
> For example, I was working in the research project called Emergency Department Violence Intervention Program (ED-VIP), which looks after young people [mostly Aboriginal] when they come into emergency room for a number of violence related incident.
>
> The whole idea of that particular program is to learn what cause to become violent and walk hand in hand with individuals and help them get or help with their needs in terms of whether it be housing issues or education or finding a job that sort of thing.

Alongside state structures, some social structures also perpetuate discrimination and in this regard some ECBO leaders collaborate with government agencies to help in understanding the root cause of violence emanating from racism and discrimination.

Another participant averred that the overall social-cultural structure in place is not helpful to provide smooth integration of people coming to settle in the city:

> And I think also it happens to also fall in line with this structure that we have isn't friendly. The structure as far as the way the city is laid out, the languages that we can

> offer, the way that we communicate with people, it's not often friendly to people of a different language.
>
> So I think that is social and also a local logistic problem.
>
> I think also that some of the intolerances come from not understanding the differences in cultural or religious customs.

Intolerance breeds discrimination and since adequate resources to help people to learn about other people's cultural and religious diversity is unavailable in the city, it makes even difficult to curb racism.

One FBO leaders explained that the media, the dominant social discourse, and government policies help form peoples' perceptions. Therefore, people tend to relate certain groups of people to their ethnic and cultural backgrounds:

> I just think the conflict for me personally is that there is this discourse out there that says that Aboriginal people are bad and a lot of people don't know anybody Aboriginal.
>
> But what they believe about Aboriginal people is what they hear all the time and what they hear and see in the paper and that sort of thing, so this portrayal—.
>
> One thing about immigrants that I have noticed is that a lot of them think quite negatively about Aboriginal people.
>
> And I think that is because they usually start out in the inner city. That is what they can afford and that's where you see the highest percentage of you know, the Aboriginals live on the street and they have substance abuse issues and stuff like that, and that sort of reinforced what everyone else says.
>
> I mean you pick it up, I mean like social discourse is in the air. Particularly, the values that everybody takes for granted and they just assume that is the way that things are.

Various socio-political-cultural sources contribute in stereotyping a certain group of people often relating their so-called inferiority to their cultural and ethnic roots.

In addition, others mentioned the subtle nature of this phenomenon and how many people choose to endure it and do not speak out against it. The participants also discussed integration, assimilation, and identity crises that originate from the social maladjustment of Aboriginal people living in Winnipeg:

> I think identity struggle is huge actually. I think that a lot damaged societies are trying to refine what their identities are through the stolen or loss in time and to redefine and assert

> who they are and their rights within a society where they are minority. I think that every person is entitled to their identity and their expression of identity and when there are lots to compromise, it creates conflict.

Institutional structural discrimination and racism towards the Aboriginal population of Winnipeg runs deeper in the social psyche. A tension always exists between the new immigrants (including refugees) and Aboriginal people as the former do not acquire substantial information about the historical legacy of the First Peoples lives in Canada as they settle. There are social discourses, media reports that shape their perceptions about Aboriginal peoples, which is often very negative. However, identity struggle for Aboriginals as well as others is profound in Winnipeg.

5.3.1.2 Conflict related to Unmet Needs and Social Inequalities of New Immigrants (including Refugees)

My research participants ranked integration related issues about the new immigrants (including refugees) and their unmet expectations as the second key social conflict in Winnipeg. Their responses originate from their perceptions, and lived experiences that outline how new immigrants face obstacles in obtaining gainful employment.

Moreover, refugees have difficulties integrating into mainstream society because of social barriers (for example, communication, lack of skills, and poverty). Some participants opined that what they felt is going on in Winnipeg can be termed as “accommodation” and not the desired “assimilation” of people. Most reported on the mis-matched story that is sold about Canada abroad that creates great expectations that cannot be met upon arrival. In addition, the overtly secular culture in public education and society at large creates an identity struggle that impacts young people as well as the parents of newly arrived immigrants and refugees, which can be referred to as “culture shock”, from which some can overcome yet others cannot.

Most importantly, it was revealed that for the new immigrants and refugees the integration and identity struggle are rooted in their experiences in facing a 'renewed' type of colonialism as well as going through "imported conflicts" (inter-group conflict brought home) that cause significant social polarization. Further, immigrants bring their past traumas and cultural differences with them as they settle in Winnipeg and by clinging to them exacerbate inter-group conflict. Moreover, a growing inter-faith intolerance between groups obstructs integration and some of my respondents reported that the suppression of people's faith identity can exacerbate and escalate conflict.

For example, an FBO leader mentioned that new immigrants and refugees suffer from an integration crisis within the mainstream society because they feel that their past academic or training experiences are not counted here. Even if some of their skills are recognized it does not really help them to get meaningful employment through which they can support their families:

> I think next would be integration of refugees and immigrants, finding ways to acknowledge their qualifications or somehow confirm and validate their qualifications so that they can be able to work in the fields that they have been trained for, or, in the case of refuges who often don't come with qualifications, more support and helping them find ways to integrate.

New immigrants and refugees often encounter obstacles to integrate in the mainstream society since their previous experiences are often not recognized in Canada.

Another FBO leader also suggested that refugees mostly struggle to integrate into Winnipeg because they do not get proper support to overcome multiple social-cultural-economic barriers. They may also feel helpless, as they do not find adequate assistance from the province to overcome such barriers:

> I think that we have in Winnipeg a problem with refugee integration. I think that there is a problem with the understanding of what the integration of other populations' means and how to go about doing it.

One ECBO leader expressed the ‘otherness’ that originates from identity struggle in the following quote:

> My daughters if they are born here in Canada and they are Canadian by birth, by education, by culture, by their thinking, peers and everything they are 100 percent Canadian.
>
> But still they feel like they are very much the ‘other’, in the eyes of the local people. When they are travelling on the bus and someone asks them when did you come to Winnipeg? Which country did you come from?
>
> Then they start to react and feel bad, they say look I am born here, brought up here and I think Canadian, I live Canadian but still I am not Canadian. So this thing is becoming evident.

In general, there prevails an atmosphere of ‘otherness’ in the city that hinders spontaneous integration.

My research participants discussed different factors contributing to the second key social conflict issue arising in Winnipeg. Most opined that when refugees and immigrants start to settle in Winnipeg they bring with them certain cultural and political experiences that cause conflict within the existing system. Some of the participants also spoke against oppressive government policies restricting the expression of one’s own faith that causes an identity struggle among new immigrants. Finally, the participants opined that when immigrants and refugees are frustrated, when they are unable to realize their dreams while settling in Winnipeg, it escalates conflict with other groups.

5.3.1.3 Conflict Related to Poverty and Inequality

The research participants mentioned poverty and inequality as the third most important social-economic conflict in Winnipeg, which they say is caused by the political-economic part of the social structure. In this regard, they discussed the state of child poverty in Manitoba. My research participants reported that the current capitalist consumer driven, and greed based economic structure creates social polarization between rich and poor that causes greater poverty and

inequality. A widening gap between the rich and poor in the society emerged only in the last decade due to economic inequality and it is a worrisome trend. It can also be related to visible social class differences and economic 'ghettoization' in the city. When poor people are concentrated in one geographic location in a city, it obviates the emergence of anti-social activities from a single point with a single narrative (i.e. discrimination)– a common phenomenon of modern metropolises around the world. Moreover, a few respondents noted that homelessness has increased in the past decade while the provision of free meals for poor students in schools has decreased; this situation is even dire in the schools that operate in the Indian reserves. Further, poverty and poor health condition are interrelated and the Aboriginal people are its prime victim. The recent human rights commission's ruling that federal government acted discriminatorily towards First Peoples children is a case in point here.

For example, an FBO leader opined that the prevailing economic situation causes inequality between the haves and have not's. This phenomenon is particularly affecting the life styles of various social groups; it is also changing the city's landscape:

> And I think I also see a lot of conflict regarding economic statuses and how the economic structure is based and who is helped and who is not and I think it breeds intolerance and discrimination as well.

Another FBO leader observed the same phenomenon and explained that the intersectionality of geography, poverty and racism has given birth to an "unholy cocktail". Moreover, the economic divide is becoming wider day-by-day as the accumulated wealth by the rich increased exponentially while the middle and low-income group fell below their previous earning level. He explained the situation in the following manner:

> I would say there is a conflict between the rich and the poor in this city…I think it takes on a unique or special, it feels different here…but again I think it is the unique combination of geography and poverty and racism that it is an unholy cocktail here in

> Winnipeg. That it feels intense here. It feels, and that is why people do not like to talk about it, but I think it is real.

People often do not like to acknowledge the existence of racism in public yet it is conspicuous if one looks at different types of housing available in the inner city as well as other places.

An ECBO leader also noted that inequality between the "haves and have not's" has increased within the last ten years in Winnipeg. This situation is acutely visible in the city's landscape, housing market, and economic activities:

> I think of socio-economic issues in the city causing conflict and this is maybe within the last ten years and I think they are more pronounced now than they were maybe even twenty years ago.
>
> I guess maybe in terms of the haves and have not's in society. Where people are getting more active in social movements or social activities where they are trying to assist people who are from a lower economic group. And I think because of the economy the way it has been shaping over the last decade that you are noticing more pronounced economic gap and people are falling through the cracks.

Rapid economic growth did not translate into equal share of city's prosperity as evidenced from the above quote.

My research participants discussed the impact of prevailing poverty and inequality among the have not's in Winnipeg. They observed that class differences based on economic conditions is most profound, the gap between the rich and poor has increased significantly over the years causing conflict. Finally, they explained how the Aboriginal community and new immigrants (including refuges) are also hit the hardest by poverty.

5.3.1.4 Inter-group Misunderstanding (Among Mainstream Population, Immigrants, Refugees and First Peoples) and Distrustful Social Relationships

My research participants mentioned how an inter-group distrustful relationship is a conflict issue, which is caused by the socio-political-cultural part of the social structure. They defined the relationships among various social groups in terms of their proximity to socio-economic-political

power and their ability to use this power in terms of their interactions, communication, and accessibility to resources. Since these social groups occupy the same social space, any distrustful relationships such as those caused by inter-group power differences appeared to be one of the most important elements in escalating social conflict. One example of this phenomenon is the fact that the relationships between the Aboriginal population and the rest of society are not only problematic they are also antagonistic. Moreover, misperception exists between social groups with regard to accessing social welfare related resources. Some observed that a lack of knowledge about past colonial experiences endured by the Aboriginal people contributes to poor relationships, which results in the use of stereotyping (i.e. they are lazy, drunk, and untrustworthy). The legacy of the residential schools and many racial segregation policies in Canada affect inter-group relationships. Finally, the lack of inter-group interactions at regular intervals within a common social space means that social barriers remain between people.

An FBO leader said that prevailing power differences between the settlers and other groups adversely affect social relationships because the dominant group (i.e. settlers) retains the control of the distribution of economic resources in the city:

> Well, there is definitely a power imbalance, when you look at all those things happening there. The reality is there was a classic culture in a lot of ways and the settlers' kind of won in that battle if you want to put it, the 'battle'. And it has really affected our Aboriginal people. It has affected them on many levels.

Another FBO leader argued that the social relationship is at its worst between the Aboriginal communities and the rest of society because of the mainstream community's lack of understanding of the Aboriginal people's experience of the colonial past. Moreover, people from the mainstream society often fail to understand how the past influences the present condition of Aboriginal people and this is the reason that they cannot just "get over it":

> There are certainly conflicts over some unspoken things between the Aboriginal populations of Winnipeg and other citizens of Winnipeg, because of lack of understanding.

Most of the participants focused on the poor social relationships between the dominant cultural group and the Aboriginal population in Winnipeg. They observed that misconceptions about the Aboriginal and immigrant populations due to a lack of communication and constructive inter-group interaction dominate inter-group interactions in the city. The lack of historical knowledge and memory appears to cause misconceptions to persist among people.

5.3.2 Social Conflict Analysis

The participants identified the dynamics of conflict issues and accordingly ranked five social conflict issues in order of their intensity: conflict related to Aboriginal peoples; new immigrants (including refugees); poverty; inter-group mis-understanding resulting into poor inter-group relationships; and gang violence. However, social conflict issues stated below were discovered in Phase One of the research and after data coding of the respondents' response percentages, QSR nVivo 10 generated the following Table 4 with themes and sub-themes.

Table 4: Respondent's Top Five Social Conflict Issues

Social Conflict Issues	Rank
Conflict related to Aboriginal Peoples Issues	1
Conflict related to New Immigrants (including Refugees)	2
Conflict related to poverty, homelessness, inequality	3
Inter-group mis-understanding, poor social relationships	4
Gang violence	5[24]

In sum, the participants reflected on their experiences and perceptions while reporting on and ranking social conflict issues in Winnipeg. Interestingly, a recent report published in the McLean's Magazine also outlines the severe nature of racism towards the Aboriginal population existing in Winnipeg (Macdonald 2015).

After plotting the responses of my respondents, I was able to provide a snapshot of the major conflict issue, its causes, its victims, how it occurs, and the time period involved. This is shown in Table 10 at Appendix 5. In sum, the participants mentioned that conflict issues appear to be caused directly and indirectly by the social structure and its chief victims are new immigrants (including refugees) and those who came to settle in Canada after the 1990s, who mostly hailed from Africa, Latin America, South Asia and the Middle East and the Aboriginal peoples.

Additionally, a conflict analysis model is presented schematically in Figure 4 below. This is a model adopted from Blaikie et al. (2014) who used it to explain vulnerability and risk relating to natural disaster, yet it is applicable to our understanding of social conflict in Winnipeg. The model is modified to suit the purpose of the analysis and it is depicted whereby at its roots lies the social, economic and political structure of the society.

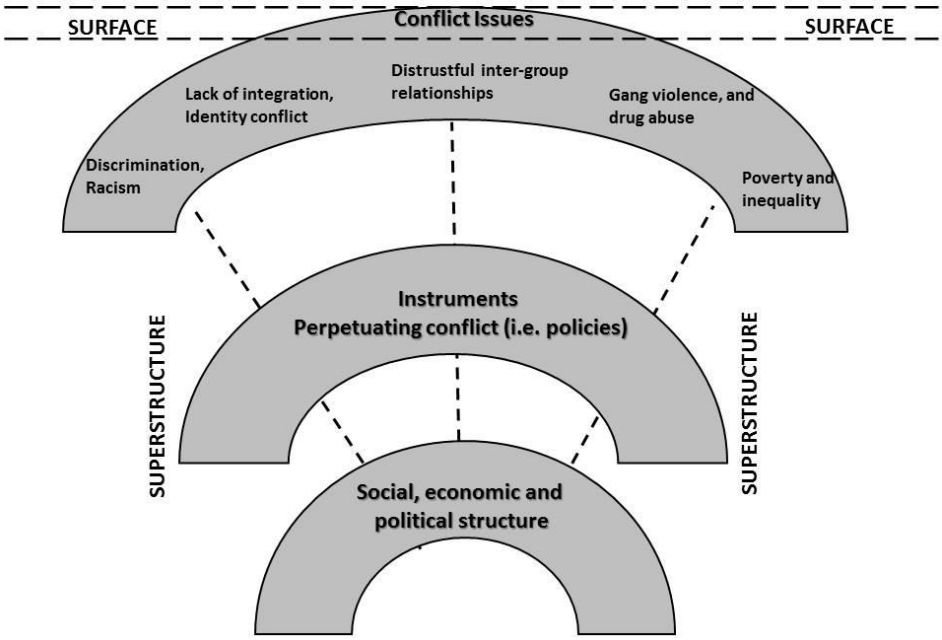
The respondents seemed to refer to this structure as unjust and unequal because of three principal reasons. First, the dominant mainstream social group has created a superstructure, which is the hub of its social, economic and political power. Only members of this group can access power and the power is handed down generationally and seldom shared. Second, they suggest that the structure is responsible at the first level for systematic group oppression and structural inequity because the dominant group's dominance is perceived as a right (both hereditary and earned). In this process, they seem to opine that the current structure causes "structural violence" (systemic problems) as well as "cultural violence" (social norms that blind us to injustices) (see Galtung 1996). Third, a number of institutions (educational, legal, and security) exist within the structure that legitimize the oppression and create multiple barriers for the dominated group to achieve equity and justice. Most of these institutions bolster existing

oppression and facilitate the maintenance of the current status-quo while a few nominal institutions such as the Human Rights Commission, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the multiculturalism secretariat, and the Canadian Museum for Human Rights attempt to redress oppression. Nevertheless, it was revealed to me by my interviewees that the dominant social group also controls these institutions using them to serve their own purposes.

At the next level, the respondents indicated that the dominant group maintains its power through instruments such as: economic policies, refugee acceptance rules, educational policies, multiculturalism legislation, and the 'employment equity' act.[25] Along with these policies, several factors also appear to affect the conflict environment such as the ruling political party's ideology, global and national economic conditions, and global and local security situations. Combining both the instruments and the structure, we get the societal superstructure.

Finally, at the surface level, we see manifest conflict issues such as discrimination and racism; lack of integration; identity conflict; distrustful inter-group relationships (especially between the Aboriginal group and the rest of society); poverty and rising inequality between the rich and poor; and gang violence and the drug trade.

Figure 4: Social Conflict Analysis Model



Source: At Risk II-: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability and Disasters (Blaikie et al. (2014)

5.4 Why CBO Actors Do the Work they Do?

The answer to the question posed above lies in the result of mapping CBO leaders' motivations; it also tells us the reasons why CBO leaders decide to intervene in some conflicts more so than in others. The CBO leaders saw the challenges and opportunities that emerge with the conflicts they encounter on a daily basis yet they chose to take care of some while ignoring others. This is not only a capacity issue but it might also be a moral, humanitarian, faith and belief issue, or simply it is an altruistic urge. That is why I was particularly keen to learn about the motivation of CBO leaders in transforming social conflict as I think this is a key factor in building a successful conflict transformation mechanism. In this sub-section I shall explain CBO leaders' main sources of motivation that are primarily derived from their respective faith traditions, the opportunities available to work for conflict intervention, and organizational vision.

5.4.1 NGO Leaders Motivations

It was observed that NGOs vision often inspires people to work for peaceful change and NGO leaders believe in the interconnectivity of humanity and perceive the world as a "global village." NGO leaders' reliance in interconnectedness, and in ensuring the wellbeing of one individual can make incremental changes for all, is the ultimate foundation for prosperity. For example, one NGO leader mentioned that his NGOs mandate to improve peoples' lives motivated him to undertake peace-building work:

> My motivation comes from my conviction that we live in a globalized world and we are interconnected. I work in the business sector and I believe that if we can work hard to improve upon people's lives in terms of their economic prosperity, it will eventually do well and reduce social and ethnic tension that we see now. I sit in a business counseling committee within the provincial government and I advise people to adopt various means to improve business conditions.

Ensuring sustainable economic growth remains to be an important aspect in improving people lives in the city.

Another NGO leader explained that a certain social issue triggers a desire to get into activism as she explained in the following quote:

> I started to get involved locally in Winnipeg three or four years ago when I saw the missing and murder event coming up. I know about the 'sixty's scoop' and at that time I was trying to get in touch with my families. It's a slow going but I didn't want to see any of my aunts or sisters, their names on these placards.
>
> So I started getting involved, in getting to know the people in the community that are doing these things. It was a good start. But looking in deeper what is being done and what is not being done, and using practical analysis, I am disheartened. They [government] are totally ignoring missing or murdered women issues in Manitoba, they are specifically ignoring constitutional issues, treaty rights and all kinds of things and you will find the answer here, why these things are not improving.

Government's ambivalent attitude towards handling missing and murdered Aboriginal women triggered a social movement and it brought both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people together.

As seen from the data above, NGO leaders are motivated partially due to the societal context and their organizational mission statements.

NGO leaders' organizations' mission statements seems to be the source of their motivation, in promoting people's human rights and in providing their BHNs (i.e. food, clothing and shelter). In many cases, the leaders expressed that they think globally in terms of conflict and its impacts on social lives while they operate locally since technology enabled people to maintain an intimate connection with each other nowadays than ever before. Many are strong proponents of the idea of the "global village", and they feel that we are all interconnected in an interdependent way, and that we cannot avoid conflict even if it is taking place far away from Winnipeg. They further implied that imported conflicts are very much alive in Winnipeg and have the potential to destabilize society. In addition, their motivation also stems from funders and organizational capacities (networking, research and development) to deal with conflict.

5.4.2 ECBO Leaders Motivations

ECBO leaders desire to intervene in conflict revolves around the availability of opportunities and resources; however, at the same time they are often altruistic in nature and they feel a genuine passion to help others. An ECBO leader pointed out that Winnipeggers are motivated by respect to work for Aboriginal issues based on what they have seen (witnessing the dedication of the INM movement to seek justice for Aboriginal people). The following are some of the statements made by the participants. One leader spoke about how an opportunity arose and she got motivated to work for a project in the following way:

> I fell into this position almost by accident. I did see that the older generation of community leaders who deal with social conflict in the Muslim community are over stretched and thought that there are ways to do succession planning. As such, I became a design team member and program manager for the Organization X , which aims to empower Canadian Muslims with the skills and knowledge to become future leaders and

> change makers. Hopefully this will go some way in addressing social conflict in the future, if not now.

Sometimes, certain social condition inspires people to undertake activism aimed at social change. The ECBO leaders in this study are a unique product of the Multiculturalism Act[26] of Manitoba because the Manitoba government legislated a policy not only to protect and promote multiculturalism for its diverse population but it also created a Secretariat (including a Minister) to undertake necessary actions (for example, ethno-cultural support programs – ECSP for ethno-cultural organizations). Although they represent their core ethno-cultural communities, they choose to work as leaders voluntarily. By choosing to do voluntary work for their communities, it is a manifestation of a compassion and desire to help people as they continuously balance their lives between work and voluntarism.

As elaborated earlier, numerous ECBOs operate in Winnipeg. These organizations are partly funded by the Ministry of Immigration and Multiculturalism and its organizational structure is flexible. Moreover, it is also normal that one particular ethnocultural group might have a number of sub-groups depending on their past historical affiliation, faith orientation, cultural preferences, and language. One can also determine people's origin in such groups by noticing the group identity (Somali-Canadian, Canada-Bangladesh etc.). The dynamics of group formation and the group's sustainability among the ECBOs are similar to any other organizations yet the members' voluntary commitment to serve these types of groups is remarkable.

Nevertheless, small ethnic groups were less factional and more cohesive; they choose their leaders who they think credible following a democratic process. Many ECBO leaders pointed out the gradual shift of leadership in their organizations and were hopeful that young leaders would begin to step forward with new and innovative ideas to deal with intra-group conflict. Correspondingly, some ECBO leaders expressed the point of view that they consider

leadership (on a voluntary basis) as their passion and a motivator, and that they use their positions to raise people's voices against injustices because they think it is the right thing to do. Further, they also asserted that maintaining communication with various groups and keeping a neutral and bi-partisan approach, however challenging it might be, always pays dividend in resolving intra-group conflict in the long run.

In addition, I found that the ECBOs mostly respond to opportune conflicts that make them look good rather than having pre-planned involvement. This happens due to the fact that ECBOs are loosely organized and depend on government funding (although in some cases they raise funds through charity) to run their day-to-day functions. Moreover, the members of such groups choose a particular type of conflict to intervene in rather than follow their leader or external agencies decisions. Some ECBO leaders were self-motivated and wanted to express solidarity with others. For example, one ECBO leader explained to me how he was motivated by seeing First Peoples marching thousands of kilometers in the winter to raise awareness of Aboriginal issues in Canada. Other ECBO leaders opined that cultural commonalities are also important factors in bringing people together.

From my research participants' narratives, it was evident that they drew energy from a number of sources to intervene in social conflict. For example, faith leaders obviously spoke about their firm commitments to do social good grounded in their respective faith traditions, and NGO leaders mentioned their organizational mandates that inspire them to commit their time and energy to improve the lives of marginalized people in the city. However, the ethnocultural leaders are an exception here. They opined that they were intrinsically motivated to assist their ethnic communities to remain socio-culturally alive by nurturing their cultural and ethnic identities. Since the ethnocultural organizations are loosely formed organizations as such, they

are flexible and can be creative in devising conflict intervention tools that contribute to effective peace-building. These leaders are truly motivated by their altruistic impulses because they chose to volunteer in these organizations. This is indicative of a phenomenon that speaks about the existing strong ties within the ethnocultural communities in Winnipeg. Nevertheless, challenges abound for these leaders, which arrive primarily in the form of inadequate resources as well as the conditional funding provided to them to undertake conflict intervention work. Nevertheless, the Winnipeg CBO leaders who participated in this study are passionate about working for the social good and in changing oppressive systems.

5.4.3 FBO Leaders Motivations

Apparently it appears to be too simplistic to state that faith group leaders draw their inspirations from faith yet this research shows that a multitude of faith leaders are also engaged in peace-building work in Winnipeg, in fact, they are inspired by the philosophy of social justice grounded in their respective faiths.

For example, an FBO leader said that his motivation to become involved in peace-building comes from his conviction that is grounded in his faith and the belief that a long-term transformational approach is essential. He strongly believes that one's own faith has all the requisite elements from which inspirations can be drawn from to do good for others in society:

> Part of my motivation comes from 'Baha'i' faith; a core idea of the Baha'i faith is based upon justice. And so I think for me, seeking justice, not in the way that we have our justice system, but is that divine notion that things are allotted their rightful places in this world.
>
> I have seen people become very active in terms of trying to deal with some of the social injustice issues, trying to make sure that people become active not aggressive by raising awareness about conflict issues using examples from their life experiences.
>
> The whole notion of transforming conflict I think is truly circumstantial to the conflict itself. Some people just want to fix what's there, other people want to make that change in terms of relationship or change the relationship between the two parties.

Each faith tradition emphasizes the need to work to ensure social justice in the society.

One FBO leader mentioned how her Christian faith motivates her to undertake peace-building work, which translated into a commitment to human dignity grounded in faith:

> Well, as a Catholic, it is part of our social teaching; it is part of why we are Catholic. It's part of our mission as Catholics to provide people with human dignity, provide solidarity, provide the essentials of life to help people feel equal, sounds kind of weird but equalize people more, allow people to understand and grow.

Another FBO leader also expressed the point-of-view that since other FBOs are not particularly involved in helping marginalized social groups (especially Aboriginal peoples), his organization extended its hands to assist people to fulfill their basic human needs (such as food and shelter). However, religious conviction surely motivated him to take part in helping people in general and marginalized people in particular to take benefit out of various peace-building projects in the city. It also translates into a commitment to help the poor, marginalized, and voiceless that are grounded in faith:

> Clearly there has been a long history of difficult and complex relationships between indigenous people and settlers and so organization Y started going into native communities a long time ago and tried to build relationships and build connections because other faith groups were not doing that.
>
> I would say that our motivations for either starting programs or getting involved in an area are often motivated if not always by the standing of Christian teachings and saying that we are to help the poor, the marginalized, those who cannot speak or help themselves that are understanding particularly of the teachings of Jesus in the New Testament or that are people are called to help the last and the lost, those who are hungry and thirsty, those who are imprisoned and those who are ill.

Teachings drawn from faith can help bridging inter-group division and build relationships.

A few FBO leaders explained their own deep faith conviction and trust in the mission of FBOs while reporting on their motivations to get involved in conflict interventions. Others also expressed their belief in the ability of the faith-based network to do social good.

Some FBO leaders further expressed the point that they draw inspiration from each other, often across the cultural divide through an existing collaborative relationship that exists across many faith groups (for e.g., Mennonites, Jewish, Anglicans, and Muslims). In addition, an ecumenical alliance of Christian Churches is actively involved in Aboriginal issues in the city, [27] although it is pre-dominantly a Church alliance yet it is formed by the expressed collaboration of likeminded faith groups coming together under one umbrella to strive for social and environmental justice. Nevertheless, some FBO leaders do not prefer to adopt any formal approach to deal with conflict rather they prefer to respond to conflict as it occurs, and deal with it in line with their basic tenets of faith while spontaneously participating in the transformation process. Further, I found two different groups (that exclude Aboriginal spirituality) are operating in Winnipeg who are not traditional followers of any faiths rather they rely on a common belief (what they call fraternity) of doing social good through the consensual commitment of resources (for e.g., the Free Masons and Falun Gong). This is another example of how some faith-based groups can also function without having any ties to traditional religious ideologies and they can equally contribute to peace-building.

However, I noticed that FBO leaders also emphasized the need of prioritizing social justice within an individual faith framework because the ritualistic observance of faith traditions has already lost their appeal (especially for young people). The growing disinterest of young people to participate in traditional faith groups, and the religious system serves as a reminder that today's faith followers are seeking more answers from their faith leaders pertaining to their day - to-day conflicts now more than ever.

For many mainstream Christians living in Winnipeg the realization is now about living in a 'post-Christian era' where not only the younger generations are indulging in searching for new

life meanings or a rapid solution to a moral crisis or in devising a coping strategy to deal with anxiety. People are also turning away from traditional faiths to resolve matters with regard to human rights, governance and managing BHNs. In this regard, a brewing conflict in England might serve as a reminder of this fact when the Archbishop of Canterbury formally endorsed this idea (i.e. Post-Christian era) in opposing the views of the British Prime Minister (Press Association 2014). However, the noble idea of ensuring social justice and the amount of commitment required to toil for justice could be a radical proposition nowadays since it threatens the power base of the dominant social group in society as well as the state's legitimacy. However, one might deduce that FBOs seek to re-establish social justice imbued with their religious traditions tantamount to seeking a re-ordering of the society in a radical way. Consequently, this leads to the state's (for that matter the dominant social group) fear of empowering FBOs, which might provoke revolution by the bottom social group to reverse the current social order as prophesized in the aforementioned verses of the Holy Abrahamic Scriptures.

Analysis suggests that three different types of CBO leaders are motivated to undertake peace-building works for different reasons yet a common theme resonated through their responses – a desire to do common good. Some CBO leaders identified that due to the lack of safe spaces in the society conflict stakeholders were unable to come together and share their experiences and perceptions of conflict. They also expressed an awareness of the role of the media in conflict reporting as well as the FBOs apparent unwillingness and lack of preparation to understand the secularization movement. In addition, they outlined the roles of inter-FBO alliances to handle conflict as well as preventing the preferential treatment of minority groups, and standing up for justice and peace to be able to transform social conflict issues in Winnipeg.

They also deliberated on their sources of inspiration to intervene in conflict and it emerged that it was mostly their convictions emanating either from their faith or from a simple universal sentiment to serve humanity. In addition, NGO leaders also expressed how they are inspired by their organizations visions regarding peace-building.

In this sub-section, I enumerated CBO leaders' motivations and philosophies as they undertake peace-building works in Winnipeg. It was revealed that although faith leaders are inspired by their faith doctrines yet social justice issues influence them most to do peace-building works. ECBO leaders are motivated because this is the only way they can help their kinsfolk to retain their ethnic identities while NGO leaders are motivated due to their passion to improve upon people's lives.

5.5 CBO Activities in Winnipeg and Analysis

CBO leaders do a plethora of works in Winnipeg; although, I keenly observed the projects that directly contribute to social conflict transformation. However, a summary of the main categories of CBO projects pertaining to this research is elaborated in the Table 5 below (a total of 29 types of random conflict intervention works):

Table 5: Nature of Peace-building Works Undertaken by CBOs

Serial	Nature of Peace-building Works	Common Approaches
1	Organizing dialogue to resolve inter-group conflict; mediating between policy makers and grassroots level citizens.	• Non-confrontation • Respect • Not heavy on advocacy • Non-violence • Empowering people • Collaboration • Educational awareness • Conflict awareness
2	Taking part in public protests against the state's assimilation policy and differential treatment of the First People.	
3	• Offering space for vulnerable women, Aboriginal people for living in a safe environment. • Creating spaces to share food, prayer and community activities for the marginalized social groups.	
4	• Advocating the role of faiths in non-violent	

	movements. • Organizing events to renew trust in faiths by capitalizing on commonalities than differences.	Prioritizing social justice issues • Bringing back the traditional sharing culture • Promoting tolerance • Focusing on strengths not weakness • Exploring root causes of conflict through grass roots engagement • Addressing basic needs of people • Re-educating cultural differences, creating culturally sensitive programs • Active involvement in politics, civic engagements
5	• Organizing events promoting inter-group interactions to understand legacy of colonization and its trans-generational effects. • Assisting First People and New Immigrants (including refugees) to get out of the cycle of the internalization of conflict.	
6	• Enhancing inter-group social interactions (First Peoples and faith group interaction to promote different world views) • Creating groups to raise funds to provide reparation of residential school victims.	
7	Creating alliances of various faith and Church groups	
8	• Undertaking actions to foster connections on environmental, Aboriginal and global justice issues. • Organizing sharing circle for victims and perpetrators.	
9	Undertaking social projects (For example, forming a commission like beyond Traplines to address historic injustices to Aboriginal people).	
10	Undertaking projects in various service sectors (health, correctional, education).	
11	Engaging policymakers in conversations with the groups at the grassroots level.	
12	Providing necessary skills to new immigrants (including refugees) to get gainful employment.	
13	Providing education (cultural, faith) to create self-awareness, identity awareness.	
14	Providing a platform to interact with youth of different ethnic, faith backgrounds.	
15	Encouraging critical activism by educating international laws on human rights.	
17	Supplying food and shelters (soup kitchen, food bank, shelter for homeless).	
18	Designing language and culture oriented programs for immigrants and Aboriginal people.	
19	Designing projects to deal with minority groups to assist in cultural adaptation (for example, refugee)	
20	Creating spaces for awareness of refugees settling in Canada especially those who particularly come from traumatic conflict zones.	
21	• Organizing youth dialogue (Halaqa) • Organizing youth camps, information sessions	

22	Promoting active participation in citizenship training of youths.	
23	Undertaking projects to promote NGO-government and FBO-government partnership.	
24	Organizing sharing projects in the city (for example, under the city of Winnipeg's Adopt-a-Park program the River East Mennonites and Guru Nanak Darbar Gurdwara created a green park)	
24	Undertaking specific interaction initiatives with Aboriginal people living in reserves and conducts trips outside Canada to expose different cultures.	
25	• Providing restorative justice system (Mediation Services). • Creating the next generation academics, researchers.	
26	Ensuring a social safety net and assisting people to move away from social welfare/support.	
27	Creating ethnocultural umbrella organizations like ACOMI, which accommodates peoples from different ethnic groups.	
28	Creating partnership with community members and school board authorities/police For example, the Peaceful Village program http://www.msip.ca/the-peaceful-village/	
29	Organizing civic committees to discuss t social issues like racism.	

Table 5 above summarizes twenty-nine different peace-building activities along with CBO leaders' observable approaches in Winnipeg, of which many are aimed to improve inter-group social relationships. Consequently, the peace-building activities can be grouped into seven distinguishable categories. First, (the dialogue category) inter- and intra-group dialoguing activities are aimed at bringing social groups together to share their conflict experiences. Second, (the social space generation category) it is important to create a physical space and provide a safe environment for vulnerable people to share their experiences. Third, (the social activism category) it is necessary to organize social events such as protests, non-violent demonstrations, and petitions to raise awareness about conflict using a non-confrontational approach. Fourth, (the basic needs supply category) it is imperative to provide for vulnerable peoples' basic human

needs such as food and shelter in the city. Fifth, (the innovative social project category) it is essential to undertake collaborative social projects based on consensus to promote inter-group understanding. Sixth, (the coalition-building category) it is crucial to use a multi-modal approach to build cross-cultural coalition to intervene in social conflict holistically. Seven, (the knowledge generation category) it is important to undertake policy related research and study to suggest policy options for macro level intervention.

If we look deeper in to the aforementioned peace-building activities, we also notice a number of key approaches that the CBO leaders adopted for conflict intervention; some of which are analyzed subsequently. First, cross-cultural awareness building through a multi-party dialogue approach is an important method not only to diagnose conflict but also to map perceptions about conflict among the stakeholders. For example, the Manitoba Multi-faith Council (MMC) organized dialogue among various faith groups and it is one of the powerful platforms where people can discuss conflict without being judged. Its contribution was evidentially proved when the Quebec government tabled a bill banning the wearing of religious symbols in public spaces; it triggered countrywide protests and condemnations. MMC organized a number of sessions (such as inter-faith dialogues) to share ideas of various faith groups while protesting such a discriminatory political move where Muslims were disproportionately targeted. Such sessions instilled a sense of solidarity assuring that Manitoba would not follow suit. Second, KAIROS – an ecumenical group does many advocacy works to protect human rights and social justice environment. It allows people from different cultural group to participate and share their concerns. It organized workshops throughout the country to raise awareness about the pressing conflict issues. Third, MCC serves as an ally to different Muslim faith groups and Aboriginal groups in the city in voicing their concerns about anti-terrorism bills and Treaty

Rights. It is also active in drawing attention of federal and provincial policymakers as well as the public about deteriorating living conditions in the Indian reserves. Fourth, many new immigrants (including refugees) who fled from armed conflicts and severe persecutions back in their homelands need a safe sanctuary and space to share their trauma. Providing such spaces is vital as the mere sharing of people's histories helps in healing and also it works as an anecdote to violence. In this regard, one NGO organizes an after-school program for teens in the city are a phenomenal example of what can be achieved.

Fifth, colonization left a deep scar in Aboriginal people's psyche. When the new immigrants (including refugees) come to settle in the city, they also experience colonized mentality by the mainstream population in different shapes and forms. In this regard, one NGO's dialogic approach in holding de-colonizing conversations aimed at bringing out best practices to tackle such issues is remarkable. Sixth, Church groups involvement in helping past Canadian governments to set up and run notorious residential schools evidentially damaged relationships between the mainstream population and Aboriginals. The relationship still has not been restored to a respectful level. Yet when the Anglican Church in Winnipeg took the lead, apologized, and started the reparation process, it earned commendations from many Winnipeggers. Aboriginal people contend that it is a good start from such a Church group and it will go a long way in healing inter-group relationships. Seventh, coalition building is an important strategy to harness the strengths of different community groups together and use them to intervene in social conflict. It is needless to emphasize that numerous social factors contribute to conflicts and it is simply beyond the capacity of one group or one government agency (such as Child and Welfare Services– CFS) itself to deal with a conflict comprehensively. However, coalition building among different ethno-cultural groups (such as ACOMI) and faith groups (KAIROS) are

important landmarks in Winnipeg and it contributes positively towards conflict transformation. Eight, Winnipeg is the focal point in Canada in terms of the Canadian government's initiative to reconcile with the First Peoples. In this regard, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) based in Winnipeg and headed by a Winnipegger (Justice and now Senator Murray Sinclair) just completed its arduous task and presented its findings and recommendations. The Commission's Chair averred that reconciliation is an ongoing process and numerous NGOs and Aboriginal groups are working together to achieve this goal in Winnipeg.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed Winnipeg's peacebuilders role as meso-level actors, its leaders' motivations, and their contributions to peace-building. In so doing, first, I elaborated separately on NGO, ECBO and FBO leaders' work environments and their roles in conflict transformation and peace-building. Importantly, it was revealed that the participants perceive themselves as meso-level social actors trying to bridge gaps between policy level and citizens.

Subsequently, I presented participants perceptions and experiences about social conflict issues and how it impacts the lives of Winnipeggers. The key conflict issues were; conflict related to Aboriginal peoples; conflict related to new immigrants (including refugees); conflict related to poverty and inequality; and inter-group mis-understanding resulting in poor inter-group relationships. Moreover, the conflict issues appear to be rooted in unjust structural condition that also perpetuates conflict.

In Winnipeg's Western urban (Canadian) context, there is a plethora of CBOs whose leaders believe that they can positively impact social change and contribute toward peace-building by actively and passively engaging with their peoples. The FBO and ECBO leaders candidly stated their preferences for a long-term conflict transformation approach in addressing

conflict while NGO leaders placed their reliance on meeting people's immediate needs. According to the FBO leaders, people are gradually becoming disenchanted with established mainstream religious practices and are seeking more of a social justice orientation in their faith group to help them survive in the future. Moreover, ECBO leaders thought that the potential of their groups are not being fully utilized due to the structural constraints of the local government's policy toward them. Nevertheless, they are hopeful about the future as more young people are actively participating in their activities. Nevertheless, analyses of the CBO leaders' peace-building work reveal seven distinct categories of activities and eight approaches in undertaking such work. Among the approaches most importantly the CBO leaders follow a non-violent and non-confrontational approach based on mutual respect and understanding – an essential element of peace-building psychology.

In sum, this research shows that CBO leaders act as meso-level actors and they attempt to connect top level actors (such as policymakers) with grass roots level activists as they undertake peace-building works. These leaders perceive social conflict holistically yet the mentionable four major conflict issues are grounded within the socio-economic-political structure of the society. Analysis of the root cause of conflict further substantiates such a claim and unless substantial changes occur in the social structure, these conflict issues will persist. Most importantly, these conflict issues affect inter-group social cohesion adversely and an increasing trend of racism and discrimination towards minority (and especially Aboriginals) population point out to this fact. Further, primary motivations of the CBO leaders lie within their respective ideological groundings (faith, altruism, and social good). Although they come from different backgrounds, CBO leaders are highly motivated to contribute towards conflict transformation and that is why they chose certain peace-building works over others. An analysis of number of peace-building

projects in Winnipeg also reveals that despite many positive contributions made by CBOs in Winnipeg to transform social conflicts, only a few seem to be actually involved in reducing discrimination, removing stereotyping, and addressing racism in the city.

Chapter Six

Winnipeg's CBOs in Peace-building and Conflict Transformation: Strengths and Weaknesses

6.1 Introduction

The functions of CBOs vary depending on their roles, but the people, social network, and grassroots level activism remain their core strengths. Their roles in providing credible leadership (to negotiate on immigrant's behalf) and resources (volunteerism, time) are crucial for the betterment of a multicultural society. In this regard, I would like to illustrate how Folklorama (a popular folk festival in Winnipeg)[28] helped me to understand the contributions of CBOs in exhibiting not only the depth of cultural diversity but also the inter-group solidarity and mobilizing power of social assets in Winnipeg.

Our first year in Canada was 2010, and our community members informed us about the festival and we were curious to know how a multicultural festival in Western urban Canadian was like. We planned to visit some of the stalls on a weekend. As we reached the venue of the Ukraine-Kyiv Pavilion community, we were amazed to witness how people queued up to get in to the venue. Upon entering the venue, we were further amazed to see the cultural functions, food, and a brilliant display of their arts and crafts. We spent over an hour in there and later moved on to another pavilion. We were happy to see people wearing so many colourful dresses, eating so many different foods, and it helped us to cope up with the initial wave of 'culture shock.' In fact, it was a display of a 'mosaic society' in letter and spirit. That was my first exposure to Folklorama and since then every year all my family members and I visit as many

stalls as we can. My sons grew up over the years and yet they love to see the display of diversity in the festival and test as much food as they can.

When I planned this research project, naturally, CBO leaders' perceptions and experiences of multiculturalism in peace-building came to mind and what other than Folklorama can demonstrate this perfectly. In view of this, I requested one community member (who was also a research participant) to accompany me in order to conduct our research interview at Folklorama. It was in the summer of 2013 when and Folklorama celebrated its 44th year. There were 46 diverse pavilions organized by a host of CBOs that drew an incredible 20,000 volunteers. I was once again amazed to see how ethno-cultural organizations mobilize people for such action. We chatted while being inside the Ukrainian stall and this is what he said during our discussion about multiculturalism:

> We have a richness of diversity. The diversity within the mosaic not a melting pot. As soon as you want to melt people into one, and make them more alike rather than allowing differences to be sustained, I think you would diminish the core values.
>
> Canada has committed to multiculturalism for over 30 years. And it is an ongoing experience for Canada, which needs constant improvement if every part of the mosaic is to be sustained with tolerance and understanding and passion, trying to understand different stripes of nation those who had been exposed to conflict and trauma.
>
> The rest of the world watches us how we manage diversity without conflict in this country within the rule of law, wealth, and good governance. Many countries do not have those, and they perpetuated conflict over generations to their own peoples and eventually those people came here to live. Here some of them even live with their perpetrators.
>
> How do we do this? There is no one formula. We all are part of a formula as you see in front of your eyes.

Ethno-cultural organizations contribute immensely not only by participating in Folklorama but also bringing people together—an essential activity of peace-building. In addition, it is one of the events where rare convergences of interests from the government as well as CBOs coincide.

In the previous chapter, I explored CBO leaders' roles as meso-level actors, major social conflict issues, and elaborated on the motivations of CBO leaders for peace-building. I organized

this chapter into four segments. In the first segment, I aim to lay out a road map to identify CBO leaders' techniques and knowledge of peace-building. In doing so, I discuss both the conflict intervention and conflict transformation approaches adopted by the leaders depending on context. In the second segment, I discuss the CBO leaders' strengths, challenges and limitations in implementing their peace-building work. In the third segment, I explain the CBO's state of social capital and an asset-based approach to peace-building (ABAP). Finally, in segment IV, I explore a few selected projects and their possible impacts on peace-building. The CBO leaders recommended these projects. I also sought to understand their impacts during the participant observation phase of my research.

6.2 The Road Map of CBO Leaders Techniques and Knowledges of Peace-building

In this study, I was attentive to learn how community leaders use their techniques and knowledge for their peace-building work in Winnipeg. I noticed three interrelated points. First, leaders rely on their knowledge of community dynamics since they define it in terms of its basic functions (such as Christian FBOs' relating to Christian peoples in general and to their respective denominations) or the services they deliver to people (such as NGOs' providing refugee support services). This perception was observed mostly among the FBOs and NGOs as they were primarily tasked to fulfill their defined mandates. However, in the process the leaders explained that in order to resolve conflicts these organizational mandates create obstacles and curtail freedom of action.

For example, an NGO leader explained that community is formed in many ways and he defined 'community' based on the types of services his organization provides to the community:

> In the context of our work, you know the definition of community can have multiple factors, some of which may or may not apply. So, a community could be geographically determined. A community can be social economically determined. And a community can

> be culturally, religiously, or linguistically determined. A community can be determined by a set of values. So communities can be differently defined.
>
> When I speak about community, I speak about many of those factors. So the community that we serve is the community that is both geographically located within sort of a close distance to us. It's a community of new Canadians—so people who have arrived, let's say, within the last five years. But it's also a community of people who self-identify as newcomers or refugees who require our supports and services.
>
> Anyway, sometimes you can only do so much as prescribed in your mandate.

People are aware that they are part of a community with a shared experience. CBOs are also aware of the community that they seek to serve.

Second, the leaders expressed that often times using their networking tools was beneficial as it allowed them to come together to strive for a common goal and build a coalition while not remaining too fixated with their core identities (such as faith or culture). Particularly, NGOs found the ECBOs convenient to partner with since they do not have any rigid mandates to adhere to and as such they are flexible in terms of choosing a particular conflict to intervene in, or to decide with whom to build relationships, and to pursue organizational goals that they wish to set up.

For example, one NGO leader stated that her organization helps African communities to come together in the following way:

> When I thought about what types of questions you would ask me, I thought about why our organization invests in the way it does and what its interests are.
>
> So, I guess our interest is around—much like our mission statement talks about—improving lives, building community, and part of that.
>
> In terms of the social conflicts, we look at how to create and build an understanding between peoples and create a voice for marginalized communities.
>
> So, I think we are about globalizing our services and working with others (currently we are working with a group of African communities) in terms of taking collective actions to improve people's lives.
>
> We believe that we are stronger when we are together. So now we work together to look at the issues that impact the African community in Winnipeg.

NGOs inspired smaller communities to form a coalition and seek help to deal with conflicts and improve inter-group relationships.

Third, many of the leaders explicitly mentioned that due to existing variance relating to their work in communities often peace-building done collaboratively among these three types of organizations remain either undervalued or under reported and one-way to overcome this problem is to involve policymakers from the beginning of the conflict intervention cycle. For example, one ECBO leader explained how she is fearful of the current political regime and its social policies that fester conflict. She explained the point in the following way:

> I fear that another Conservative government will just sink our country, and it would take away what Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau built in the 1970s. I feel that they would take that away. I feel that they would take away the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom, and that is my biggest fear is having that taken away.
>
> It's not all about fear. Possibly it has more to do with exaggerating of one's personal interest. Everybody is going to look into their best interest. So instead of speaking up against oppression, injustices, they might say, "Oh, you know what? I'm going to go through the loopholes, and eventually I will get to my goal."
>
> But this is a very selfish way of living. Political climate does not help to overcome this attitude and if they get involved in dealing with social conflicts unfolding right in front of their eyes, they might understand it.

This ECBO leader believes that former conservative policies do not support community-mindedness and will exacerbate social conflicts.

Subsequently, I also paid attention to exploring CBO leader's techniques and knowledge of dealing with and intervening in social conflicts in particular. I also tried to relate their earlier discussions of different social conflict issues to discover whether the conflict intervention techniques used are appropriate and productive. Each leader's intervention projects are unique, and their rationales are distinct from those of other leaders, and their motivations emerge from their personal beliefs and faith. In subsequent paragraphs, the CBO leaders' knowledge and techniques of dealing with and responding to social conflict issues are outlined subsequently.

6.2.1 CBO general approach and key factors impacting peace-building works

This research shows that CBO leaders adopted various innovative peace-building techniques for conflict intervention. Two general themes emerged in this section with regards to CBO leaders approach to peace-building: one, respect of the conflict parties and the use of non-confrontational approaches for conflict intervention and, two, a passionate desire to deal with conflict.

For example, an FBO leader opined that he deals with conflict with respect and tries to provide safe spaces for the stakeholders involved to carry out dialoguing to transform relationships:

> I think one of the ways that I have articulated that conflicts are to a considerable extent natural and to be expected. And the roles of a community are to step carefully and respectfully towards conflicts rather than away from it. And I believe that is what we have tried to do to some extent as Mennonite people and certainly as an organization.
>
> For instance, maybe two years ago, a series of reports came out in the *Winnipeg Free Press* about the conditions of the water situation in the Island Lake district of Manitoba, which is a series of Indigenous communities. Some are in reserves and so on, St. Theresa's, Garden Hill, etc. The water situation is quite unacceptable. People do not have access to adequate water sources.
>
> So, that would be an example of our approach to social conflict transformation. It wasn't confrontational. It wasn't highly routed on the advocacy side. But it did take the part of those experiencing oppression. And it did help represent their situation to the powers that be.
>
> As a result, there have been changes in those communities—certainly not complete, and the work goes on. But it was part of the transformation of a conflict.

Actions to support communities in need in humble but effective ways are seen as leading to positive social change and conflict transformation.

Another NGO leader averred that addressing conflict requires deep passion, discipline, and understanding:

> You deal with conflict with a lot of disciplined passion and understanding. If you do that it will give us richer understanding of the conflict and eventually diminishes it. The biggest conflict that is emerging, or I should say, latent now, between our members of the First Nations and our dominant society.
>
> Now there is an understanding that our members of the First Nation had been oppressed by colonial masters, and now they are seeking freedom and independence. And

> my own belief is that it is a terrific thing to happen and an overdue thing to happen. The challenge is how the oppressors now deal with it.
>
> My own view is to deal with it by dialogue and mutual understanding in finding common ground. This is the biggest challenge that we have in Manitoba or Canada at this moment—dealing with an internal conflict by whether the rule of law nation.
>
> By far Canada has done well in managing its indigenous population, you may see in any of the countries, they either killed their indigenous population or are still killing them. In that triggered Canada can be an example to the outside world and experience, they think is how to deal with this challenge.

Dialogue and patience is needed to address the legacy of colonialism in Canada.

Consequently, CBO leader's decision of utilizing appropriate technique depends on five factors namely, the target audience for peace-building projects, the conflict context, the stage of conflict, the appropriate intervention technique (long or short term), and the resources available.

First, peace-building should be custom designed. Selecting a target audience for peace-building projects should occur in the early stage of intervention since the need of communities experiencing social conflict issues vary. For example, new immigrants (including refugees) need immediate help in resettlement while the Aboriginal community needs long-term intervention to overcome structural injustices and the impact of colonialism.

Two, conflict is always in a flux. Conflict context is an ever-changing factor affecting method of conflict intervention. Understanding context is paramount to primarily decide about the suitability of long term or short term interventions. For example, certain social issues as discussed by the participants in this research (such as Quebec's Charter of rights movement or terrorism and counter terrorism environment) although might appear to be transient yet these require both long and short-term interventions.

Three, the locus of conflict should be determined. A clear idea of identifying the stage of a social conflict helps to determine an appropriate and timely method of intervention. For example, in Winnipeg, the stage of social conflict issue regarding Aboriginal peoples and the

recent INM activities related to Aboriginals should be understood both by intervening actors (policymakers as well as peace-builders). Such an understanding also helps in devising a conflict early warning system. Nevertheless, a system as such should be able to map out the actors embroiled in a conflict and at what stage of escalation or de-escalation the conflict is situated at so that an intervention mechanism can be identified.

Four, how much is not too much? CBOs also act in doing short-term intervention such as meeting marginalized people's BHNs as well as long-term intervention such as raising awareness through dialogue and mediation in Winnipeg.

Five, cut your cloth according to your clothes. Resources available at CBOs disposal often dictate the extent of their intervention in transforming social conflicts. However, the mandates of CBOs sometimes might preclude them from going beyond performing their conventional roles. Still, CBOs do come together at times to address a conflict jointly by marshalling their resources and using creative ways.

6.2.2 Analysis of five key CBO peace-building techniques

Analysis of respondents' answers suggests some key techniques that the CBO leaders apply in Winnipeg. These are enumerated in the subsequent paragraphs.

(1) Strive to create a respectful and safe environment for dialogue for conflict stakeholders. Creating a respectful and non-threatening environment for dialogue for the stakeholders is a challenging task for the peace-builders because the stakeholders often do not feel motivated to engage in dialogue; it takes a long course of persuasion and motivation by the peace-builders. Consequently, some respondents opined that they initially start connecting people by utilizing formal and informal channels so that stakeholders, at the least, agree to start a dialogue process. Here, they also face challenges in terms of finding neutral places for dialogue

where stakeholders can come together without fear of prejudices. In this regard, one ECBO leader opined that dialogue should not be a one-time event rather it should continue until an agreement is achieved between and among the stakeholders for conflict transformation:

> I think that dialogue is the key tool. I think that it needs to be on an individual basis and go from there and then there are generalized dialogues that need to come down through to the individual basis.
>
> Education is very important, from the school base to the university base.
>
> I think that these things are all very important because the more we know about each other the stronger we get. The less we know about each other the more fearful we get. So I think those are basically the means that I would see.

Dialogue, education, and mutual understanding can play an important part in conflict transformation.

(2) Commit people and resources to design social programs to raise awareness about discrimination and racism (specifically concerning refugee communities). Different CBOs design social programs to raise awareness about diversity as well as discrimination and racism in the city. As seen from the responses, racism is often very subtle and people feel uncomfortable to discuss it in public. Although official and unofficial channels are available to seek redress in case someone is discriminated against based on her/his race or religion, it is often an uphill task for the victims to pursue justice on this matter. Nevertheless, raising awareness about racism should not only take place for the Aboriginal and refugee population (i.e. the marginalized groups) rather it should also be aimed at the mainstream dominating social group. Here, one NGO leader's reflection is notable:

> I think that Winnipeggers want to be accommodating. You know, we have a history of ethnic and cultural diversity. And I think Winnipeggers are supportive of that.
>
> But at the same time, you know, jobs and income have a very strong influence on how people interact with each other socially.
>
> So, I think one of our jobs is to raise awareness on diversity and find ways of balancing off the coming cultural and the economic needs of new immigrants.
>
> There are a number of organizations that provide settlement and integration services and we work with them. We are in the process right now of working on a proposal to help

> coordinate immigrant service in this city and a large part of that is going to be to engage governments and the private sector in being more supportive.
>
> So, we are constantly trying to find new ways for these different organizations to collaborate and raise awareness on racism.

Specifically designed social programs for immigrants helps in improving their skill levels and increase potentials for social adaptation so that they are less prone to racism and discrimination.

(3) Mobilize resources to pre-empt conflict and identify an appropriate strategy to deal with it. Conflict pre-emption is an important technique for peace-builders as it helps not only to remain prepared for ensuing conflict but also allows CBOs to marshal resources to deal with it. Typical to Western societies such as Winnipeg, this research also documents some CBO leaders' apprehension about a wave of ongoing secularization efforts, which ultimately may be likely to destroy inter-group social cohesion.

One FBO leader has the following thing to say on this issue:

> I don't know if faith groups are really responding in the right way to this trend of secularization. I think it's almost catching faith groups unaware. It's like faith groups—. We are not realizing that.
>
> It doesn't just feel like, to me, like a social change. It feels like—not a shift, but it's almost an attack on faith or faiths.
>
> I don't think we necessarily see it coming. I think we are getting a hint of it in the discussions around the charter in Quebec, the secular charter. And I think that's Quebec. It is always ahead on these things, and so I think it's coming. That mentality.
>
> Quebec is just maybe 5, 10 years ahead. Quebec is just a different society that picks up on these value shifts quicker than the rest of Canada. So I think that it's coming to the West and that I think faith groups don't realize what is happening.

Preparation for future conflict, especially, faith-based ones, needs lots of works. This leader forecast the nature of conflict, yet he did not explain how faith groups should prepare themselves to deal with it. If various social indicators are studied and necessary inferences drawn, a picture of potential conflict might emerge. In the current era of religiously driven conflicts (with reference to the war on terror being unfolded in many Western nations), it is prudent that not

only faith organizations but also policymakers and the grassroots citizenry should be prepared to understand the ramifications of such conflict.

(4) Live together in order to break the stereotyping and racist attitudes. Breaking stereotyping and racist attitudes can only be achieved if people can be put in a situation where they need to live together. In this regard, one FBO leader was confident about her technique to bring different types of people together in the following way:

> This is my home and in creating that home with all different cultures and different languages (some people can hardly handle English), I resolve conflict. Anyway, the bottom line for me is we are human beings. We are people. And because we are women, we are sisters. We can quickly become a part of an extended family.
>
> So, I have this family that I am living with, people coming from all countries and different faith backgrounds. And for me it has been such a concrete way to break down racism and prejudice. Because when you see and when you live with an Aboriginal person who is studying hard and has her goals, then the stereotype of being lazy and drunk or whatever, you can't hold it so easily when you are sitting and conversing and asking for help from this woman.
>
> The same between Muslims and Christians, because I do sense there is a lot of stereotyping, racism. But once you have lived with many Muslims they are not all the same and they are not terrorists, but it is awful these perceptions.

When people experience others by sharing same social space they ought to understand the common denominator that binds them together—humanity.

(5) Educate people regarding international, and human rights laws to raise awareness of the rights and responsibilities of all citizens. Education is the key to deal with social conflict issues. CBO leaders shared their experiences of innovative programs through which they educate people regarding international, and human rights laws so that they are aware of the rights and responsibilities of all citizens. One NGO leaders explained his thoughts on this matter in the following way:

> Canada is all about balancing and balancing off competing rights. That's what I do when I'm involved in human rights cases. I see it is all about competing rights. Religious freedom versus equality rights. It can be liberty versus safety. Freedom of association

> versus freedom to dissociation. It's about reasonably accommodating differences versus undue hardship.
>
> So, when it comes to law and order versus human rights, it has to be a balancing act. In doing that you are going to incarcerate people and, as you know, a large population in our prisons of Manitoba are First Nations people, and this is a social problem.
>
> You get to find out about the root causes of this social problem. When you incarcerate people in prisons, make sure that you do not warehousing them. Rather contribute to their lives so that they can be free and independent. So that must be a balance—between "end justifies the means" and "means justify the end."
>
> You can do these only if you educate policymakers as well as the public.

If people are made aware of individual and collective human rights and responsibilities at different societal levels (i.e., policymakers and social groups), it might help in balancing between competing human rights and development issues of the time.

Most of the respondents reported that they respect the stakeholders in conflict and try to provide a safe space for them to dialogue in. One respondent argued that in the past her CBO was involved in designing social programs to raise awareness about discrimination and racism as well as ensuring the economic prosperity of the community. However, if the opportunity exists it is always better to live with different people coming from diverse backgrounds in order to break up stereotypes and racist attitudes. Moreover, it is helpful in knowing oneself with critical reflection in order to face racism and the discriminatory attitudes of others. Other respondents expressed that it is high time to pressure the Province and the Federal government not to provide preferential treatment to Aboriginal people (for example, tax exemption free privilege, social assistance) so that they can break away from the dependency cycle.

Some respondents affirmed that there is a distinction between accommodation and crossing the tolerance line and if someone crosses that line then it generates conflict. An FBO leader was also critical about the media because he struggled not to be muzzled by it and popular secular discourse. In addition, some respondents were of the opinion that it is better to remain prepared to deal with the wave of secularization to hit the city (with particular reference to

Quebec's secular movement). A few respondents opined that they are educating people regarding international, and human rights laws to raise their awareness of the rights and responsibilities of all citizens and it requires deep passion, discipline, and understanding through using constructive dialogue to be able to intervene in conflict.

In this sub-section, five key peace-building techniques as reported by the respondents are enumerated out of which only one FBO project aimed its efforts at breaking stereotyping by creating a common living space in the city. However, none of the participants explicitly mentioned how these peace-building techniques directly dealt with the top social conflict issue.[29]

6.2.3 Conflict intervention (short term approach) vs. conflict transformation (long term approach)

Research participants discussed their preferred intervention approaches both in short and longer term perspectives. Some of their reflections in verbatim are grouped into both of these aforementioned categories are elaborated on below.

One, a long-term conflict intervention approach requires a deep understanding of conflict context and target audience. For example, one FBO leader informed me that a youth project that she designed is particularly aimed at transforming social relationships in the long run:

> As I'm sure you are aware all conflict transformation and or resolution is very contextual. I think, you know one of our projects or activities has great potential in terms of conflict transformation. And that is through our youth groups, I'm actually involved in a program that provides opportunity for youth to go to school here in the city who are from up Northern Manitoba. There are two different approaches of dealing with conflict issues and I suggest taking that longer-term approach - the transformative approach to change relationships of people.
>
> I don't know whether we will see change of relationship, we definitely won't see it overnight, but it is a matter of allowing for the youth to develop and create their space within our communities, which they take ownership over and feel that they can create the appropriate methods of interacting and transforming society.

Conflict transformation aimed at transforming social relationships is a long-term matter yet it has the potential for creating a peaceful society in the future.

Another ECBO leader stated that his organization's increasing spheres of action and connecting other cultural groups with each other is considered a long term transformational effort:

> We mostly concentrated in institutionalizing the organization and we are focused on cultural activities and conducting outreach programs aiming at long-term conflict resolution. We also work closely with the Ministry of Multiculturalism and we also take part in faith-related activities with the organization—like the Manitoba Islamic Association.
>
> We cannot claim that we have achieved hundred percent goals and it is not possible within a single term in the office but we tried to start some of the things that could bring the result in the future.
>
> For example, we started a Bengali language school so that the next generation of our children has some idea about the language. However, we feel that more interaction with others faith groups or ethnocultural groups should be done but we could not do it much in our terms.
>
> We promoted intergroup corporation between two major religious groups Hindus, and Muslims by organizing common festivals because we believe good inter-community understandings are beneficial for longer-term conflict resolution. Inter-group understanding resulting in collaborative peace-building works is one of the important facets of long-term conflict transformation.

Inter-community collaboration goes a long way in conflict transformation.

Another FBO leader said that his motivation to become involved in peace-building comes from his conviction that is centered in his idea of long term conflict transformation:

> The whole notion of transforming conflict I think is truly circumstantial to the conflict itself. Some people just want to fix what is there. Other people want to make that change in terms of relationship or change the relationship between the two parties. Those who seek to resolve this are generally just trying to deal with one issue whereas the whole notion of transformation is that longer-term vision.
>
> And I think for myself we have to look longer term in any conflict because if we want to work towards a peaceful world and work towards that how do we create these it has to be part of a larger process.

Conflict transformation should be conceived within a holistic system aimed at achieving long-term goals.

Two, a short-term conflict intervention is necessitated by the need to address marginalized people's immediate fulfillment of BHN. A number of CBOs are engaged in such activities in Winnipeg. For example, one NGO leader explained that they are involved in taking care of day-to-day conflict issues in the society. This is what he had to say on this matter:

> So, I think on a day-to-day basis that [conflict intervention] is what we are trying to do. We are trying to show that we are all alike; we might have a different belief, but we can learn from those beliefs.
>
> And that sort of tragedy or crisis that has happened—there are reasons for that, but it is not all the people of that same background. It is the person that perpetrated the action that is to blame. And we have to take reasonable steps and go forth on that basis.

Daily conflict intervention is also an important aspect in CBO leaders' lives and it helps in showing positive sides of people and hinders stereotyping.

Another NGO leader stated that the core function of his organization is to meet peoples BHN as following:

> A challenge for the citizens in a very rich country like Canada is to get food for their family round the year. And they rely on food that is leftover from 80 percent of society. Such a situation generates conflict and sets up an interaction that is not healthy.
>
> So the job of my organization in the early days was to first make sure the basic needs were met. The fundamental element in conflict intervention is to go against government and tell them that not all citizens are getting their basic needs and how do we address that.

Meeting BHNs for marginalized people is an important step towards conflict intervention in the shorter term.

In this research, I observed that participants used terms like 'conflict intervention' and 'transformation' in a number of ways. Participants' responses fell into two categories: (1) conflict intervention (mostly perceived by my research participants as short term intervention through a mix of active and passive engagements); and (2) conflict transformation encouraged by individual motivation (mostly perceived as the long term transformation of social relationships in Winnipeg taking into account peoples commonalities and differences). Among the CBOs, both

the FBO and ECBO participants preferred conflict transformation through individual motivation compared to the NGO participants. It is understandable that the NGOs mostly prefer to work for short-term intervention due to their organizational mandates and time-specific funding.

Consequently, it is evident from this study that NGOs (with one exception) and ECBOs intervene in social conflicts in Winnipeg using a conflict resolution (short-term) approach while the FBOs adopt a conflict transformation (long-term) approach. I found that ECBOs and NGOs are constrained by three elements while using a conflict resolution short-term approach, namely time, resources, and the need for delivering short-term impacts. However, these constraints are common for NGOs when they work in conflict-torn areas as the donor determines the project's parameters. Although the pressure from donors do not exist in Winnipeg some conditions from the funders still influence peace-building project planning and delivery because the funders consider dealing with the immediate effects of a conflict when it is regarded as a “negative and destructive occurrence” (The Global Coalition for Conflict Transformation 2014).

Finally, the decision to use a short-term conflict intervention and peace-building approach is funder dependent and is chosen piecemeal, and is not undertaken within a broader and holistic conflict transformation strategy. Conversely, the conflict transformation approach is a long-term effort that uses nonviolent mechanisms to engage people in a problem solving process (ibid.). In the same vein, my research participants suggested that potentially violent conflict cannot be understood in isolation from wider relations of power, therefore, an attempt to resolve or transform conflict while ignoring a problematic unjust structural system will not be beneficial in the long run as it will merely reinforce the current status quo. In addition, the conflict transformation approach is essentially useful in dealing with structural and cultural violence.

I found that the leaders of various CBOs approach social conflict intervention in a variety of ways depending on their individual to group motivations, objectives, the prevailing political situation, limitations imposed by their organizational mandates, and conditions imposed by funders. Despite variations in their methods of conflict transformation, I also found some common methods, and these are elaborated on in detail later in the chapter. What is an important research finding is the unanimous support of using a conflict intervention method to handle issue-based conflict[30] despite a mixed reaction from the participants about the future of such a divisive movement arriving in Prairie cities (especially in Winnipeg). My research participants were divided in expressing their concerns about whether the Prairie cities would eventually experience similar social conflict that might pit different faith groups against each other.

During the participant observation stage of my field research, I observed how an issue-based conflict transformation initiative could galvanize social groups together around a common platform (i.e. human rights) and bring solidarity to different faith groups. Events like this are few and far between, and it draws media and public attention as well. The majority of my study participants emphasized the necessity of forging inter-group collaboration to form a "critical mass," which can ultimately intervene in social conflict and create some positive change in the society. However, I found that while issue-specific conflict provides an easier platform to mobilize a critical mass of people/groups to advocate and affect social change through nonviolent resistance, day-to-day social conflicts do not. Issue-specific conflict creates a sensation among the public and the media while day-to-day conflict cannot raise enough interest. Moreover, everyday conflict like racism and discrimination remains in the background since it is perceived as a taboo and also it is politically incorrect to discuss this matter other than in seminar and symposiums.

One of my research participants poignantly commented that we failed so far to create some benchmark to measures social progress and confidently claim that we have really progressed or regressed in terms of social development. For example, despite the progress achieved in human rights-related issues, my study shows that the number one social conflict in Winnipeg is still about systemic discrimination and racism. Consequently, it begs the question, have we really progressed or done enough to eliminate racism and discrimination from our society? Could we outline a vision of a rights-based society within a specific time frame (for example, by 2025)?

In this section, I described what some of the CBO leaders' general approaches to peace-building are; they approach it with respect to the conflict stakeholders and a passionate desire to change the system within which conflict is generated. Subsequently, I discussed five key peace-building techniques among which I received maximum responses with regards to organize inter-group dialogues for conflict transformation. Lastly, I mapped leader's perceptions about long term (conflict transformation) and short term (conflict resolution) approaches where many preferred a long-term approach for conflict transformation.

6.3 CBO Leaders Perceptions of CBO Peace-building Strengths, Challenges and Limitations

The three types of CBO leaders (i.e. FBO, ECBO, and NGO) who participated in this study were not only key figures in their organizations they were also instrumental in devising some constructive peace-building mechanisms to take care of social conflict. As they spoke about conflict intervention, they drew from their organizational strengths and limitations to state how some of their projects were successful in resolving conflicts in Winnipeg and how some were

not. That is why I intended to explore these CBO's specific organizational strengths so that I can use asset mapping techniques to discover their peace-building tools.

For example, an FBO leader talked about the strength of her organization's outreach activity in the city in the following manner:

> I think we have a number of strengths and I think they all come from pride and heritage and providing to our own community the means to become even stronger. I think that our outreach to the world is very important and brings with it a lot of strength.
>
> I think that the fact that our community is a well-structured community helps it move forward.
>
> I think the fact that we are a fairly independent community is also important.
>
> As a Jewish community, we do a fundraising campaign that at this point looks to raise $.5 million, but itself gets turned back to the community to help with the operating cost with several of our organizations. And I think that is absolutely remarkable.

A community, which is grounded in its heritage, is not dependent on external sources for help, and relies on social networking to raise funds for conflict intervention, can be a role model in peace-building in this context.

Another FBO leader expressed his admiration of social networking and how it helps people to connect with each other in difficult times:

> That the kind of thing that I have experienced in the Muslim community where I now know at least maybe 50 Muslim people who know something about Mennonites and are interested and have respect for Mennonites because they have had connections with me or with our organization.
>
> It's by expanding those types of networks that if someone, for instance, were to deface a mosque or were to say something publicly like, "all Muslims are terrorists," that I am quite prepared to step forward and say that is not true. My friends are not terrorists.
>
> The mosque is a place of worship and should not be defaced. It is a house of prayer for those who want to pray to God. It is not a source of radicalization.

Social networking also helps in reducing the level of stereotyping in the city.

Another NGO leader also explained how she mobilizes experts to manage particular conflicts in the following way:

> There are a number of different things. One would be that we do mobilize experts in particular fields. For example, one of our programs is called Voices for Non-Violence and it deals with domestic violence issues. And obviously those situations are very tenuous, that the victims of domestic violence are often hesitant to come forward, so the resources needed for that need to be very sensitive, need to be skilled and highly trained.

Having a pool of conflict experts definitely helps not only in understanding conflict but also in putting appropriate resources in the right place.

In this sub-section, certain key themes emerged while exploring the strengths of CBOs in peace-building. These strengths and strategies include promoting the pride and heritage of the organization; remaining independent in thought and action is a strength; being able to provide technical and research expertise to deal with conflict; being able to network, build partnerships, alliances among faith groups; the ability to mobilize people from one's own faith platform; the ability to inspire people to join in conflict intervention voluntarily; and the development of relationships among multiple stakeholders to design a consensual conflict intervention method.

6.3.1 How do CBOs harness their strengths for effective conflict intervention?

CBO leaders also shared their experiences of harnessing strengths for conflict intervention. All of them opined that peace-building is not an easy task especially when they face challenges to implement their projects.

For example, one FBO leader informed me that he relies on faith-based networking to harness strength to devise a conflict intervention strategy for the city:

> Ukrainian Catholics had a Synod where the Catholics gather from around the world and they were here last year in Portage La Prairie and they invited the orthodox metropolises and me to speak to them and they could not believe the friendship between the three bishops, the orthodox, the Ukrainian Catholic and the Catholic.
>
> They just couldn't believe that we could be friends and that we could talk about these terribly sensitive issues easily, because they can't do that Europe. They simply can't do that. At the same time, when I say that the leadership, we are friends and we talk with one another, you know on the ground often where there are people and still there are conflicts with various social groups.

Intra-faith cooperation goes a long way in sharing resources and garnering strength.

In a similar vein, an FBO leader suggested that building partnerships with other community organizations and tapping its resources are critical elements to harness strengths for intervening in conflict:

> The [FBO] does many campaigns to promote peace-building, often times in partnership with other community organizations from different cultural and religious organizations. I often volunteer for these activities.

Another FBO leader also explained that her organization draws inspiration from the idea of doing good to humanity that is also deeply connected to her faith tradition and values:

> It is more attitudinal than marshalling tools. I think it is an attitude of openness, an attitude of hospitality, and welcoming, respect. So those are all—. It is really those positive attitudes are part of the [FBO], along with faith.
>
> It has—. I would not say humanist, but it is a positive view of humanity and helping and serving others from the Gospel point of view.
>
> But also from a human point of view, the fellowship of humanity to help and not ask a million questions about—.
>
> I mean we ask the questions of, Why? We deal with those on a daily basis. But we also just try to do what needs to be done.

Inherent in the faith tradition is the will to do good for human beings; it is a powerful motivation for the leaders to harness strength for peace-building.

Important endeavours that the CBOs do to achieve their goals include social networking, volunteerism, historical and organizational knowledge, and organizational reputation. However, in mapping CBO approaches to conflict transformation three issues stood out clearly and appeared very promising. First, the FBOs are networking with NGOs and First Peoples' organizations, and they are prioritizing their activities around social justice issues. Second, the indigenous people's movement (i.e. INM) is now in its third year and has drawn adequate media and policy attention to achieve its primary goal of raising awareness about First Peoples issues in Canada. And third, although, the ECBOs are the least networked with FBOs and NGOs, an

umbrella organization like ACOMI may be a replicable model to consider for future inter- and intra-group cooperative platforms between similar organizations.

6.3.2 CBO Leaders' Perceptions of CBO Peace-building Challenges and Limitations

Challenges abound for the CBO leaders while implementing their peace-building projects. In sharing their experiences, they highlighted that mostly they are challenged by the socio-political-cultural-economic structure that exists in the society.

For example, an FBO leader believed that bringing people together both from faith and cultural backgrounds about resolving a particular conflict issue is a challenge; however, if successful then it can be a measure of the organization's success:

> First of all I think that it is nice to divide ethnocultural from faith, but I don't think in practice that is always the case. It's not always possible to do that. Because, I think, part of various people's cultures is their faith base. So it is very difficult. […]
>
> We have had successes based on work—and that you also have to define what success is. If you can get to a table and respect the differences, you have reached a certain amount of success. If you cannot, then you are in a position that has not had success.

Although officially, in a multicultural society, people tend to differentiate between ones cultural and faith identities, the separation is seldom useful to motivate people to take part in conflict intervention.

Similarly, another FBO leader also observed that Evangelical Protestant Christians are only addressing short-term conflicts because they are not interested in resolving structural issues causing deep-rooted conflict:

> My impression is that the Evangelical wing is less inclined to be involved in programs and organizations that engage more specifically in conflict, peace and justice work, they are more inclined to, say, adopt a child and do other kinds of what you could call development and relief-based ministries […]
>
> Because one of them told me why they are popular is because they are addressing the basic needs […]
>
> Exactly that is what they would be able to claim. And my view is the prevailing capitalist mindset of our current structural arrangement invites us not to consider structural issues. Because you are just the master of your own destiny, and if we can

> direct then so be it. Because a system can never do anything, etc., and why try to change the structure when all you can do is change the individual lives anyways.
>
> I mean these are the reasons that are usually given.

Addressing root causes of conflict demands required changes in the socio-political structures, and often FBOs face challenges to undertake peace-building projects aimed at addressing deep-rooted conflict.

An NGO leader observed that any inter-group relationship building exercise is full of challenge. According to him, if some projects can build relationships between and among various groups then he considers it to be successful because it can reduce inter-group social distancing and 'othering':

> I think that the key is relationship-building. And I think that when people don't see a place for themselves in society or in a community they become more and more isolated. So I think it is critical that we create places of belonging for everybody. Do I see, there are places that I go that I see many newcomers engaged in our community?
>
> There are, yes, probably those that are isolated. But there are many more that aren't. And I think we need to see United Way invest in a number of different ways. So we might invest in some type of mainstream type of investments where people could go and access service.

Different social groups and even individuals in the society remain isolated for political-economic reasons. Thus, peace-building projects aimed at relationship-building can become challenging endeavours.

Poverty is caused by problematic social condition where marginal social groups do not get equal access to resources. In this regard, one NGO leader explained that eradicating poverty is a challenge for his organization in the following way:

> The challenge is I sometimes feel we are a complete failure because poverty still exists, conflicts still exist, poor housing still exists, and things that we try to change are still evident.
>
> For example, a couple of year ago we were able to respond to some organizations that helped young people to stay out of street gangs. Their funding was threatened so they came to us and we were able to mobilize an action to the government and the government then continued programming for one more year.

> So in a way you can say that our intervention helped these organizations maintain these programs, which were very important for young people.
>
> But then a year later, government closed the programs anyway. So, did we succeed?
>
> Well, we helped for that one more year, but did we fail? Yes, because we weren't able to maintain the funding and therefore these programs ended.
>
> I would say that we succeed at keeping people informed. We succeed at bringing groups together. We know how to foster collaboration.
>
> So we can, in terms of those operational successes, we are very good at that. But overall we have not yet ended poverty. We have not yet created the resources that are really needed to have a significant social impact.

Convincing policymakers at the government level for collaboration remains to be a challenge for most of the CBOs undertaking peace-building works in Winnipeg.

In the same vein, one NGO leader pointed out a deep disconnect between policymakers (i.e. expressed here as rulers) and grassroots level activity for understanding conflict in the following manner:

> I think it was Aristotle or one of the great philosophers that said, "If you want the state to be blessed, then the rulers must philosophize."
>
> I just don't think that enough of our rulers are thinking deeply about these matters. I mean, the very notion of political correctness reached at the point of imbecility. To make any meaningful statement on conflict issues, it has to be there somehow implicitly or explicitly that the negation of that statement is false. That is the nature of rational interchange.
>
> But in our culture, no one wants to say anyone is wrong. We can't function like that.

Acknowledgement of conflict is often times a challenge for the policymakers as well as peace-builders in the current context.

Some leaders also spoke about limitations arising from their own organizational structures, such as differences in ideologies, organizational mandates, and building consensus to intervene in conflicts. For example, one FBO leader contended that the failures of some FBOs to meet peoples BHNs are a result of their prioritizing different issues in the name of being rigidly faithful to a particular doctrine, which focuses in improving spirituality only:

> I think there are all the Evangelical churches and what not. They are catering to the people and telling them, you know, "We will do what you want. We will entertain you instead of teaching a faith that you hang onto".
>
> "Okay, we will entertain you, and you will come, and we will teach your children, but we will entertain them while we are teaching them", you know. They have rock bands and drums and everything going on when the mainstream churches they don't do this.
>
> Now I do not know if that has happened in the Muslim faith.

Intra-denomination ideological differences with regards to faith-based conflict intervention and peace-building remains to be a challenge for many faith groups in Winnipeg. The Evangelical churches have to use "edu-tainment" to reach their congregations.

Similarly, an ECBO leader revealed that building intra-group connections and solidarity to intervene in any single conflict issue is always challenging for his organization:

> Personally, for the First Nations people, we are missing some kind of connection at the grassroots level (with our own people). Something is happening where we keep saying Winnipeg is the largest First Nations reserve in Canada, because of the density of First Nation's people in Winnipeg.
>
> Even, in our best event we had maybe 500 people at the legislative [….] Okay, be generous, call it a thousand. There are still how many? Thirty thousand First nations people in Winnipeg? We are still only getting a small fraction of them out. That is something we also have to work with.
>
> Like I said, it is going to take more than one lifetime to do this. It's a good lifetime spent.

People's commitment to deal with an issue specific conflict has a short shelf life and often leaders find it challenging to maintain the motivation of their followers and keep them committed to long term conflict transformation.

A list of CBO challenges as identified by the leaders is appended below in Table 6.

Table 6: CBO Challenges to Peace-building

FBO	ECBO	NGO
• Lack of intra-church (Evangelical and mainstream Christian) cooperation and collaboration. • Inability to influence a public	• Intra-group division and factionalism due to contesting power sharing. • Inability to unite Aboriginal people under one umbrella	• Unable to eradicate poverty, homelessness and the poor; increased use of food banks. • Organizational mandate and philosophy constrains

schooling system and young people (science vs. religion) • Inability to change the perception of the Church as power hungry, a women hater, human rights abuser, enslaver, home to pedophiles, residential school project perpetrator. • Evangelical churches approach to entertain people and meet BHNs but not address the structural issues of conflict. • Faith, and religion divide, did not accomplish its goal in teaching people about forgiveness, toleration, and humility. • Dwindling attendance of church goers (especially young people) at mainstream Christian churches only. • Churches struggling to maintain their structures, and rapidly diminishing charities.	(intra-group cohesion) to build a critical mass for a sustained social activism/movement. • Lack of inter-ECBO contact to come together on conflict issues. Failed to provide 'flesh and blood' to the doctrine of multiculturalism. • Sometimes suffering from lack of legitimacy under single leadership and identity. • Government agencies are not engaged in a meaningful way. • Leadership and other assignments are on a voluntary basis so commitment depends on people's motivation, availability, attitude, and motives. • Fraternal type of organization lacks commitment. • No government oversight of ECBO project implementations, activity, and reporting etc.	involvement with FBOs. • Short term project funding.

While identifying CBO's potentials with regard to peace-building and in restructuring relationships through conflict transformation, I observed four potential obstacles. First, a tendency prevails among some CBOs to remain politically correct and follow a safe course of action with regard to voicing matters related to social conflicts or issues that are oppositional in nature with the ruling political regime's policy. This strategy is important in order to avoid funding cuts as "political correctness appears simultaneously with multiculturalism on the scene of ethnic and racial politics. The latter reflects the ethos of blame and guilt that characterizes the former" (Spencer 1994, 561). In addition, it has often been observed that CBOs follow their own

agenda and differ widely in supporting government policies on social and political conflicts concerning minorities.

Second, inter-CBO interaction and cooperation to intervene in all social conflicts (except on issue specific matters) is manifestly absent in Winnipeg. CBOs are expected to have their own ideological and political differences pertaining to taking positions on social conflicts. Yet in many instances, they chose to remain silent, and this behaviour is perceived to be consenting to preserving the status-quo.

Third, I observed that FBOs and ECBOs generally prefer to organize religious and cultural ceremonies corresponding to their own faith, or cultural traditions. In doing so, they inadvertently create a highly localized niche environment, which can be termed as "the phenomenon of parallel societies, or even of "two solitudes" (Kymlicka 2002, 12). Their seemingly innocuous activities therefore fail to create inter-ethnic or inter-faith cooperation much needed to transform recent social conflict.

Fourth, I also observed that CBOs (NGOs are the exceptions here) suffer from a dual fear. First they fear becoming ostracized within their own communities if they openly support the government's position on a particular conflict (for example, domestic terrorism, Aboriginal issue). Second, they fear being an object of government repression through intelligence, police surveillance, and Canada Revenue Agency's intervention if they do not support the government's position on political-economic-social issues. This situation, in most cases, inhibits CBO's frank and honest participation in conflict intervention.

When asked about the challenges with regard to implementing their projects, my participants came up with a list of issues including diverging goals of the state and CBOs—when national political, economic, and security interests (both federal and provincial) do not

coincide with the CBOs interests or goals then it accentuates tension. This is particularly visible when the state adopts a double standard concerning human rights and environmental conflicts. For example, at the macro level China-Canada's state relationship overshadows human rights violations by the Chinese government both at home and abroad (including the persecution of the members of Falun Gong). Moreover, the organizational mandates of CBOs pose constraints in choosing selected conflicts for intervention and many times CBO members feel uncomfortable with some mandates that the organization wishes to pursue.

In some cases, FBOs face intense external pressure from government and mainstream communities and internal pressure from board members, as their religious ideologies are often not compatible with the mainstream or with government policies (for example, LGBTTQ rights, and religious schools, etc.). However, the majority of my participants agreed that in the Western urban context, for a sustainable and effective conflict intervention process to be implemented, a top-down approach properly tied to grassroots-level organization is desirable whereby policymakers are involved in the conflict transformation process from the beginning. In addition, some of my participants differentiated between the challenges of the Christian Evangelic Churches and mainstream Christian Churches while providing for people's basic needs in Winnipeg. In this regard, one interviewee observed that in a capitalist social system individual needs supersede the collective need and the individual is more important than the structure, which is why the Evangelic approach to peace-building is gaining popularity.

Among other things, my participants reported that social activists who become involved in conflict intervention must have their own safe space to retreat to and have financial support, should they decide to protest against government policies as they often are subjected to direct and indirect state retribution. However, the challenge for ECBOs emanates in the form of

keeping group cohesion intact as various groups, despite living in Canada, wish to support the ruling political parties and their policies in their home countries of origin. In such cases, confronting and educating them about the truth is difficult and often becomes even more contentious. Further, often the community creates pressure on new immigrants and refugees to conform to Canadian social norms thereby creating an 'inside-out' pressure while they are already subjected to an 'outside-in' pressure from the government agencies and mainstream society.

6.3.3 How do CBOs strive to overcome their challenges and limitations to effectively intervene in conflict?

One participant poignantly commented that one could negotiate with the challenges to peace-building in two ways: work from within the system or work from outside. For example, one NGO leader explained how he innovatively thought of creating an organization that helped to overcome some challenges:

> One other very subtle conflict that I want to mention which really motivated me to get involved in the WPP efforts is organizational limitations. We have created organizations or corporations where freedoms and passion for change are viewed congenial only if it comes from outside. We do not allow it to be inside. There are exceptions and variation in degrees, but the challenge is: How do you change the system from within?

Often the leaders working within a larger organization feel constrained to do their peace-building work, therefore, some founded a small yet flexible organization to deal with social conflicts of their choice. This kind of creativity to find alternatives is one of the most important aspects of peace-building, which gives birth to visionary leaders.

The momentous moments in the field research was to observe and document what the CBO leaders do to overcome some of their challenges by planning and doing a host of activities. In this regard, participant observation helped me a lot. Thus, their activities to overcome

challenges mostly fell into two main categories of engagements: active and passive. In the active engagement category, the CBO leaders informed me of physically ‘being there’ as witnesses and taking part in different social, political, and cultural activities that includes both issue specific and non-issue specific conflicts. One of the common themes evident was the need to empower diverse minorities and marginalized groups (faith or cultural) through different initiatives and programs. CBO leaders also emphasized the importance of a ‘ground up’ engagement with minority, and marginalized groups because such a strategy binds people together through close interactions.

For example, non-Aboriginal people taking part in the INM demonstrations provided valuable solidarity lessons for people that might contribute to breaking down barriers and stereotyping. In addition, most of my participants unequivocally opined that the necessity of ensuring economic empowerment and providing opportunities for poor people to access resources could be the single most important tool to reduce discrimination. Further, a majority of my participants also preferred taking part in nonviolent demonstrations to disapprove of government actions and corporate policies that aim to damage the environment and people’s social values. They also favoured the strength and spirit of nonviolence in today’s context yet at the same time emphasized that nonviolence should not be viewed as a one-sided responsibility (from the protesters' side) rather it is a two-sided collaborative process (from the government law enforcement agencies). Democratic citizens have the right to protests and demonstrate, and the sanctity of such events can be maintained once all the parties involved in a demonstration understand their mutual roles, objectives, and responsibilities.

Most historical social movements had violent elements within them, and it is only a matter of converging those people (who espouses violence as a means to achieve ends) and who

encourage provocation that triggers violence (Sharp and Paulson 2005). For example, both the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa led by the African National Council (ANC) and the liberation movement of colonial India led by the Indian National Congress (INC) had violent and nonviolent followers within their organizations. Yet what made the difference were both movements' able leaders who chose nonviolence as the only strategy for liberation (Ibid.). Then again, in this category, my participants emphasized using nonviolent conflict transformation tools such as organizing awareness raising events, film shows in neutral places, creating sit-in protests, and engaging local political leaders through letter writing and petitions.

In the passive engagement category, I observed three main types of engagements: advocacy, collaboration (as part of a larger group), and indirect participation. Several NGOs are engaged in the advocacy role researching and evaluating government policies. One NGO leader informed me that besides advocacy, his NGO is also involved in sponsoring citizen committees, which critique government policies on the environment, city life, and social values. Most NGOs are involved with several First Peoples' organizations through different projects (funded by government agencies). I found that the FBOs are mostly active in social spaces and especially with the First Peoples' organizations, yet they seldom work with government agencies (with a few exceptions both by active and passive engagements). Nonetheless, I also found that inter-FBO interaction is taking place mostly within Christian FBOs. In addition, the ECBOs collaborate sometimes with some government agencies (through passive engagement), and they seldom interact with each other on social, cultural or policy matters. Moreover, the ECBOs mostly work with some particular government agencies (for example, immigration and multiculturalism, or housing), and have limited interaction with the First Peoples' organizations

(I only found one Muslim and one Christian FBO interacting with some First Peoples' organizations in Winnipeg).

I also observed that some CBO leaders undertake various creative endeavours that I believe can play a dominant role in the conflict transformation process. For example, the leader of the World Peace Partners (WPP) created a group outside of Rotary International (RI) to offer training to people on global citizenship (World Peace Partners 2014). This group trains young people on active citizenship and brings various social groups together on Peace Day to invoke peace philosophies and motivate people to do social good (for detail activities see note [31]).

Moreover, leaders are constantly devising new methods that are relevant and sensitive to existing social conditions for to implement a conflict intervention process. For example, KAIROS tried to manage funding from alternate sources and charities once it lost CIDA funding. Consistent with the observations of some Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) scholars, my study also confirms that some creative approaches can be useful in conflict transformation and peace-building if applied jointly with more traditional applications, such as, for example, storytelling festivals, inter- and intra-faith dialogue workshops, and training activities. For example, the annual Winnipeg International Storytelling Festival, the University of Winnipeg–based Ridd Institute for Religion and Global Policy's dialogue project, the Arab-Jewish Dialogue initiative, and the Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice do this multi-track work.

In this section CBO leaders' perceptions of CBOs strengths, challenges and limitation were elaborated on. Among the strengths, CBO leaders averred that they are proud of their heritage as community organization in conflict intervention and they remain independent and can work without any external influence to implement their plans for intervention. They also opined that through networking, which is one of their greatest strengths, they could mobilize people to

participate in peace-building work. Moreover, CBO leaders harness their strengths to achieve their goals through volunteerism and by utilizing their organizational reputation earned over a period of time. In terms of challenges, most of them informed me that the effectiveness of their applied work is very much challenged by the socio-political-cultural-economic social structure. Additionally, inter-group cohesion and denominational (i.e. ideological) differences (especially within the FBOs) are some of the limitations that the CBO leaders often encounter.

6.4 CBO's State of Social Capital and an Asset Based Approach to Peace-building (ABAP)

Social capital is generated through the interaction of various social groups who use social connections and relations, and this provides useful tools not only to determine what resources can be used, it also capitalizes upon existing community resources. Two things are of paramount importance that connect with the concept of social capital and an asset-based approach to peace-building in this research: relatedness and integration, what Ansell (2009) termed "a relational ontology […] in which social entities are to be understood in terms of their relationships rather than in terms of their inherent (essential) characteristics" (cited in ibid., xvi). Moreover, I tried to understand these social institutions through their leader's perceptions and how they envisaged their transformations through interpreting the meaning of social life; the historical problems of domination, alienation, and social struggles; and by critiquing society to envision new possibilities (See Morrow and Brown 1994).

For example, inter-faith networking can be a powerful medium to resolve faith-based conflicts in the city. Here one FBO leader argued that mobilizing one's faith platform helps in undertaking conflict resolution work because it brings members together to work for social justice:

> Well, we start with the faith platform to get people aware. This is why we Catholics feel this way. Then, you know, you extend it to it a communicable thing, I mean our Church has, you know—.
>
> We do a lot of faith-based things, but we also reach out to other faiths as well to work with them.
>
> I think it is sort of coming to an understanding of what we believe and what we are here for and then reaching out and trying to get things started in the best way that we can.

Faith networks can also play an important role in harnessing strength for peace-building work.

An ECBO leader observed that if a person has a strong inner passion s/he can undertake any amount of difficult tasks:

> The fact that anybody would put in the time to get a PhD seems to me to be evidence of someone with a degree of passion that is above average. That individual has said, "I will sacrifice these additional years to obtain a symbol of achievement, but it is important for me to do this because I think there is a job to be done and this might help me do my job." I think the strength here is the structure, the unification. You don't have to go to three or four different departments to get a degree.
>
> I think it is a strong program. I think the evidence that everybody thus far that has received it.
>
> My dream and hope is that people will have left here with the degree maybe, but seeing that we have done something here. The thing can work in reality if there is a clearly rational approach. If one can see the benefits out of compromise rather than conflict then we will have contributed to the society.

Academic research opportunities coupled with people's altruistic convictions can be a powerful tool for social conflict transformation.

In addition, another FBO leader was of the opinion that a growing intercultural understanding among various social groups is a positive factor in multicultural Winnipeg:

> Well, I hope that we can have a growing understanding between different segments, the Canadian multicultural reality and open-minded attitudes, I guess throughout our culture, the overall culture.
>
> But that does involve I think the mutual understanding of a lot of different groups. So, we have without eleven groups. That is not, it's scratching the surface, I would like to see a lot more people involved,

Consequently, my study participants envisioned the future of Winnipeg where people are treated equally and where there is increased tolerance for different ethnocultural groups in a truly multicultural city that includes Aboriginal people.

6.4.1 Mapping out the CBOs social capital in Winnipeg

This sub-section analyzes the nature and type of social capital available within a particular CBO for peace-building activities. The essence of social capital lies in the social relationship that the people and community have built and how they use it to transform conflict (conversely it could also generate conflict). Social relationships matter because they help to build social networks and in the world of social capital, the informal relationship is very important as often people and their communities seek support through informal networks to focus on important conflicts on a daily basis. Moreover, people's values enshrined in networks are at the core of social capital and membership is offered to those who have similar values, identities and interests; it builds trust and norms so that networks can coordinate their activities. I found that people connect and form networks based on their ethnic, and faith identities, and they use these networks to intervene in social conflicts. I found it useful to see social capital through a multi-functional lens that harnesses the strength of informal social connections, and it is related to the need for social connection in order for people to utilize, and mobilize existing resources.

There are two main ways that organizations utilize assets to intervene in social conflicts: (1) by assessing needs, deficiencies and problems; and (2) by assessing capacities, skills and assets (Institute for Policy Research 1993). The marked advantage of the second approach over the former is that it calculates, and earmarks the resources, and values of a community and attempts to intervene in a social conflict from the inside-out, and the process itself is social relationship driven (National Service Knowledge Network 2013). In addition, my research

participants also identified three distinct elements of assets that they have available for conflict intervention in Winnipeg, namely, individuals, associations, and institutions. As discussed before, individuals have unique capacities such as experience, knowledge expertise, and over and above passion to help people. Now if these inspiring individuals can come together to form associations and build network they can harness their strengths and focus on creative and innovative ways to resolve conflict. These associations can be formed on a voluntary basis initially and later converted to a professional organization (i.e. institution) depending on the motivations of the members. Nevertheless, institutions can mobilize greater resources for conflict transformation in the long run.

In this study, I used ABAP as an analytical model to understand the narratives of my interviewees and my own observations. First, I analyzed the organizational strengths (treating them as assets) of CBOs, the details of which can be found in Table 7 below:

Table 7 : Elements of Social Assets of CBOs in Winnipeg

Element of Social Assets	FBO	ECBO	NGO
1. Association, Alliances 2. Relationship **3.** Attitude **4.** Pride **5.** Research capacity **6.** Credibility, trust **7.** Faith and	• Pride in one's heritage, ancestry • Outreach capability • Mobilizing, maintaining experts • Maintaining, expanding inter-faith networks • Intra-faith meetings, dialogues • Ability of group's to communicate using moral (faith) platform • Attitude of openness and respect • Church alliances and their willingness to participate in Aboriginal	• Passion • A centralized structure for training academic scholars, and researchers on social issues • Solidarity between factions (issue specific) • Cultural homogeneity • Multiple, diversifying network (university student network, professional network) • Ability to support newcomers • Fund raising (issue specific, e.g. natural disaster)	• Convergence of objectives (e.g. school networks) • Relationship building with community • Remaining aware of any power imbalance between 'giver' and 'taker' • Providing a political platform and alternate views on conflict • Volunteerism of inspired people • Capitalizing on community leadership networks

cultural commonality	issues • Ability to provide a safe space • Trust gained through community work, charity • Critically evaluating government policies on matters related to politics, environment and faith • Church network (e.g. diocese, parish) • Building upon one's own past memory of isolation, discrimination • Time (voluntary) • Partnership and development with law enforcement agencies • Knowledge repertoire derived from seminars, symposiums • Friendship and relationship	• Pride in identity • Ability to provide a neutral less politically contentious platform (e.g. Arab-Jewish dialogue group) • Educated, pool of skilled citizens	• Flexibility to mobilize the right types of people on an issue • Research capacity on complex social policy issues

Table 7 above clearly shows that FBOs have good organizational strengths (assets) in terms of social connections and networking capabilities, partnership development, and volunteer commitment. In contrast, the ECBOs have the distinct advantage of reaching out to immigrant and refugee groups while the NGOs can mobilize their funding and infrastructural resources to intervene in conflicts. Correspondingly, I observed seven elements of social assets in this study namely: association, alliances, relationship, attitude, pride, research capacity, credibility, trust, faith, and cultural commonality. I found that CBO leaders rely mostly on association and alliances, first; relationships, second; and credibility, third. From the list of social assets elements, I assume that at least three could be used to transform my informant's top social conflict in Winnipeg (i.e. discrimination, stereotyping and racism) if they are embedded within a

holistic conflict transformation process and include relationship, research capability and faith network, and cultural commonality.

This research confirms that CBO leaders used their social capital (i.e. assets) to mobilize people and resources for conflict transformation. It had also been observed that these CBOs carry an enormous pool of skills and if it is combined with experiences of people working in these organizations, these can literally undertake significant conflict intervention tasks. Consequently, NGOs sometimes resort to analyze the needs of different social groups and devise appropriate intervention methods/tools while FBOs and ECBOs mostly use their assets (for example, the items mentioned in Table 7) for intervention. This asset-based approach to peace-building is possibly more suitable to a Western urban context where some amount of resources is always guaranteed and at the same time decision making for conflict intervention more or less occurs without much state interference (although there are some exceptions such as KAIROS experience).

However, I observed a disconnection with regard to ABAP in two ways. First, normatively a process of conflict intervention through peace-building should identify conflict first in consultation with conflict parties or social groups and then marshal resources as deemed necessary— following a diagnostic approach. In reality, many of the CBO leaders agreed that such a process was seldom followed especially when it comes to consulting with parties involved in conflict. Second, CBOs ideally should have some tools to analyze conflict as they choose to intervene in many conflicts, and earmark adequate resources (i.e. assets) to accomplish the task. In reality, CBO leaders reported that they do not have such systems in place as a result often their assets are not utilized optimally either they fall short in terms of meeting the need or they were too excessive.

In this section, CBOs state of social capital was elaborated on first. Social connections and networking capabilities, partnership development, and volunteer commitments were some of the key social capitals that emerged from the analysis. Among social assets that are used for peace-building work the important ones are: association, alliances, relationship, positive attitude, pride, research capacity, credibility, trust, and faith, and cultural commonality.

6.5 CBO leaders perceptions of their peace-building projects' contribution to conflict transformation

After identifying the peace-building assets, I explore the respondent's perceptions of their peace-building projects' contribution to conflict transformation in Winnipeg next.

6.5.1 Selected peace-building projects in Winnipeg

During the fieldwork stage, I requested the research participants to recommend some of their peace-building projects, which they think best illustrates their ideologies as well as goals (i.e. success/failure). In turn, they invited me to observe a number of projects of which I chose to present my analysis of eighteen projects subsequently.

6.5.2 CBO Leaders perceptions of the possible impact of their projects on conflict transformation in Winnipeg

The leaders spoke in some detail about their projects in the research interviews. However, more details emerged during the participant observation phase. In the subsequent paragraphs, some of the responses were highlighted where the leaders claimed that they were successful in contributing positively to peace-building and conflict transformation.

For example, an ECBO leader suggested that specific peace-building activities such as language training can preserve the cultural identities of different social groups:

> I think it [managing cultural identities] is extremely important. It is not only to preserve your cultural identity rather the main point is that every language in this world is powerful.
>
> For example, in my opinion in late 2000 there were 7,000 languages throughout the world. Now every day we are losing two or three languages. And nowadays probably there are 4,000. Other languages are being extinct or lost.
>
> So, any program like 'Bangla Class', for example, can contribute greatly in providing essential cultural identities to young people especially when they were born in English speaking Canada.

Preserving language equals to self-preservation especially when someone lives within a different culture and a threat of cultural assimilation is a reality.

Another NGO leader highlighted his positive experiences of addressing structural conflict issues with regard to new immigrants (including refugees) trying to settle in a new environment in the following way:

> With respect to the service provision for new Canadians on the ground level specifically within our own settlement sector there are differences in velocity around our role. So, there are organizations that have a philosophy that focuses more on just getting people into let's say employment training and then once they have hit that margin they can go on to work and be contributing to the economic welfare of the country and so the contribution of new Canadians can be quantified with respect to their economic participation.
>
> And there are agencies that believe in the contributions of new Canadians in a more sort of qualitative way, in terms that there is equal value to new Canadians that bring in culture and tradition and languages and who enrich the sort of the fabric of the nation. Who are also here because we have international obligations and because we play a role in the circumstances that create refugees.

Peace-building work should have both short-term and long-term components since addressing people's immediate basic needs as well as psycho-social needs are important to harness the full potentials of new immigrants (including refugees).

Moreover, one ECBO leader stated that his organization's increasing spheres of action and connecting other cultural groups with each other is considered successful because it institutionalizes intercultural activities and events:

> We mostly concentrated in institutionalizing the organization. And we are focused on cultural activities and in conducting outreach programs. We also work closely with the Ministry of Multiculturalism and we also take part in faith related activities with the organization like the Manitoba Islamic Association.
>
> We cannot claim that we have achieved hundred percent goals, and it is not possible within a single term in the office. But we tried to start some of the things that could bring the result in the future.
>
> For example, we started a Bengali language school so that the next generation of our children has some idea about the language.
>
> However, we feel that more interaction with others faith groups or ethnocultural groups should be done. But we could not do it much in our term. We promoted intergroup corporation between two major religious groups Hindus, and Muslims by organizing common festivals.

Inter-denominational and community cooperation helps in bridging the cultural divide among communities. It helps in generating trust among various group's experiences of social conflicts.

Another NGO leader commented that her organization's capacity to engage ethnocultural groups in peace-building work is what she considered to be successful because it helps to connect and motivate diversified groups to come together around a common ground and commit to working for peace-building together:

> Right now we are in relationship with an organization called organization Z. Organization 'Z' has been working for many years in Winnipeg. I think the last ten years or maybe even more at looking to bring leadership from many of the African communities together to speak with one voice. And it is very difficult.
>
> One Aboriginal group or organization does not speak with the voice of all. We need to recognize that there are many voices when we speak about the Aboriginal community; and that there are many voices when we speak of the African community. But there is still such limited knowledge in some ways about the world.

Numerous ethno-cultural organizations operate in the city and for the NGOs creating a working relationship with some while not with others for conflict transformation is always a challenge. However, bringing such groups under one umbrella to undertake peace-building work is a success, according to some NGO leaders.

A summary of the CBO leaders' perception of contribution is displayed below in Table 8:

Table 8 : CBO Contribution to Conflict Transformation and Peace-building

FBO	ECBO	NGO
• Bringing people with differences (faith) around one table is a measure of success. • Instilling a sense to overcome fear prejudices. • Gaining different faith groups' cooperation. • Being able to work from multiple platforms. • Providing safe spaces for people to participate in their spiritual activities. • Establishing church alliances to work on social issues.	• Ability to bring the maximum number of people under one umbrella and recognizing that everybody cannot/would not agree on a single issue. • Change of leadership from the older generation to the younger generation. • Ability to work with policy makers and connect different ethnocultural groups on one platform. • Ability to organize training classes to preserve language. • Facilitating language training to interested groups, individuals who wish to work in a particular country/organization. • Able to function as one group as long as various sub-groups do not get embroiled in power contest to secure their own demands.	• Relationship building. • Collaborating with and supporting ECBOs. • Able to assess and meet economic and employment needs of newcomers. • Ability to influence government on the funding of other smaller NGOs/projects. • Ability to form various citizen committees to discuss issues related to social conflict. • Ability to foster the collaboration of faith, and ECBO groups based on critical social issues.

It is remarkable to observe from this list of peace-building projects that only three FBOs and two ECBOs led projects are directly contributing towards transforming the top social conflict issue (i.e., discrimination, stereotyping and racism) arising from the social structure identified by my interviewees in Winnipeg. In addition, one NGO project is providing BHN to the poor living in Winnipeg. Consequently, from the human security standpoint these six projects are contributing significantly to liberating marginalized groups from fear and want.

My own motivation to analyze the perceptions of the leaders about their contribution to peace-building originates from Lederach's (2003) four conflict dimension model. A number of considerations are also involved here to rationalize such an approach. First, Lederach argued "there are four central modes in which conflict impacts situations and changes things" (ibid.). I wanted to find out how many projects and in which way impact each conflict dimension (i.e. structural, cultural, relational, and personal). I agree that within this limited research scope it is nearly impossible to assess the full impact of the projects ushering structural change yet the participants' mere conviction that some of their projects in the long term have potentials to transform conflict is worth noting. Additionally, many participants mentioned their own experiences in describing how they saw their projects impacting peoples' lives and different social group's conditions that were significant. Additionally, Lederach posited that conflict "impacts situations and changes things" in four modes, which again should be perceived within a broad canvass of desired social change (Lederach and Maiese 2003).

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed CBO leaders' tools, strengths, challenges, and limitations in peace-building and conflict transformation in four parts. In part I, I laid out a road map of CBO leaders' techniques and knowledge of peace-building. Here, I discussed the CBOs overall approach to and their tools of peace-building (respect and desire for structural change), an analysis of five key CBO peace-building techniques, and a comparative analysis of conflict intervention (short term approach) vs. conflict transformation (long term approach). In part II, I discussed the CBO leaders' perceptions of peace-building strengths, challenges and limitations. Within part II, I outlined how CBO leaders harness their strengths to do peace-building work followed by their perceptions of peace-building challenges and limitations. In part III, I mapped out the state of

social capital and social assets that organizations have for peace-building. Finally, in part IV, I also explored how CBO peace-building projects possibly contribute to transforming social conflict at four levels (structural, cultural, relational, and personal).

In sum, most of the leaders opined that while it is necessary to meet people's basic needs within a short-term intervention scheme, it is helpful to have a long-term strategy for conflict transformation. Nevertheless, a major challenge emanates from the social structure and often their intended activities are limited by their organizational mandates and a short-term strategy for intervention. Additionally, CBO leaders used five techniques while implementing their peace-building works such as: 1) Strive to create a respectful and safe environment for dialogue for conflict stakeholders; 2) Commit people and resources to design social programs to raise awareness about discrimination and racism (specifically with regards to refugee communities); 3) Mobilize resources to pre-empt conflict and identify an appropriate strategy to deal with it; 4) Live together in order to break the stereotyping and racist attitudes; 5) Educate people regarding international, and human rights laws to raise awareness of the rights and responsibilities of all citizens. A further analysis about state of social capital of the CBOs lists a number of social assets organizations possess: association, alliances, relationship, attitude, pride, research capacity, credibility, trust, faith, and cultural commonality, are most commonly used for peace-building work.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Faith Matters: Winnipeg's FBOs Special Role in Peace-building and Conflict Transformation

7.1 Introduction

Often those who live in the Western secular societies are intrinsically aware of the fact that a strict separation between faith and state prevails. This is normative. So is the nature of the ideological struggle between the state and others in making public policy. Therefore, FBOs are not usually found in the forefront in contesting unjust social or economic policies. Importantly, if such policies concern national security, e.g. terrorism, a hot button topic in Canada at present, it can be a matter of utmost sensitivity for both the state and the organization.

Keeping this context at the backdrop, I observed how a local FBO organized a seminar titled 'United Against Terrorism' with the aim of bridging the gap between policy and practice in dealing with domestic terrorism in Canada. It was a well-attended event (with more than 200 people) from various walks of life, including people from a myriad of governmental agencies. This event was organized into two parts. In the first part, conversation cafés took place, and in the second part, a group of selected speakers delivered a series of presentations. The second part of the session was a series of central presentations made by a number of speakers.

In the second session, one mosque-based FBO leader explicitly discussed the rise of domestic terrorism in Canada, and he narrated the historical instances of terrorism in Islam. He emphasized that extremists could be found in all faith groups. He also pointed out that Muslims as a community needs to do more in promoting a proper understanding of Islam and help clarify

its position toward religious based violent extremism. The Muslim community is diverse, yet everyone can come together on common ground to denounce terrorism perpetrated by extremists in the name of faith.

During the question and answer session, people from the audience participated in the dialogue, and expressed the concern that social inequity in the city is rising and that rampant stereotyping cloaked in religious extremism were common in Winnipeg. One audience member spoke passionately describing how he was discriminated against as a Winnipeg Transit driver and he eventually lost his job; his frustration was notable. Many sympathized with him and two people spoke of similar incidents where they faced discrimination due to their religious background. Members of the audience also expressed their fear with regard to sending their kids to youth summer camps. One mother expressed her concern that due to the prevailing fear of being monitored by government intelligence agencies, she stopped sending her children to summer camps. Other members expressed the point of view that if Muslim youths play paintball games in summer camp, they could possibly be labeled by law enforcement agencies as potential 'terrorists in training.'

In addition, a local FBO leader, who is also one of my research participants, spoke about Islamophobia and how it caused mistrust among regular Muslim Canadians in everyday life. She emphasized that sincere engagement both from the federal and provincial policymakers and law enforcement agencies is needed to create harmony among various social groups living in Winnipeg. She had important insights about her works that contribute toward countering terrorism issues in Winnipeg. This is what she had to say on this issue on that day:

> We had been thinking of it for a while. It was to facilitate a two-way dialogue between the RCMP and the Muslim community. We want to protect Muslim youth from being recruited by hate groups and developing contrary beliefs from their parents. Toronto and more recently the Boston cases show the relevancy of educating parents and youth alike.

> Young Muslims are caught between web-based extremist terrorist and right wing Islamophobes. There is lack of information, partnership, knowledge, and dialogue between the Canadian Muslim community and the law enforcement agencies like RCMP.
>
> There is a need to be better informed of what is going on in our community. Young Muslims must be protected from terrorist websites.
>
> Also Muslims have a moral responsibility and concerns as Canadian citizens, and must share any information that can help make Canada more secure.
>
> It is important to understand what's going on with radicalization, the youth are confused and we must examine what messages they are receiving.

Here she suggested terrorism as a form of conflict and how she intends to bridge gaps between the policy and community level with regards to countering terrorism issues. The above statement illustrates how this FBO conscientiously chose to deal with a sensitive national security issue publicly even with the prospect of being ostracized yet it aimed to bridge the knowledge gap between policy and practice.

In this chapter, I intend to first map out the FBO actors and then present an analysis of their observed peace-building activities. Here particular emphasis is given in documenting FBO initiatives to promote the social justice component of peace-building activities. Next, I discuss perceptions of FBO leaders in effective conflict intervention wherein their specific contributions to peace-building, its unique challenges, and weaknesses of faith-based peace-building will be discussed. Finally, the chapter will be concluded by putting forward an analysis of my respondent's hopes and dreams, and fear and worries concerning the FBOs efforts toward conflict transformation.

7.2 Mapping FBO Actors and Their Activities in Winnipeg

In this project, the activities of ten types of FBO actors were observed. These are: Christian (Catholics), Muslims (Sunni), Sikhism, Jewish, Falun Gong, Free Masons, Aboriginal Spirituality, Mennonite (Church and MCC), Faith in the City (a group of Christian faith actors in Winnipeg), and a conglomeration of Christian faith-based actors—KAIROS. Given the scope of

the research, the impacts of important peace-building activities carried out by these actors were noted and observed through participant observation activity. By far, the Christian faith-based actors proportionately share the largest segment of the social lives of Winnipeggers for two reasons: historically the Christians (Catholics) and Mennonites came to settle in Manitoba in the middle of the 19th century and the largest Diaspora (i.e., immigrant) group in Manitoba hails from the Philippines (again the majority of whom are followers of Catholicism).

7.2.1 A tapestry of conflict issues and faith-based peace-building activities in Winnipeg

I observed five types of activities undertaken by faith actors in Winnipeg: intra-faith (inter-denominational), inter-faith, social justice focused, coalition driven, and independent single issue peace-building. Leaders' perceptions and experiences of these activities are discussed subsequently in this section.

7.2.1.1 Intra-faith (inter- denominational) peace-building activities

Intra-faith group activities (with some exceptions) are somewhat common in Winnipeg as explained by an FBO leader in the statement below:

> I think Manitoba is a pretty conservative place politically and religiously, and we certainly have big right winged Evangelical churches in Winnipeg.
>
> Those exist, but they also have branches in the inner city here, and there are lots of Evangelical far right conservative ministries in the inner city that's for sure. Somewhere it is sort of different in the inner city.
>
> But there are balanced ones too. Like our largest shelter in Winnipeg, Siloam Mission. I would say that's a pretty conservative Church who sponsors it. Yet until recently, they haven't had—. They don't make their people pray before they eat like we do. They just eat. I think they say grace before, but no Church service before.
>
> However, we work together on common issues like poverty and homelessness.

Faith groups can find common ground to work on and leave aside their denominational differences while working together to transform conflicts.

An FBO leader also mentioned that offering a neutral place for all people to come together is an important intra-faith peace-building activity:

> As Ukrainian Catholic, we weren't actively involved in institutions and residential schools as we ministered in the north. We were just trying to get our own feet established in the early 1900s as a new church in Canada.
>
> So because we are Catholic we have a little bit of that baggage We have had very few abuse claims against our clergy or little or none. So, our hands are a little "cleaner."
>
> Yet, we are not known as a missionary group either. And yet, like a religious group within the Catholic community, we are missionaries. And so that is why we are here in a place like Organization Z, as Ukrainian Catholics, [reaching out] to Aboriginal people and other kinds of people, and opening our doors and having Evangelical Christians come here together and forming a community.

Although, some of the faith-based groups' activities, in the past, were tainted due to their involvement in collaborating with the state to assimilate Aboriginal peoples in Canada, still FBOs rely on their core ideology to reach out to marginalized people and other faith denominations to try to build peace in Winnipeg.

However, one FBO leader elaborated on the lack of active and meaningful partnerships among various faith groups as follows:

> I don't think there is active conflict in Winnipeg. But there are not a lot of active partnerships either. So, yeah, it's avoidance.
>
> You might find it interesting that with the network of agencies in the neighbourhood here. There are many Churches in this neighbourhood of Point Douglas. Yet it is only us and Church Y, which is a Christian Church.
>
> We are the only churches that get invited to those kinds of meetings and I think that is because we have that openness, that we have a desire to work with others. We have kind of proven ourselves by being here and living here for 20 years and so we are accepted that way.

Sometimes, FBOs are not very much willing to carry out intra-faith activities depending upon a number of various reasons.

Christianity arrived in Manitoba with the settlers. The early settlers were grouped into a smaller number of denominations and with the arrival of many more Christian groups from all over the Europe and Americas diversity increased. The religious mosaic in Manitoba became even more manifested in the latter half of the twentieth century once immigration opened up. However, due to increased social mobility and industrialization accompanied by a wave of

secularism, faith groups' activities and ideologies gradually faced challenges from multiple fronts. Consequently, Christian FBOs, in general, struggle to survive now as they started losing their followers and the level of charitable donations fell. In fact, in some instances, intra-faith group rivalry became evident not only due to the denominational differences but also these groups vie to get a bigger share of the 'pie,' which is essential for their survival. Although, surveys (refer to the STATSCAN's 2011 General Social Survey on Canadian's religious affiliation) suggest that people's attitude towards faith in general and towards Christianity in particular declined over the first half of this century, specific faith groups (such as Christian Evangelists, Ukrainian Orthodox, Filipino Catholics, and Jehovah's Witness) still thrive; even some operate in the city and actively proselytize. Consequently, intra-faith group conflict increased manifold as evidenced in this research from the participants' responses.

7.2.1.2 Inter-faith and Faith Group – Non-faith-based Group Peace-building Activities

Faith-based groups not only collaborate with other like-minded faith groups, but a number of them also partner with ECBOs and NGOs to participate in peace-building activities.

For example, one FBO leader explained how her organization took up a social garden project in collaboration with a different faith group:

> The other community [Sikh] was gung ho. They got on board with it right away. If they did have any opposition without their group, I didn't hear about it they must have handled it there.
>
> And the city, which is the big third party, here—they were incredibly supportive, very helpful. Like, we got no obstruction from the city. They helped guide us and they steered us away from—. We were going more towards an ornamental garden but we ended up with the native species instead because of the beauty of the whole greenway and we were fine with that. It was a great learning curve for me.
>
> But no, we really did not experience any barriers or struggles at all other than personal schedules and finances. We had donations of money and in kind labor. We had a bobcat driver who dug it out for us.
>
> So, yeah it was really a wonderful sample of cooperation.

Inter-faith collaboration based on a concrete project often brings two different faith groups together.

In a similar vein, an FBO leader suggested that building partnerships with other organizations is critical in intervening in conflict:

> The [FBO] does a lot of campaigns to promote peace-building, often times in partnership with other community organizations from different cultural and religious organizations. I often volunteer for these activities.

An FBO leader observed that inter-faith and faith-cultural group relationship building can help in creating a common ground in order to build a tolerant and just society:

> I think [cultural assimilation] is an issue. I do not think a society really flourishes if it tries to make everyone the same. Because I think the diversity is where the richness lies.
>
> But at the same time, if you are going to have a society, there has to be some common goals and some common ways of doing things. And how we help people to do that, I think, is respecting differences, but enabling differences to work together. It is part of, if we have a majority culture, it is part of their challenge. But it is also part of the minorities to figure out how to work that out.
>
> We always keep in mind these matters when we plan for connecting with other non-faith-based groups.

Promoting inter-group tolerance through diversity is an important peace-building activity in a multicultural society and keeping this is in focus ensures that some FBOs work closely with other non-faith based groups in the city.

However, an FBO leader also mentioned some of the difficulties that inhibit sincere inter-group connections:

> They say all you should do is preach the Gospel to the Muslims, and if they don't accept the truth, then just turn your back on them and let them go their own way. And I am shocked at how many Christians have this opinion.
>
> So, there was an earthquake in Iran in the late 1990s. And despite we know the relationship between the U.S. and Iran was really bad since the revolution, we thought that it would be really important for Mennonites to at least start a little bit of a dialogue with Muslims in Iran. So, we have had, over the course of the last ten years, five exchanges, but half of them have occurred in Iran, and half in Canada, and I have been able to be part of two of these.

> I have been in Iran four years ago, and we hosted a group of Muslim professor clerics, who came to Winnipeg for a consultation, and we basically kind of had a theological dialogue on many topics. And we tried not to get into politics, rather tried to understand each other.
>
> But what I saw, not everyone in my faith community was happy that we were doing these things because, well, "Why would you want to make friends with people in Iran? They are the enemy." I mean, they don't quite say it that way, but there is a lot of mistrust.
>
> Mennonites have had conversations with many groups, although, arguably some of our most tense relationships on the faith community side are with the Jewish community as a result of Mennonite's general solidarity with the Palestinian cause.
>
> At least our organization and especially Mennonite Central Committee have historically tried to act in some kind of solidarity with the Palestinians so we have also had a very tense relationship with our Jewish colleagues here in Winnipeg.

Inter-faith activities often come across with criticism from within and it is always a challenge to engage different faith groups on controversial socio-political issues.

For different social groups, peace-building is a consensus-based activity, not only to work for a common goal, but also to mobilize available social capital for the groups' sustainable efforts for conflict transformation. In this regard, if inter-faith cooperation is envisaged purely based on theological commonality, it is more likely that co-operation would suffer in due course of time. For example, theocentric ideologies (intra-faith) differ widely even within a particular faith group (such as Christianity, Islam). Thus, it is even more challenging to get ideologically different groups together under a common umbrella just because it capitalizes on its faith platforms. In this regard, some FBOs might have strict policy about cooperating with other faith groups and its followers might unanimously approve this. There is nothing wrong in it as people should be free to associate themselves with one faith or other. It becomes even more complicated when the perception of a different faith or ethnic group gets murky due to prevailing geo-political factors such as a state's foreign policy towards another country and external armed conflict where the state does not support the belligerents. However, one way to get around such a problem is to work to resolve a social conflict by creating empowering conditions for the groups

so that they agree on working to achieve a superordinate goal. Needless to say, social conflict although it divides people it can also bring people together since conflict affects all and people can still be motivated to resolve it.

7.2.1.3 Social justice focused peace-building activities

My respondents' perceptions of and experience with social justice varies widely depending on the context and issues involved. In this research, they spoke about social justice from the point of view of their faith, from their work experiences, and most importantly from their lived experiences. Their responses show that we can arrive at a common ground about social justice despite our ethnic, faith, or cultural differences. The responses are enumerated below:

For example, an FBO leader interpreted social justice from his faith background and that it is essentially serving peoples basic needs:

> Where the hungry are fed…where the factors that marginalize people—things like leprosy, illnesses, or things that are viewed as socially unacceptable—that those are removed so that the person can be restored to the community.
>
> It is not necessarily social justice in terms of an equality of income, but it's where people have enough, where people are welcomed into their communities, where accessibility to the community and to God is open to all, where barriers to accessibility are brought down.
>
> That would be the religious understanding. But I think it is also a very practical and tangible expression of how we understand social justice.

One of the strongest convictions for undertaking peace-building work can come from one's own faith tradition as illustrated above.

Similarly, an FBO leader explained that fulfilling people's basic human needs is all about ensuring social justice for all:

> I think social injustice still exists. They were there when my grandfather came, and feelings about [people from my country] and immigrants did not change much. At that point my father was put into school at the turn of the century so he did face the same thing as my grandfather.
>
> But now, we have new immigrants, they face certain difficulties. And the Aboriginal people are a real social burden, scar that has not yet healed.

> Just this week, I've been asked to get involved in a group looking at fundamental issues. And I said, "Well, let's set some benchmarks because when you slice through much, the fundamental problems of poverty, it is difficult to be overly peaceful if you are constantly hungry, if you don't have shelter, and someone talks to you about peace and justice, and you say, "What I want is a meal. That would be justice for me today."

Ensuring people's basic needs is an important step towards achieving social justice in the society.

Another FBO leader spoke about the Winnipeg General Strike that took place in 1919 as a model where different social groups (including FBOs) took part to strive for social justice:

> To achieve a degree of social justice you get into conflict with others. I mean the reason we had the 1919 Strike that was unheard of in the world. What we experienced in Winnipeg this whole rupture of society. I mean, labor and management, the General Strike—. And some of the strikers were accused of treason that they were trying to overtake the government. There were elements of some faith-based groups and women involvement in there too.
>
> Well my sense of social justice is a need because if you do not achieve a level of society that in some way does a couple of things—one, recognize the dignity of an individual, because if I take that away from you there is not much left, and two, in order to have dignity, you need to in some way to be lifted and given hope.

FBOs and different social groups can mobilize people for social movement to achieve social justice in the society.

Moreover, one FBO leader also explained how the Churches are getting involved in social justice issues in order to survive in the wake of the secularization tide that de-motivates people from observing and practicing their traditional faiths:

> Well, I would say that because of the peculiar history of Christianity in European society and the way at least in Canada, overall participation in Church kinds of things are dropping in general for a variety of reasons. So, I would say there is nervousness.
>
> Now, I think that those people in the Church who are involved in peace and justice work are seriously motivated by their faith framework. I don't know that it is an attempt to find a new reason for being, but certainly Christian Churches are quite nervous. Well, I mean this was discussed at the 'Faith in the City'—that Christians no longer have influence as Christians. They may have influence, but not because they are a part of a Christian society.
>
> I would say that a faith framework for working in the conflict and peace work is now threatened to some degree. Now some Christians say well the fact is now we are an

> increasing minority and many people feel that Canada was once a Christian nation and should try to be a Christian nation again whatever that means. But I think that those Christians that are involved in faith-based or in peace and justice work are not involved out of fear but just because for them this is essential to their faith.

Increasingly, mainstream Christians are finding that it is easier to mobilize people to undertake social justice projects than only observing faith related rituals.

Similarly, an FBO leader also argued that people are becoming more aware of the structural causes of conflict (i.e., social justice–related matters) in the city and this is a hopeful sign for the future because it empowers people to understand the root causes of conflict:

> I think as your discipline or social work discipline is to not just look at the surface, but look at the structural cause.
>
> So now, 150 million people have declared their withdrawal from the Chinese Communist Party. Isn't it amazing? And we believe when people declare their separation from the Communist Party from their heart, something must be changing. Because it's from someone that is saying, "I don't want to be a part of them anymore."
>
> So we believe that when people's hearts change, some of the peace element will come out of that, and that is the piece of hope that I believe when people can withdraw from an evil and wicked party. So conscience is coming out.

Looking at the structural causes of conflict is another way of finding the means to address social justice issues in the society.

In contrast, an FBO leader argued that Evangelical Protestant Christians are only addressing short-term conflicts because they are not interested in resolving structural issues causing deep-rooted conflict:

> My impression is that the Evangelical wing is less inclined to be involved in programs and organizations that engage more specifically in conflict, peace and justice work, they are more inclined to, say, adopt a child and do other kinds of what you could call development and relief-based ministries […]
>
> Because one of them told me why they are popular is because they are addressing the basic needs […]
>
> Exactly that is what they would be able to claim. And in my view the prevailing capitalist mindset of our current structural arrangement invites us not to consider structural issues. Because you are just the master of your own destiny, and if we can direct then so be it. Because a system can never do anything, etc., and why try to change the structure when all you can do is change the individual lives anyways.

I mean these are the reasons that are usually given.

FBOs adopt different ways to understand structural causes of conflict; however, the causes of social injustices remain rooted within an unjust social structure to a great extent.

7.2.1.4 Coalition driven peace-building activities

An FBO leader mentioned that creating an alliance with other social groups in the city is a key strength for peace-building efforts because it strengthens group relationships and enhance inter-group education:

> I think the strengths lies in the alliance between the churches. And it's also the alliances with local groups. For example, we are not Idle No More, but we support Idle No More and we are working for the same things that they want, for this right relationship. But, like, to change the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, to help educate non-Aboriginal people so they understand what happened and where Aboriginal people are coming and to help re-establish a right relationship.
>
> So they are working for that. We are working. We want the same thing. We stand with Idle No More. We go out to their activities and that sort of thing.
>
> And we let people know this is happening: "Go out and check out Idle No More." So really encouraging the public, or trying to make the public aware of this. So that they can go, "We're not doing Idle No More's work," but we are inviting Idle No More people to come and to speak to people about Idle No More to non-Aboriginal people.

Certain FBOs collaborate with the Aboriginal communities to further their causes in the city.

Another FBO leader explained how coalition building among the Christian groups helped in undertaking numerous peace-building works in the following way:

> We are eleven organizations. In some cases, they are all faith-based, as we say. Some are actual churches and some are other organizations like MCC, for example. Being a Mennonite community, which has a basis in the merit, Mennonite theology and history, and itself is a network of Mennonite organizations that generally cooperate on issues with peace and justice.
>
> That particular group has a strong commitment to peacemaking and particularly an ideology of nonviolence and passivism. Many of the other faith traditions may have a commitment to peacemaking but not necessarily to passivism, so that kind of singles out the Mennonite tradition.
>
> So there are, within that grouping of eleven groups—, there are two agencies that have connections to the Anglican Church, which is what I belong to myself. Three organizations have a connection with the Catholic tradition. Then apart from those, there

> are the Mennonite traditions as a mentioned, the United Church of Canada, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and the Lutheran Church in Canada.

Different FBOs bring their social capital on to the table when they join together to transform conflict.

The same leader further stated:

> Some years back, for example, we were particularly doing programming around the issue of bottled water and the impact of water bottling on our lifestyle as an environmental issue; with a focus on the environment particularly and water as in Lake Winnipeg, the policies affecting the quality of water.
>
> I think the particular issues that have come to the floor recently were related to Aboriginal issues, issues affecting the First Nation's people. So, over the last few years we have focused on learning more about Aboriginal issues, getting into conversation with Aboriginal organizations and becoming acquainted with some of the Aboriginal organizations in this area and seeking particular resource people to give us some insight into the Aboriginal issues.
>
> A lot of that comes out of a bad history of our church denominations in how we interacted with the Aboriginal culture in the past and the bad history behind the residential schools. And learning what a mistake that system was and trying learn more sensitive ways of dealing with Aboriginal culture.

Some FBOs partner with Aboriginal communities that foster a positive environment for peace-building work.

An FBO leader also made the point that the information exchange of different peace-building activities improves inter-group relationships:

> In my circle, probably two of the most active would be the Canadian Food Bank and KAIROS. […] I think the common platform is exchanging of information. Their focus is on a lot of Canadian work and our work is international and making the links between the minorities and populations that are segregated or oppressed. And so we can share information that way and learn from each other.
>
> The other way that we work together is to support and create awareness about each other's events. So, for instance I would support, participate and distribute information about other organizations that involve local peace-building initiatives or if they are generational inter-faith or inter anything activities just to get people together in a multicultural way.

Collaborative efforts between and among community organizations does exist; however, quality of peace-building works depend how best leaders share information and utilize it for peace-building.

One FBO leader mentioned how her organization collaborates with other faith and non-faith-based organizations to provide social services in Winnipeg:

> Our intention is to facilitate an understanding and cooperation among the different faith groups. We do this by providing a forum for interfaith dialogue, the establishment and regulation of pastoral services in provincial institutions, and a medium for communication between faith communities and governmental agencies.
>
> As a multi-faith organization, we organize various activities where people from different faiths mingle, for example, Program B (newcomer family resource network).
>
> We also hold customized programs such as Program C, English language class and family programs for new comers.
>
> Our basic intention is to provide faith sensitive services to different peoples in the city. We also hold interfaith roundtable conferences (similar to the Texas Dialogue dinner).

A host of activities for the newcomers was undertaken by the FBO so that they are integrated into the society. These FBOs work to educate and to learn with many cultural groups and communities in the city.

7.2.1.4 Independent issue driven peace-building activities

An FBO leader opined that the essence of the strength of any organization similar to her own depends upon developing relationships with multiple stakeholders to address current conflict issues so that a consensus in resolving that conflict can be reached:

> We just had developed relationships, and working with those relationships. It is very important that we connect at the human level. So working with the media, taking everything as an opportunity and educating within the year following the 9/11 attack; I think within a year we had put out more than a hundred handbooks about Muslims and what Islam is about and what their history in Canada is. Doing seminars and workshops and inviting people and I think it is that first working on developing and building relationships and opening the door and letting people in.
>
> Letting people ask questions and not isolating yourself because it is human nature to isolate and protect but our response was to open up and move forward and make arguments and invite people and show an interest in people. Because we knew the

> terrorists were just a minority and did not reflect Muslims in general. I believe those who are racist Islamophobes or against Muslims are also tiny minorities. So the only way to marginalize them is through the larger society
>
> We talk about these issues, we write reports and they also become a benchmark for areas we still need to work on. Some of those seminars produce pamphlets and handbooks. For example, now we are working on a handbook covering all those areas for the RCMP. So partnerships develop when we speak on policy matters, this comes in various ways. We also share it with agencies that are dealing with similar issues. It is also handy in confronting. We have not gone into research and policy papers yet. But that may be coming.

Some FBOs devotedly work to transform conflict that grasped Canadian society since the 9/11 terrorist attack in the US and it relies on the strength of its social relationships to do so.

Moreover, as with Islam, often the Jewish faith is also misunderstood, and it is often conflated with Zionism or official Israeli policy on international affairs. Tragically, Jewish people have historically also suffered from intolerance and anti-Semitism in Winnipeg. One leader succinctly puts her thoughts on this issue in the following way:

> I would rather not use the term social conflict when it comes to Winnipeg because we have an incredibly diverse population.
>
> However, there are still classical issues of anti-Semitism that come to the fore every once in a while. I don't think that it is systemic, but I do believe that there are still individuals who harbour old ideas and concepts and sometimes the push their notions.
>
> I also believe that there are certain groups that don't understand the concept of Israel is a nation state. What that means when it came about, and they might have a different view of rights and freedoms, and essentially human rights when it comes to the state of Israel as a homeland for the Jews.

People's perception about a particular faith group often get constructed in many ways such as the group's link to its host country or culture and it can often create inter-group misunderstanding.

However, another FBO leader touched upon a similar issue and explained how his peace-building initiative such as dialogue helps to foster better inter-group understanding:

> I spent lots of time in the Arab-Jewish dialogue foundation, which is of course intensely political because of very strong and deep-seated misunderstandings. As you know the goal of the conflict lies in the Middle East Israeli-Palestinian issues and it has ramifications over the people living in Winnipeg too.
>
> This conflict is quite subtle or not being expressed, but it is very well there. You

> would see it happening when you gather people from these two groups together and Israel Palestinian issue pops out.
>
> So we are trying to hold dialogues between these two groups so that through dialogue, perceived misunderstanding gradually disappears. For example, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights' is facing difficulty in displaying the history of the Holocaust and hold more and this is based on intergroup conflict of the Ukrainian and Jewish communities in Winnipeg.

Inter-group dialogue can help removing misunderstanding and generate harmonious relationships between groups.

In addition, another FBO leader opined that certain conflict issues depend upon inter-state relationship, which in turn affects inter-group relationships:

> Recently, a month ago, I read *The Globe and Mail* asking the Chinese Consulate to speak and speak about why we have to promote trade with China. So they are giving them a platform to speak in our national paper while being very—, just very low key about the persecution of Falun Gong.
>
> KA: Does it frustrate you?
>
> FBO LEADER: Oh yeah, for sure. And some people say that the Harper government is not doing anything, but the Liberals are the same. Only the opposition is doing something. Like the Green Party has supported a lot the Falun Gong cause, but the Liberals, they even shut up even more than the Harper government, believe it or not.
>
> They just don't touch the China issue. And when Harper didn't go to China, and was not sanctioning China because of human rights, then the runner for the Liberals went to China and criticized Harper and said "I'm coming to shake hands with you."

Working towards drawing attention to persecuted minority groups in Winnipeg is a daunting task when the state (both provincial and federal) does not encourage such moves due to political-economic reasons.

One FBO leader expressed his involvement in helping Aboriginal communities specifically those who live in reserves in the following way:

> I don't specifically target a culture or a specific conflict. I just do what Islam teaches, and Islam teaches us to help the poor and I help the poor. If it is to help fellow Muslims here in downtown Winnipeg, or if it is about helping First Nations in the North End, or if it is sending food to Shamattawa or to other reserves, we do it.
>
> It is part of our faith. It is part of our organization's constitution. And it is just being a Muslim. Our organization oversees the *Qurbani Eid* [a religious festival] program every year, and through it I collect thousands of pounds of meat for charity.

> It is my responsibility to see that meat is delivered according to Islamic law to the poor and needy. And once we are done with the poor and needy here downtown, then we have a surplus that we send to Garden Hill and Shamattawa. The first year we sent to Shamattawa, and four years before that we sent to Garden Hill. We are the only organization that is actually doing this work in Shamattawa and Garden Hill.

This FBO helps by supplying food to the reserves where there is a consistent lack of supply of basic needs such as food. The FBO's involvement in doing such work is a peace-building effort because it fosters Muslim-Aboriginal relationships.

Another FBO leader shared her thoughts about a peace-building project that she came up with in order to help Aboriginal women in the city. This is what she had to say on this issue:

> I would call it "Project C", in fact, behind you is its banner. This was a campaign that was started by the United Church, the Anglican Church, and The Native Women's Association of Canada to raise awareness about missing and murdered Aboriginal women. The violence against Aboriginal women is higher than for non-Aboriginal women.
>
> And the churches sent out posters and information, I think, in 2004. So a group of us in the city got together, and said, "What can we do?"
>
> And we decided we would have a vigil to honor the women and also a walk to raise awareness. So, every year since 2004, on Mother's Day, we have had a walk to remember missing and murdered Aboriginal women. We walk from the St. Regis Hotel because the year we started, there was a young 16-year-old girl that went missing, Sunshine Wood. And there is still no information about her.
>
> More women have gone missing and have been murdered, and I don't see anything useful being done to end the situation. I think Canada is a little bit more aware that it is happening, but I don't see that has made any difference yet. So, we are going to continue to walk until it does make a difference I guess.

Pressing social conflict issues such as missing and murdered Aboriginal women galvanize different FBOs together and allowed them to work cohesively towards transforming the conflict.

The same FBO leader went on to say that through the aforementioned peace-building project she also became aware of the most pressing conflict issue in Winnipeg that is, reconciliation with the past colonial experiences by the Aboriginal peoples:

> So, through that lens of Project C and the Mother's Day walk, I have become more aware of the whole colonial history of Canada. And through the Church, I've become aware of the history of the residential schools. And certainly I vividly remember when the

> Anglican Church was panicked that the church would be bankrupted as a result of lawsuits against the church for abuse at residential schools.
>
> We as a church spent a lot of time and energy campaigning to the government to save us from destruction, and as a result, they and us, the Roman Catholic Church, United Church, the Presbyterian Church all had agreements with the government of Canada that we will come up with several thousands of millions of dollars to help pay our share of the legal costs, but that Canada will cover most of it. And it's horrifying to think so many people have been able to take the government and the churches to court and win because the abuses actually did happen.
>
> And so, I have been asked by the Church to occasionally represent the Church when someone is claiming abuse. I go to the hearing and listen and offer the Church's apology, and it is humbling to realize how important those apologies are.
>
> You can see because the hearing is sort of the adjudicator and the lawyers from Canada are listening what is the evidence of abuse so they can calculate what compensation is owed. But it's usually only the Church that says sorry and that this shouldn't have happened to you and it was wrong.
>
> I would say in 90 percent of the cases that is what people really came to hear. They didn't come to hear we will award you so many dollars because you were abused and we will pay for counseling. They came to hear the Government of Canada and the Church say, "We were wrong. We did this to you and it was wrong and it shouldn't have happened."
>
> So if the Anglican Church can stay there and do that, I want to help with that because I don't see us ever healing as a country if we don't admit mistakes that we made and honestly say that was wrong. And that is also a humble experience, but it also feels good to think that people are working to heal, and the Church is there helping out. I mean it has to. It created the problem in the first place.

Having recognized the wrongs of the Residential School era and the Church's role in that, and having been saved front bankruptcy by the Government of Canada now, members of the Church are actively seeking to acknowledge and take responsibility for what happened and to restore their relationships with Aboriginal peoples.

My research shows that while a few intra-faith peace-building activities occur, significant peace-building takes place in Winnipeg when FBOs create coalitions (both among FBOs as well between FBOs and other non-faith based groups). When coalitions are created, two things come to the fore: the FBOs can go beyond their orthodox frameworks or organizational mandates and undertake creative peace-building endeavours and they can share each other's resources. However, independent issue-driven activities also have profound impacts in transforming

conflict since some FBO were found to be very passionate about social injustices and their activities aimed at alleviating problem.

Often faith becomes entangled with politics. To put it differently, combining faith and ethnicity can produce a strong sense of exclusive identity that can mobilize people for all the right and wrong reasons. This holds true for people even if they live in the Diaspora such as Winnipeg. As globalization partly diminished nation state boundaries and technology have helped people to communicate in real time. My research shows that people cling closely to their core faith identities and external conflicts impact their lives in greater intensity than ever before.

For example, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict impacts both Jewish and Muslim inter-group relationships in Winnipeg although one leader initiated a dialogue project to bring these two groups together. It is obvious that peoples from both of these groups conflate their religious affiliation with ethnicity; therefore, they feel a strong sense of belongingness to their respective groups living outside Canada. These groups often bring forward instances of historic injustices perpetrated against the other to not only re-live the conflict but also in justifying their exclusivist perceptions of 'others,'

Similarly, Sikh groups in Canada primarily identify themselves both as a religious group (Sikhs), and then as a distinct ethno-cultural group (Sikh nation, not India). Another layer of conflict can be observed when the state purportedly supports another state (purely for economic reason), which violates human rights with impunity. It naturally upsets people. Because faith teaches people to protect human rights and ensure justice and when the state's dual standard becomes evident, conflict transformation and trust-building suffer at the grassroots level. This is a distinct phenomenon where various social groups share the same living space in Winnipeg.

Nevertheless, as evidenced, faith-based identity plays a central role in these groups' conflict resolution and peace-building motivation as well as activities.

One of the recent conflict issues emanates from the state's gradual attempt at the securitization of the society. An obvious bi-product of this effort is the stereotyping of a particular ethno-religious group—that is, Muslims. It can be said that it is a contextual conflict affecting the Muslim community that emanated from a global conflict, the "Global War on Terror." It resulted in youth recruitment by extremist groups, and racial profiling by law enforcement. This situation, in fact, manifests multiple conflicts. One FBO leader explained the confusing condition in which the Muslim community lives now while being treated as a monolithic group and how her dialogue and seminar events attempted to educate policymakers so that they are able to distinguish between faith and conflict and prove a point that faith does not contribute to violent extremism. However, Canadian history of stereotyping in general goes back almost a few hundred years and in particular is based on a 'war and state security' notion, at least for a hundred years when the Canadian government first interned Ukrainian Canadians living in Canada as a part of the War Measure Act (Luciuk 1988; Kordan and Mahovsky 2004). Afterwards, Canada also took similar measures against Japanese Canadians during and after World War II (Nakano and Nakano 1983), and against the members of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) movement in the 1970s (Panitch 2002).

Nevertheless, just after the terrorist attack of 9/11 Canada enacted the anti-terrorism law commonly known as Bill C-36 (Parliament of Canada 2006). This bill provides similar measures to that of the US Patriot Act. It detailed the government's ways and means to defeat terrorism, in essence, it mirrored the sentiments and prejudices that prevailed at that time, which only became evident a few years later in the case of the Maher Arar trial (Melchers 2006).[32] The Maher Arar

trial and the more recent Dr. Hassan Diab trials and subsequent deportation demonstrated the impact of stereotyping and prejudices that denied their human rights and set precedence for subsequent repressive measures especially the clause of extraordinary rendition enacted by government (Lobel 2008, 479). In this regard, Canada's past Prime Minister Stephen Harper's comments further illustrates the phenomenon of stereotyping as he expressed the point of view that since al-Qaeda attacked the U.S., Canada is much safer now. He went on to say, "The major threat is still Islamicism. […] There are other threats out there, but that is the one that I can tell you occupies the security apparatus most regularly in terms of actual terrorist threats" (CBC News: Politics 2011). This is what some of my FBO leaders referred to as originating from an unfounded phobia—Islamophobia.

The long shadow of stereotyping was cast in Winnipeg during all of these historical episodes. However, Canada is one of the coalition members of the Global War on Terror (GWoT) and there is no denying the fact that Canada has faced domestic terrorism since 9/11. Again, among the terrorists an overwhelming number are Muslims (for example, the case of the Toronto 18, and 3 University of Manitoba students). Nevertheless, as a follow up to the 9/11 event Canadian society that includes Winnipeg has undergone an unprecedented level of securitization through state security and law enforcement organizations. Some scholars also opined that within the last decade an attempt has been made to transform the traditional peace loving Canadian society into a "warrior nation" (McKay and Swift 2012).

Most of the faith leaders expressed the view that they found their roles are making differences in the society. However, I noticed that FBO leaders also emphasized the need to prioritize social justice within an individual faith framework because the ritualistic observance of faith traditions has already lost their appeal especially for young people. The growing disinterest

of young people to participate in traditional faith groups, and the religious system serves as a reminder that today's faith followers are seeking more answers from their faith leaders pertaining to their day-to-day conflicts now more than ever. This study also finds that social justice is the principal theme that inspires people across the board to participate in conflict intervention and obviously has the potential to bring people from different faiths and denominations together for social action. For example, author Reza Aslan (2013) shows the influence and impact of 'historical Jesus' who as Messiah is not only recognized in all the monotheistic faiths, his struggle and eventual execution in first century Roman occupied Judea is a good example in this regard (Aslan 2013). Consequently, if we search the religious scriptures of all the monotheistic faiths similar ideas can also be found in other faiths, we find a common and consistent call to establish the 'Kingdom of God' founded on social justice—the primary task of the Messiah.

The essence of such social justice is the re-orientation of an oppressive social structure by empowering the weak and poor and redistributing the wealth of the rich (Ibid, 115-126). The Abrahamic holy books, the Bible's Gospels, the Quran, and the Hebrew Bible all proclaim the following with regards to social justice:

> The first shall be last and the last shall be first (Matthew 5:3-12, Luke 6:20-24).
>
> Woe to you who are rich, for you have received your consolation. Woe to you who are full, or you shall hunger. Woe to you laughing now, for soon you will mourn (Luke 6:24-25).
>
> We sent Our Messengers with clear signs and sent down with them the Book and the Measure in order to establish justice among the people..." (Quran, 57/25).
>
> Give justice to the weak and the orphan; maintain the right of the lowly and the destitute. Rescue the weak and the needy; deliver them from the hand of the wicked (Psalm 820, vv-1-4) (Cited in Malchow 1996, 55).

However, the idea of establishing the 'Kingdom of God' to ensure social justice for all could be a radical proposition nowadays since it threatens the power base of the dominant social group as

well as the state's power. Reza Aslan (2013) called it 'the fundamentals of Marxism.' This is why, I deduce that FBOs seeking to re-establish social justice imbued by their religious traditions are tantamount to seeking the re-ordering of the society in a positive way.

In Winnipeg, the popularity of Evangelical Christian faith groups and Free Masons are examples of groups who do not suffer from the 'youth absence syndrome' among their congregations like the other mainstream Churches do. This is probably due to the fact that Evangelic responses to remedy social injustice resonate more with young people. In addition, some faith groups expressed a dire need to build a bridge between the First Peoples and mainstream society since Winnipeg is the home of the largest 'on and off reserve of First Peoples.' The changing demography in the future also suggests such a prudent approach should be taken about peace-building.

Some of my research participants further suggested the need to get into 'active listening' aimed to change heart and minds and not to rely on the meta-narratives of stereotyping. Rather they suggested the need to look deeper and beyond and not to rely on a popular story about marginalized peoples but rather to search for the story behind the story. Moreover, I observed that some faith groups are more active with regard to seeking justice and in building bridges across communities and they take inspiration from their core faith ideologies. However, the faith-based actions of some FBOs—such as pacifism, childcare, and anti-discrimination—may put them on a collision course with the state.

Some FBO leaders further expressed the point that they draw inspiration from the prevailing collaborative relationships that exists across many faith groups (for example, Mennonites, Anglicans and Muslims). In addition, KAIROS, the ecumenical alliance of Christian churches, is actively involved in Aboriginal issues.[33] KAIROS is not an exclusive

Church alliance rather it is the collaboration of likeminded faith groups coming together under one umbrella to strive for social justice.

Nevertheless, some FBO leaders do not prefer to adopt any formal approach to deal with conflict rather they prefer to respond to conflict as it occurs, and deal with it in line with their basic tenets of faith while spontaneously participating in the transformation process. Further, I found two different groups that exclude Aboriginal spirituality are operating in Winnipeg, who are not traditional followers of any faiths, rather they rely on a common belief what they call 'fraternity' of doing social good through the consensual commitment of resources (for example, the Free Masons and Falun Gong). This is another example that some faith-based groups can also function without having any ties to traditional religious ideologies and they can equally contribute to peace-building.

In this connection, I came across an interesting term 'White do-gooder' at one of the faith group meetings, which was not used in a pejorative manner but rather to express the willingness of old privileged White people to take part in conflict transformation especially dealing with Aboriginal issues. In this regard, what I noted during my participant observation is that the age range of 'White do-gooders' is generally between 70-80 years old, and all are retired professionals. Although the engagement of White people in non-White related social conflict might be quite an encouraging trend still young and middle-aged White people's participation in conflict resolution and peace-building in Winnipeg is few and far between. This was mentioned by the research participants as well as confirmed through my participant observations.

As I see, faith matters to many people to a great extent when it comes to conflict intervention. For example, besides the traditional FBOs, educational institutions, such as Central Mennonite University and the University of Winnipeg also contribute towards knowledge and

skill development for conflict transformation. CMU conducts the Canadian Summer School of Peace-building, which attracts various scholar-practitioners from all over the world to gather and share their ideas of peace-building. In June 2010, the World Religious Summit of the interfaith leaders in the G8 nations was held at the University of Winnipeg. More than 100 religious leaders across different faith groups congregated in the city. In that seminar, participants discussed and put forward their visions of millennium development goal and outlined specific strategies of how G8 political leaders should strive to achieve it. The University of Winnipeg also hosts an interfaith dialogue platform where different leaders can participate in open dialogue about transforming faith-based conflicts and discuss/share their ideas of peace-building activities.

In this sub-section, I mapped out the activities of ten FBO actors in Winnipeg where Christian FBOs are numerous in number undertaking peace-building work. I moved on to discuss five types of peace-building activities that were observed. These are: intra-faith (inter-denominational) based, inter-faith group and faith group – non faith based, social justice focused, coalition driven, and independent issue driven. The majority of the peace-building work in the city is undertaken when FBOs create coalitions.

7.3 Perceptions and Experiences of the FBO Leaders in Effective Conflict Transformation

As I reflect back, I found that FBOs adopt their unique long-term approach to social conflict transformation in Winnipeg. Especially, as I tried to relate the key conflict issues (discussed in chapter 5) and how some of their activities help in transforming those conflicts, it became obvious that their work if not yet direct then they indirectly help to transform some of the key

conflict issues. In this sub-section, I elaborate on my findings in three consecutive sub-sections to substantiate this argument.

7.3.1 Specific contributions in conflict transformation

FBO activities primarily contribute to improving inter-group relationships in Winnipeg, which I consider as one of the important aspects of peace-building. For example, one FBO leader said that a misunderstanding prevails mostly between the immigrant population and the Aboriginal population in terms of accessing and sharing government resources:

> We had a workshop in KAIROS in the Vancouver area just recently that compared immigrant attitudes and First Nation attitudes. I would say the attitude that I find quite often amongst Aboriginal people is that they see immigrant people as favored by government programs. And I think there is a lot of misunderstanding culturally between Aboriginal people and various immigrant groups, because the immigrant groups don't have a lot of knowledge of the long history of Aboriginal people.
>
> So quite often I encounter the attitude among Aboriginal people: "Why should all these people be getting these programs when we are in poverty in our own community?" On the other hand, the attitude of the immigrant people is, "Why these people should expect to get help with their poverty when we have to work hard and find our own way in a strange country."

Raising awareness to improve Immigrant-Aboriginal relationships go a long way in long term conflict transformation between these two groups.

Another FBO leader also opined that conflict also prevails between the settlers (and their descendants) and the Aboriginal population. He acknowledged the challenge in resolving the conflict:

> I would have said a third one might be white versus First Nations. That is strong.
>
> Then I think new immigrant communities just have this social battle in trying to establish a home in Canada as well. So I think there's—. It's almost like new immigrant communities versus everyone else. It is an uphill struggle to be at home here.

However, one FBO leader mentioned that the ability of his organization to provide a safe space for different people to positively interact with each other is a notable peace-building success for his organization:

> Our success is to instill a sense to overcome 'fear.' I find in Winnipeg it comes from a lot of ignorance and a lot of pre-judgments about other communities. Like I find here at the Organization X, we are able to be a real meeting place for different kinds of people and different cultures.
>
> So people get that can have a positive experience of another culture, they don't run into a lot and that really breaks down barriers especially over time. And so, I think fear comes just from being scared, it's this general social thing. It's a fear of the unknown and a fear of people different than you. And it's a fear that sort of spreads and it becomes part of the wider culture.

Breaking down barriers among different social groups and helping them in overcoming their perceived fears can improve inter-group relationships.

Importantly, another FBO leader emphasized the importance of inter-group reconciliation through increased interaction and dialogue in order to transform social conflict in the following way:

> The first thing that I think is necessary is that people have to want to be reconciled. If they do not, I do not know what you do.
>
> But, you know the thing I find that within our own groups too often times it is really important that people be given an opportunity to speak and feel that they have been heard. I think that is very important.
>
> So, it's both the things—one's willingness to listen, and having an opportunity to speak. And then I think that you can recognize, and that you can put things into perspective. I think that often times precisely people don't talk to each other because they are mad at each other and it just keeps going. So you kind of have to bring people together.
>
> I find that if there is good will, it can always work, but often conflict produces 'bad will' and then you have to overcome that and that requires, again, willingness to listen. And that's a big issue because it requires a lot of patience and your heart has to be in it.

Dialogue can play an important role to kick start different social groups' journey in the path toward reconciliation.

7.3.2 Unique FBO challenges

FBOs also face some unique challenges while undertaking peace-building work in Winnipeg. For example, intra-faith cooperation to work toward conflict transformation is often a challenging job.

In this regard, one FBO leader observed that the rise of Evangelical Protestant Churches is a manifestation of people's gradual decline in interest in mainstream Christian FBOs and in ritualistic religions, which she seems to see as a failure of Church based organizations due to their over-reliance on charity and little else:

> I think the faith-based communities are struggling to keep their buildings alive for the most part. There are some Evangelical groups that are strong and growing and very expansive and thank goodness for that. But there are many churches that we are aware that there are shrinking populations in membership and are unable to physically be able to continue the structures and the buildings and that is what we see.
>
> So we are worried that people are worrying about the buildings, structures, and all these components rather than saying what was the original reason for being there. Well, let's continue to make sure that is number one and that is where I want people to be at, rather than say to me regularly, "We don't want the charity model anymore."
>
> Well that is the whole church model. The church model was built of good charity, which is the charity of the human heart that cared for one another. And it also builds on structure that maintains that caring. So that is why I want the churches back in again. We have not heard too many voices.

Single FBOs (especially mainstream Catholic organizations) often suffer from financial pressure to manage their day-to-day operations, let alone undertake major peace-building events all by themselves. It becomes doubly challenging when the approach to peace-building between two types of FBOs differs.

Another FBO leader shared her opinions to demonstrate how both provincial and federal governments create obstacles for FBOs when it does not share the same viewpoints on development and conflict issues. This is what she had to say on this matter:

> Because this government doesn't like anything getting in its way, you know, it gives priority to mining and the tar sands. So you can't say anything negative about them.

> I think it was three years ago the church leaders and the elders from this area, including prominent people like Mr. X and his Dad, went out to the tar sands company. They asked questions about environmental impacts and made a video. Well, anyway, after they made that video, we lost all our funding; not a cent a more.
>
> [On a different account] the Minister responsible for CIDA at the very last minute put in "not approved" for our funding request. So, it's a very tricky kind of precarious time for FBOs right now and for churches because if you say anything contrary to the government, it will cut off your funding or will say you are going to lose your charitable status.
>
> Churches have to be careful now because the government threatens them with that. There's a Mennonite church newspaper, their magazine that they put out—and this is here in Manitoba—they said mining is a double-edged sword. That is all that they said. And because they said that—whoop, there goes your funding. So that magazine lost its funding. And also, I mean, their church is sort of threatened with losing its charitable status because you can't make any political statement.
>
> Even the state seldom consults with communities before passing bills [such as cyber bullying] as legislations.

The state sometimes does not share similar values that often drive FBOs to undertake conflict transformation.

It is notable that there exists a significant disconnection between the state (and its policymakers) and grassroots people with regard to passing legislative bills for action directly addressing some of the pressing social conflict issue. More often than not such disconnection can be construed as a preferential treatment (or a borderline racism) to a particular social group (i.e. Aboriginal peoples or visible minorities). In this regard, my participants also pointed to the fact that while a national policy on anti-bullying legislation was promptly followed by provincial policies in the wake of tragic teenage suicides are indicative of how a dominant social group can expedite the making of laws if it wishes to do so. To put things in perspective, there are few studies or reports made on the bullying of Aboriginal students either in public schools or in the reserve schools. Further, it also begs the question, if there were reports of Aboriginal students being bullied in schools, would we have noticed a similar rapid response from the federal and provincial policymakers? However, this bill was also contested by various religious and faith-

based groups since they opined that it was an infringement on their freedom of religion (Hicks 2013). Another participant also discussed the situation that has turned out to be even more controversial when over the last thirty years despite 1,181 missing/murdered Aboriginal women/girls (RCMP 2014), the Tory federal government declined to promulgate a national inquiry on this matter let alone that the NDP provincial government took any legislative initiatives on this issue (Leblanc 2014; Jackson 2014). Previous federal government's policymakers' persistent denial to hold a national inquiry to find out the root causes of this issue and for that matter labeling this phenomenon as a standard criminal offence rather than a sociological problem further frustrated many in the society.

7.3.3 Key limitations in faith-based peace-building

My FBO research participants mentioned some of the key limitations once they intend to undertake peace-building activities. First, there exists a lack of Evangelical and mainstream Christian intra-church cooperation and collaboration, and an inability to influence the public schooling system and young people (science versus religion). Second, there is also an inability to change the perception of the Church as power hungry, women hater, human rights abuser, enslaver, home to pedophiles, residential school project perpetrator. Third, there is an inability to compete with the Evangelical churches whose approach is to entertain people. Fourth, the FBOs meet BHNs, but do not address the structural causes of conflict. Fifth, there is an inability to make people understand that faith and religion do not divide rather they may unite people. Sixth, FBOs haven't accomplished their goal of teaching people about forgiveness, toleration, and humility. Finally, a dwindling attendance of churchgoers especially among young people at mainstream Christian churches only and there is a struggle to maintain the structure of houses of workshop, and rapidly diminishing charities.

As the home of the largest urban Aboriginal population, Winnipeg has its unique set of challenges in terms of inter-group toleration and social relationships. Consequently, an underlying tension in social relationship between the mainstream (Christian majority) and Aboriginal people is manifested in a distinctive way because of the latter groups' sordid experience of going through a social experiment (that is, 'civilizing the Indians' in the residential schools). Some of the Christian FBOs participated in that experiment as an accessory to the state and currently it is in the forefront in reconstructing relationships as reported in this research. However, the initiatives suffer from a number of weaknesses. First, Christian FBOs participation in running the schools inadvertently damaged and continues to affect social relationship between mainstream Winnipeggers and Aboriginal peoples. In many ways, Aboriginal people still see shadows of colonial attitudes, domination, oppression, and inequality as their daily lives are affected by provincial and federal governments' numerous social and economic policies. These exist in child and family related services, First Nation education system, truth and reconciliation matters, and treaty rights related issues. Second, in the past, through the aforementioned social experiment, a trust was broken and this is what the Christian FBOs, which are involved in reparation initiatives, face in terms of undertaking peace-building work for the Aboriginal groups.

This research also shows an underlying tension between the state (mostly at the federal level) and FBOs that affect its peace-building activities. This was reflected in the reaction of the government to the church newsletters as well as through a number of interactions (interviews and participant observations). Often the state withdrew grant support and threatened FBOs with the loss of charitable status. This again has an economic dimension where financial resources are leveraged to produce conformity and acquiescence to the status quo and state policy. So, how do

FBOs confront such pressure and continue their work? It was reported that FBOs suffer from the state's wrath to varying degrees and the level of cooperation also varies according to the type of political party in the helm of power. Nevertheless, FBOs' coping strategy mainly includes curtailing their activities, laying off staff, relying more on voluntarism, and increasing fundraising activities. The fundamental problem for the state to collaborate with FBOs is twofold. First, if the state collaborates with one particular FBO its neutrality may be compromised. This is sometimes unavoidable because one FBO might be in a better position to deal with a conflict or able to undertake certain development work. Second, the state knowingly does not want to associate its organizations where the subscribers might feel they are being subjected to state sponsored proselytization. In this regard, I also observe that Canadian states position towards FBOs can be termed as a "passive secularist" as it does not assert its dominance over the groups' activities publicly (Kuru 2009).

A subtle yet a distinct wariness was resonated throughout the period of discussion with my FBO leaders as they raised a question: are we really living in a post-positivist era? I feel that although, we contend that we do indeed live in such an era yet many of our social activities reminisce the ideologies of the positivist era. "Ideal or moral considerations (e.g., that a rule is unjust) should not limit the scope or operation of the law (as derived rationally)".[34] In the same vein, I observe that physically the shift has already occurred yet spiritually some of our values emanate from the philosophy of positivism (although it does mean that someone may be less humane, less moral and more materialistic) rather I allude here to the current positivist notion of searching logical and quantifiable proof behind all possible social malaises. For example, our public school system avoids referring to any religion as a source of knowledge and moral values in order just to remain secular following the notion of a secular state. Nevertheless, an effort to

maintain such a strict secularist stance may come at the cost of total devaluation of religious teaching for children in their formative years. For example, one FBO leader poignantly commented the following:

> I think it [the social trend] is the new atheists with their naturalistic outlook. Their buying bus campaigns and trying to promote a very materialistic view, which I find dangerous and the other force right is paganism. Some people call it the new age movement, but it is a return to ancient paganism I think. Public schools I don't know if it is okay to talk about Jesus anymore, but it is okay to talk about solstice festivals and things of that sort, so I think society is okay with spiritual things, just not Christian things. And I think it spells disaster for our nation actually.

In this way, the children may remain ignorant of a huge part of human civilization that was shaped and is still being shaped by different faith groups and their knowledge. Consequently, as opined by some of my participants, secularism might fall far short of embedding strong moral values in children, therefore, it could be a dangerous path the society currently treads on where its citizens and future leaders might end up being less moral, less humane, and more materialistic (i.e. positivist). Alternately, the secular public schooling system phenomenon gave rise to flourishing private faith-based institutions, which again is not accessible to most of the citizens further widening the divide. It seemed to me that some of the FBO leaders thought like "post-positivists who are also constructivists who believe that we each construct our view of the world based on our perceptions of it".[35] As observed, the core issues as they see them are how children should deal with the current situation as they swing between extreme secularity in the public space and sacred in their private space? It is an important question for the fastest growing immigrant community in Winnipeg; however, it remains unanswered.

In this sub-section, I discussed the perceptions and experiences of the FBO leaders in effective conflict transformation. In doing so, first, I elaborated on some specific contributions of the FBOs to transform social conflicts in Winnipeg. Among them I observed that FBO leaders

acknowledge that inter-group (especially the immigrants, including refugees and Aboriginals) social relationships are problematic. In order to improve such relationships, they provide safe spaces for dialogue and they urge people to reconcile their differences by meeting each other on a regular basis, which also helps in breaking down barriers. I also discussed some of the unique challenges that the FBOs face, such as, inability to maintain their regular activities and raise funds to undertake peace-building work, and facing the state's wrath once they differ with its ideology on development and conflict issues. Lastly, I briefly discussed some of the key weaknesses of FBOs in conflict transformation (for e.g., proselytizing).

7.4 An analysis of FBO actors hopes and dreams, and fear and worries

Hope is what motivates people to keep on pursuing their dreams. Constructive conflict transformation approaches can be planned around this positive drive. My FBO participants mostly shared their hopes and dreams with me in terms of their expectations as well as experiences in handling conflicts in Winnipeg.

7.4.1 Hopes and dreams

My respondents believed that peace is the ultimate human destiny and they saw an increasing tolerance emerging in the society. They are also certain that there are opportunities for Winnipeg to transform into a regional cultural hub in the near future. In addition, they saw a growing inter-faith and intercultural understanding evolving among various social groups as an encouraging indicator of social harmony in the city. In terms of past trauma with regard to the effect of colonization, some believe that forgiveness is the positive way to move forward. Additionally, some found a few positive and constructive stories in the society in order to counter the meta-narratives of destructive conflicts and stories.

For example, an FBO leader opined that eventually Winnipeggers would achieve peace in the city by undertaking continuous struggle in order to reach that goal. The essence of the matter is to remain positive and take affirmative action in terms of utilizing conflict resolution:

> Taking that long-term view is important and I think part of being a Baha'i is embracing the notion that peace is not only possible, but inevitable, and it is just a matter of what struggles we go through to get to that peace in the long-term.
>
> We are going to have conflict. We are going to have struggle. But in the end, it is looking at it, and saying, "Okay, this is all leading towards the positive side of life and the positive movement of all the people on the planet towards a sustainable peace that we can all get along and we can all live in a healthy society."

People need to have conviction about eventual peace and also prepare for a struggle to achieve this goal.

Moreover, another FBO leader averred that he finds lots of opportunities to transform Winnipeg into a cultural hub in the future because it is the place where various kinds of Indigenous cultural activities are going on. These activities attempt to bring people together by showcasing "unity in diversity":

> I believe that there are huge opportunities and challenges for cities like Winnipeg to become understanding, accepting, and thriving centers of culture and of multi-layered cultural relationships. […]
>
> We just had the Manito Ahbee [an Aboriginal cultural festival usually held in September in Winnipeg] awards and so forth. And that is another wonderful celebration of culture and none of these things are exclusive to one cultural group.
>
> For instance, the event might be focused on the Indigenous community, but it is not only for that. It is a Manitoba celebration and anyone can enjoy the music. It is not just the Aboriginal peoples that do that.
>
> It is seeing the strengths of all cultures being brought to bear on challenges such as poverty, homelessness, and unemployment, and so forth that these real life challenges need to be met with the strengths and resources of all peoples and all cultures.
>
> It is that kind of narrative—a narrative of hope, a narrative of multicultural celebration that we need to cultivate as encountered instead of the narrative of fear and insecurity.

Despite prevailing inter-group differences people still can come together to raise hope and counter perceived fear.

One FBO leader expressed the point of view that the multicultural context of the city is the most hopeful thing for everyone's future:

> I think the hopes are that we are a multiracial and multicultural city in Winnipeg. The stores, bakeries, butcher shops. One is serving Hungarian. One is Polish. And I don't know much about restaurants like the Vietnamese yet, but people are into those things, and people are experimenting with those things and are learning about one another.
>
> The differences are like a garden and you go in and not all the flowers are red, but it is the variations and varieties that make the wonder and the beauty of the garden. The thing that I see with Winnipeg is that people come with their cultures and their cultures strengthen the fabric, and again to do that you have to know who you are and know that you are now living in a different situation.

Faith and culture when get intertwined can give birth to a beautiful collage where people live in harmony in Winnipeg.

Another FBO leader contended that hope and forgiveness based on asserting one's human dignity are two of the most important elements for forging a peaceful future for Winnipeggers:

> I guess my hope is that people do come to be able to understand each other and to live with each other and hear each other in love and in an understanding manner—in the manner that is one of forgiveness and guidance and helping each other and that Canada continues to grow in its multicultural ways that we can embrace that and grow.
>
> I hope to continue to grow in the faith and beliefs that everyone is afforded a level of human dignity and we can all live together and learn to live together and learn to embrace each other's differences and keep open minds in regards to each other as opposed to reverting back to something where we just want to protect our own little domain that costs everything to someone else.

Caring for human dignity by accepting diversity is an important exercise in empowering people.

Similarly, another FBO leader expressed to me that he prefers not to dwell in fear in thinking of the future of the city:

> It is that kind of thinking that gives me a great deal of hope. For those who need to sell newspapers or television advertising it is much more profitable to sell fear and to sell insecurity but those are not what most of our City and country are about. They continue to say year after year that Winnipeg is the murder capital of Canada. But on any given day and in every year the vast majority of Winnipeggers are not either murdered or are murderers. It is just ridiculous to talk like that. It is like you are in danger of being killed by walking down the street in this city, and you are not. It's simply not true.

Overcoming fear can play a critical role in bringing people together and lift the image of the city largely both for the outsiders as well as for Winnipeggers.

My study participants argued that once people become more aware of the structural causes of conflict they can envision the future of Winnipeg where people are treated equally and where there is increased tolerance for different ethnocultural groups in a truly multicultural city that includes Aboriginal people within the mainstream society. Additionally, the fact that Winnipeg is one of the cities in Canada where most Aboriginal people live poses unique challenges as well as opportunities for others as the process of cohabitation and coexistence opens the doors of toleration and mutual understanding. Hope drives people to achieve greater success in life. My research participants were hopeful about the changing dynamics of social life in Winnipeg. They also contended that hopefulness is what keeps them on track despite the harsh winter and social conflict issues they encounter on an everyday basis. The hope implanted in the motto of "Friendly Manitoba" is quintessentially the character of Winnipeg as people are still migrating here from all over the world to settle, start a new life, raise their children, and plan for their future.

7.4.2 Fears and worries

The fears and worries that people have are in stark contrast to their hopes and dreams. My FBO participants discussed their genuine fears about the current conflict situation in Winnipeg. Their fears and worries are reflective of their dissatisfaction and frustration centered on the current socio-political condition. For example, an FBO leader contended that he is fearful of the prevailing negative attitudes and reactions in the society with regard to a certain new ethnic group that has its roots in stereotyping:

> I am worried about negative attitudes, negative reactions. There is a potential for being jealous of one another, of resenting one another, and that is the underside of many of the good things. […]
>
> Look at the Philippines [cyclone] situation, for example, and as usual many Winnipeggers as responding generously through various organizations to respond helpfully in response to that disaster.
>
> And we haven't seen any negative reactions to that, but there is also within our culture a potential for negative reactions to helping and that can be expressed in terms of negative reactions to international aid.

Fear and competition for resources can divide people and bring inter-group animosity to fore.

Another FBO leader opined that he is afraid that Aboriginal youth lack access to educational resources that ensures that they will have a bleak future because they will be unemployed and not be able to fully participate in the economy within mainstream society that could breed and fuel inter-group violence in the future:

> That people can be respected for their differences, but the differences do not exclude them. My fear is just the opposite of course—in that people get angry. And here, especially with the First Nation's people, we have such a large group of young men who have a grade seven education with no future in terms of employment and they are not educated and I find that this is a nightmare. What do you do with all that energy? If it is not focused in a positive direction and if there is no employment, education then there is no hope.

Young people are the hopes for the future and they must be nurtured to deal with conflict constructively and nonviolently.

Moreover, another FBO leader expressed her fear of the growing materialist culture that fosters a competitive milieu in the society that makes people selfish so that they do not care about other people or for the environment:

> My fear is that we become a little isolated individualistic society where all that matters is materialism and what we can do. I always fear, you know, we talk about water shortages and all the rest of it. We have had it pretty plush here in Canada, and I always fear if there is a significant oil shortage or if there is a significant water shortage, you know, a drastic climate event that we will revert very easily back to something that isn't very pretty.

An FBO leader also opined that the tendency of different ethnocultural groups to turn inwards among themselves and create cultural cocoons and enclaves is unhealthy for the future of the city's inhabitants as it creates an ethnocentric isolationism:

> The biggest fear is that different groups will turn inwards and not understand each other and to adopt violent means to protect their territories. My special concern is with the Aboriginal community is as it is growing and I wish the city really finds ways and means to accommodate them honourably.

Another FBO leader feared an outbreak of civil unrest in Winnipeg:

> I have seen in the United States with the whole part of the society is saying, "I don't want to have my taxes go to pay for their health. Let them do it themselves." And, "A man should stand up for himself." That is fine, but it is tough on the legs to stand up for yourself. And so anyway, that is what my fear would be, that we have lost the momentum that I have felt. And my fear is that we would, in some way, turn our backs on our achievements and create an atmosphere for civil unrest and social turmoil.

Lack of inter-group empathy may result in the increase of intolerance resulting in violence.

An FBO leader also mentioned her fears about the growing number of bipartisan observers of conflict because that leads to confusion:

> The fear is people not making the right choice [electing leaders]. Some people we talk to and they say well the Communist party is very good. They are feeding our family. They just feel like we like the status quo. Yeah, then if there is a big silent majority it is very hard to change and peace is very hard to be realized, because they would just be a cold bystander.

A majority of people sometimes do not want to intervene in conflict and rallying them for a social cause remains as a challenge.

Another FBO leader stated that religious radicalism is on the rise and there lies the potential danger of a defragmented society to emerge to divide Winnipeg's citizens:

> They say, "My way is right, and your way is wrong so I'm going to kill you." I imagine this is in the Muslim world, too, what is going on here. My biggest fear is that these religious radicals are getting stronger and stronger […] Well, I guess I'm afraid that maybe these radicals are coming over here and pretty soon they want to control everything themselves and it's going to be my way and all you Christian and Jewish and other people, you're gone, you're out of here. This is what I'm afraid might happen.

There is the fear that other cultures will take over and dismiss one's culture.

Hence, my study participants discussed their fears and worries that include a growing inter-group intolerance, increased rival gang activities, growing anti-Christian feelings, and ethnocentrism as ethnocultural groups have little contact with other ethnocultural groups. They also highlighted the fact that minority ethnocultural groups are losing their indigenous cultures and being assimilated, and that the promise of multiculturalism remains unfulfilled. In addition, there is a growing desperation of immigrants who perceive they will not be fully integrated into society. There is a hopelessness with regards to the performance of the current political regime that is not ensuring that human rights are consistent with democratic values. The CBO leaders expressed the point that fear is the antithesis of hope because it polarizes different social groups and creates artificial barriers amongst them. The interviewees were especially concerned about security related policies, which could segregate people by demonizing and ostracizing a particular social group. Moreover, they were of the opinion that some components of the social structure are used to generate fear exploiting the misperception and mistrust that exist among groups and are not congenial for creating a real multicultural society. In sum, the following Table 9 lists the key aspects of FBO leaders' hopes and dreams, and fears and worries with regard to peace-building and conflict transformation in Winnipeg.

Table 9: FBO Leaders' Hopes and Dreams and Fears and Worries

CBOs	Hopes and dreams	Fears and worries
	• Awareness of the collective good • Peace is inevitable • Growing acceptance of diversity • Diminishing stereotypes • Continued economic prosperity • Mass conversion to Christianity	• Social movements becoming violent in the future • Growing secularization • Negative attitudes toward aid, charity • Unhealed past hurt (residential school memory)

FBO	• People's participation in social justice issues • Environmental consciousness • Increasing forgiveness and awareness of human dignity • Increasing tolerance • Equity • Changing social attitudes on Aboriginal issues • Living in a true multicultural environment	• Growing capitalism and inequality • Gangs, stereotyping, and youth degeneration • Growing anti-Christian feelings

Data analysis revealed that among the CBOs leaders, FBO leaders, although, felt themselves under siege, were more hopeful in general about their works relative to other leaders. Leaders from the ECBOs and NGOs reported more on fears and worries. This is a significant finding, which substantiates the fact that FBOs are more hopeful for the future because their motivation to do peace-building is grounded in their faith, morals and ideals. However, one of the reasons that ECBO and NGOs leaders shared more fears and worries with me probably are due to the nature of their work in which they encounter frequent conflicts especially related to the immigrant (refugees) and the Aboriginal population.

Mapping hopes and dreams, and fears and worries can be useful for: (1) plotting what the participants are hoping, and dreaming for in the future that can provide information for future projects/efforts where possible collaboration can occur; and (2) plotting their fears and worries can inform us what is currently not going well and what might also go wrong in the future. These leaders' perceptions are also validated through my participant observation and the findings reflected in Table 9 are their true reflections on this issue. Three issues are of paramount importance to devise an effective conflict intervention strategy. First, hopes and fears are an expression, and emotional response to day-to-day conflict as well as they are about dealing and

negotiating with the past (a dual challenge). Second, hopes and fears change over time as new events and information are added. Third, in most cases people evaluate their surroundings and build their experiences about their perceptions of hopes and fears because perceptions rather than factual reality play a pivotal role in shaping people's minds. For example, Bar-Tal contends that besides appraising a system, fear can also be perceived in a programmed "unconscious reaction to processing" systems that reacts to dangerous event in an unpredictable manner (Bar-Tal 2001, 603). In addition, fear results in the formation of a defense mechanism within a group or individual, and at the same time an adaptation mechanism that protects people's lives while operating destructively or irrationally when it is triggered (Ibid., 603). Consequently, fear can be propagated through social communication mediums, and it can be irrational and devoid of even facts. It is needless to emphasize that information or cues can trigger a person's fear even if they did not originally imply danger or threat (Ibid., 603).

Major conflict issues (discussed in chapter 5) that created fear has also generated a vicious cycle of "perception" and "counter-perception" between Aboriginal people and the rest of the society in a classic "us" versus "them" scenario that is ripe for conflict. Under such circumstances, dealing with people's perceptions of fear with factual data is important and it depends on the method and the process of communicating with the "us" and "them" groups in a meaningful way. Thus, communication built upon a proper trusting relationship is the key that will determine how these two groups will (re)view, (re-)consider, and eventually reconcile with each other in a new society based on equity, respect, and dignity. However, this is not going to be an easy task to accomplish as Justice Murray Sinclair avers, "if you thought the truth was hard, reconciliation will be harder" (The 2014 Knight Distinguished Visitor lecture, October 30, 2014).

The other side of fear is hope and not only at an individual level but also at the group level as people hope and dream of peace and stability rather than anarchy and desperation. Hope is connected to a concrete aspiration to a moral goal and relates to a person's vital interests (Averill, Catlin, and Chon 1990 cited in Bar-Tal 2001, 604). Hope is the driving factor that first empowers people to envision a positive goal in their personal and collective lives, and it then motivates people to undertake challenges and to work hard to reach the goal. If we look into the history of immigration in Winnipeg, this fact becomes self-evident as people from all classes and creeds and from various corners of the world traveled an enormous distance, underwent tremendous hardship, and eventually realized their dreams of living a safe, peaceful, and stable life in this new land. Subsequently, if we notice the main themes that emerged from Table 9 above, we find that my FBO research participants discussed inclusiveness and tolerance as vital moral goals. This reflects the primary motivation of all people who came to settle in Winnipeg where they would feel included and treated equally. However, earmarking hope oriented people, organizations and their assets for conflict intervention can be useful in engaging a diverse group of stakeholders. Nevertheless, the periodical updating of hope and fear elements within a society is important in collecting data from a general forum or a survey, dialogue or public debates. This method may provide a way to determine some sort of benchmarking system[36] to measure social advancements based on a particular social issue. At the end, one thing that FBO leaders seem to agree on is that they want to end structural violence in the form of poverty and related issues that keep people from meeting their basic human needs. It is really a very bleak landscape, and the fears mentioned seem far more vivid than the hopes.

In this sub-section, I expounded on the hopes and dreams and fears and worries of FBO leaders about peace-building and conflict transformation. Among the key elements of hopes and

dreams, certain elements stood out clearly such as: the inevitability of peace in society; a growing acceptance of diversity resulting from diminishing stereotypes; people's growing participation in social justice issues; an increasing attitude towards forgiveness; and a growing awareness of human dignity while living in a true multicultural environment. In the list of fears and worries FBO leaders expressed that they worry whether current social movements might become violent in the future; a growing trend of secularization; some negative attitudes toward aid, and charity; and an unhealed past hurt (residential school memory) affecting current inter-group relationships.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I mapped out FBO actors and laid out their peace-building activities. Additionally, besides traditional FBOs, two university based peace-building activities were also highlighted. Subsequently, I elaborated on five types of peace-building activities that the faith actors undertook. These are: intra-faith (inter- denominational), inter-faith group, social justice focused, coalition driven, and independent single-issue peace-building. It was found that social justice and individual issue driven activities seem to dominate the city's landscape more than any others do.

While discussing the perceptions and experiences of the FBO leaders in effective conflict transformation, I touched upon three things: their experiences of specific contributions to conflict transformation, some of their unique challenges, and I briefly listed some of their key weaknesses. Finally, I mapped out the hopes and dreams, and fears and worries of the FBO leaders because as they seemed to express more hopes and shared more dreams compared to the other study participants.

In sum, among ten types of FBO actors that were identified in this research it was found that Christian FBOs were traditionally more organized and active in the social sphere. FBO leaders acknowledged that they face challenges in terms of intra-faith collaboration yet they try hard to provide space for dialogue between and among various social groups working toward reconciliation. Consequently, key elements from the list of hopes and fears underline the inevitable peacefulness of the city, which inspire people to undertake necessary struggle to achieve it.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

This study was particularly geared towards understanding CBO leaders' perceptions, insights, perspectives, knowledge, and experiences of social conflict and peace-building in Winnipeg's urban context. The key informants were selected community group leaders living in Winnipeg. They were chosen based on their core faith, ethnic and functional identities. The participants perceived social conflict to be "an expressed struggle between and among group members on matters related to social identity, resources and inter- and intra-group relationships" (mentioned by one study participant). My interviewees identified peace-building as a set of activities that they undertake to address some of the city's social conflict issues.

I also explored the outcome of selected peace-building projects in transforming social conflict issues in Winnipeg. Furthermore, the interviewees identified social conflict along three dimensions. First, how various social groups affected by conflict issues struggle within a perceived unjust social structure to achieve equity and justice. Second, the causes of conflict are deeply rooted in historical past events as well as contemporary international conflict. Third, inter-group social relationships also drive conflict. Nevertheless, what is worth noting in their responses is the potential future of nonviolent and constructive conflict transformation in Winnipeg.

With this backdrop, my research explored how my respondents perceived social conflict in the city of Winnipeg that is located within a Western urban North American society. This exploratory case study focused on the experiences, insights, and perceptions that leaders of three types of CBOs (FBOs, ECBOs and NGOs) had regarding social conflict and their methods of

conflict transformation and peace-building. This research finds that exploring social conflict in a Canadian Western urban context is challenging for a number of reasons:

1. People and social groups are part of a structural system that perpetuates conflict.
2. Social groups are aware of the systemic, subtle nature of conflict; yet do not know how to transform it.
3. Often it is difficult to isolate and deal with specific types of social conflict in a piecemeal fashion,
4. Merely being aware of conflict situations empowers marginalized groups and encourages them to find creative ways to transform them; approaches that might not be preferred by the dominant social group.

I spoke to a variety of community group leaders in Winnipeg in two phases. First, I wanted to understand what their perceptions and experiences were of social conflict and then I followed up with specific suggestions put forward by the CBO leaders about how their organizations attempt to transform conflict and peace-building in the city. Within the broader transformation process, CBO leaders discussed how their peace-building projects might be contributing to achieving conflict transformation in Winnipeg. However, some of my research participants seemed to indicate a possible and significant disconnect between macro level actors (policymakers) and micro level citizens (who are supposedly the beneficiaries of social-economical-security policies) resulting in the possible absence of a synchronized policy intervention that embraces various CBO inputs.

My qualitative study comprised of semi-structured interviews and participant observation, and used critical ethnographic and grounded theory approaches. Foundational to the study was a survey of the history and demographics of Winnipeg, noting the positions of various

CBOs with a brief history of social conflict issues, social justice, and cross-cultural events in Winnipeg (Research Context - Chapter 2). The study also covered a body of established and emerging theories on peace-building and social conflicts (Literature Review – Chapter 3). The discussion in the context chapter illustrates how various groups have settled in Winnipeg and highlights their historical baggage, identities and conflicts they carry with them. It illustrates how CBO leaders perceived their communities as geographical groupings within the city, people's immigration status, as well as their faith and ethnicity.

Many of my research participants considered Winnipeg's uniqueness to be important to them in terms of its modest urban size and the mix of various ethnocultural groups. Moreover, Winnipeg showcases diversity more than other Canadian cities and, most importantly, Winnipeg is the home of the largest number of off-reserve Aboriginal people in Canada. The main theories in the literature review explained some of the gaps in studying structural conflict in the Canadian Western urban context of Winnipeg and social conflict followed by contending peace-building theories. Chapter Four discussed the methodology used in this study. The qualitative analysis commenced in Chapter Five where I discussed CBO leaders' role as meso level actors, their views, insights, knowledge, and experiences of conflicts in Winnipeg, and their rationales for their work in Winnipeg. In Chapter Six, I plotted what the respondents' saw as their tools, strengths, challenges and limitations in peace-building and conflict transformation. In this Chapter the CBO's state of social capital was also discussed. In Chapter Seven, participant's views about Winnipeg's FBOs special role in peace-building and conflict transformation were outlined.

One of the strengths of the PACS discipline is its two-pronged reflexive-praxis approach to understanding the conflict in question, the conflict stakeholders, the conflict's various

dynamics, with the intention of producing knowledge, and suggesting to stakeholders a positive and meaningful conflict transformation strategy. While it is important to analyze conflict in its entirety, a mere understanding and analysis only serves the purpose of knowledge creation while the ultimate aim of research remains lost in translation without practical suggestions for peace-building intervention. From the very beginning, I tried to remain sensitive to the context of the five social conflict issues related to the social structure as reported by my interviewees. Any analysis of a conflict intervention mechanism must be grounded in the reality of these issues. Thus, in this chapter, I discuss based on the feedback from my respondent's potential strategies and tools for conflict intervention along with an integrated conflict transformation and peace-building model for Winnipeg (See the details in Appendix 6).

Finally, my research shed some light in understanding conflict and peace-building in the city of Winnipeg through the eyes of the research participants. They outlined what they perceived as the root causes of social conflict in a holistic manner as well as providing an understanding of the roles and capabilities of CBOs in peace-building in a Canadian Western urban context. In addition, they highlighted an understanding of potential resources for intervention that include but are not limited to social capital and community-based assets as part of local CBO capacity building. Moreover, they brought to our attention an understanding of the special roles of FBOs in peace-building. Finally, I roll out a few intervention strategies and tools for a peaceful, constructive way of transforming social conflict by promoting human rights and social justice. This chapter is organized into two parts. In part one, a summary of the key research findings is outlined, and in part two, recommendation about strategies, tools and approaches to conflict intervention are followed by a discussion of recommendations for future research.

8.2 Summary of Key Research Findings

The major findings of my field research have been laid out in chapters five, six, and seven of this thesis. The chapters are laid out chronologically as per the main focus of the research (i.e. the possible contribution of CBO leaders to peace-building and conflict transformation in Winnipeg).

This research can be summed up by a single overarching question: How do CBO leaders in Winnipeg perceive social conflict and what are their contributions toward peace-building? In brief, the answer to this question is that the leaders have a holistic perception of social conflict (meaning they see that a number of factors cause conflict such as inequalities, discrimination, and lack of basic human needs), and they believe that marginal social groups suffer disproportionately from social conflict. They also believe that social conflict issues are rooted in the historical past, and that people's lives are also impacted by ongoing international conflicts. The detailed findings are elaborated on in the following paragraphs.

The first finding concerns CBO leaders' perceptions about the nature of social conflict in Winnipeg, their views, insights, and experiences of some of the key social conflict issues that these leaders encountered as well as Winnipeg CBOs unique role in inter-group conflict transformation. Particularly, this research outlined CBO leaders' role as meso level actors within a social hierarchy, and why the leaders do what they do. The detail analysis can be found in chapter 5 (it contains four parts). In part one (paragraph 5.2), I discussed the role of local CBO Leaders as meso-level social actors in Winnipeg and their activities that connect the policymakers at the elite level with the people at the grassroots level. In addition, I also discussed all three (i.e. NGO, ECBO, and FBO) types of CBOs and their work environment and experiences for peace-building in Winnipeg. In part two (paragraph 5.3), I discussed the CBO

leaders' views and experiences of conflict issues where I also elaborated upon their views of major conflict issues in Winnipeg. In this chapter, the participants' approaches to, and perceptions of, complex social conflict was also discussed. Varieties of responses were noted in which the participants mostly explained their viewpoints about social injustice and inequity in a multifaceted manner. They mentioned how social injustice and inequity are subtle in nature and appear to be embedded in the structure of the society.

My respondents reported on social inequality in terms of poverty (including child poverty) that the First Peoples and refugees disproportionately experience. They perceive social inequality to be on the rise, and this creates frustration among those groups at the bottom of the social hierarchy because it further entrenches the obstacles that stand between them and their dreams. They defined social injustice as an unjust situation where different factors or conditions (for e.g., social, economic, cultural, racial and historical) create obstacles that prevent people from fully participating in the social-political-cultural-economic life of the city, or from realizing their potential (as quoted by one participant). At the root of conflict in the city, they highlighted that the existing social-political-economic structure seems to generate conflict that is perpetuated through a set of social-economic policies, and that is manifested through multiple conflict issues. Some of my research participants also discussed the destructive and constructive nature of social conflicts and emphasized that conflict transformation efforts should be directed towards limiting the destructive nature of conflicts. The participants also mentioned the latent versus expressed nature of social conflicts observing that latent conflict surfaces and transforms into expressed conflict due to the influence of some external events/causes as people's fears and needs endanger human security.

I analyzed my informants' responses and their ranking of the major social conflict issues

using QSR nVivo qualitative data analysis software that yielded the following four social conflict issues: 1) conflict related to Aboriginal peoples; 2) conflict related to unmet needs and social inequalities of new immigrants (including refugees); 3) conflict related to poverty and inequality and inter-group misunderstanding (among mainstream population, immigrants, refugees and First Peoples); and (4) distrustful social relationships. Their ranking, and especially the top key social conflict issue appears to substantiate the arguments made earlier in the thesis that these social conflict issues seem to emanate from the socio-economic-cultural-legal structure of the society and are subtle, exist beneath the surface, and are difficult to discern. Furthermore, I further analyzed the root causes of conflict through the voices of my interviewees' where it appears that the social conflict issues seemingly emanating from the social structure are obstacles that may prevent some Winnipeggers in achieving freedom from fear and want.

The second finding indicates that the interviewee's suggestion that the social structure appears to cause a number of conflict issues that are threatening people's human dignity and security. They identified that the top-most identified social conflict issue in Winnipeg is conflict related to Aboriginal people where discrimination, stereotyping, inequality, racism, and intolerance are its manifestations. However, conflict seems to be at an emergent stage in Winnipeg and my grounded theoretical concept Perception, Expectation, Frustration (P-E-F) suggests that *perception* is the most important contributing factor to the top identified social conflict issue. Therefore, any peace-building strategy must put intervention tools into place that would replace negative perceptions with positive attitudes around coexistence. Consequently, this research also prioritizes the peace-building intervention approach to arrest the gradually deteriorating relationship between the mainstream social groups and the First Peoples.

I also explored what are the CBO actors' motivations to undertake peace-building work and here I found that all the leaders are motivated to do social good, although, their sources of inspiration varied (i.e. faith and altruism). During the analysis, I further discovered that CBO leaders approach social conflict intervention in various ways depending on their individual motivations and organizational mandates. However, all the ECBO leaders work as volunteers in their respective organizations, and this situation curtails their freedom of activities because they have to remain primarily engaged in their 9-to-5 jobs to earn a living. The NGO leaders reported a good working relationship with government agencies and with some of the ECBOs that help to undertake specific peace-building projects in the city. However, they also pointed out that the government seems to control them by creating a funding dependency. I also highlighted the respondents' discussion of two conflict intervention methods—namely a short-term resolution approach and a long-term sustainable transformational approach that seems to be more suited to addressing the deep roots of social conflict in Winnipeg. In part four (paragraph 5.5) I further highlighted 29 key peace-building activities that CBO leaders undertook to transform social conflicts in Winnipeg.

The third finding explores what motivates these CBO leaders to get involved in resolving social conflicts; are they selective in choosing social conflicts to intervene in, and if so, why; and, what are their core philosophies that encourage them to do so? The detailed analysis can be found in chapter 6 (which is organized into four parts). In the first and second parts, I focused on laying out a road map of CBO leaders' techniques and knowledge of peace-building with regards to intervening in social conflict in the city followed by their perceptions of their peace-building strength, challenges and limitations. The central theme of peace-building is to undertake broad collaborative work between various civil-society actors to address the underlying social,

economic, political and cultural issues that drive social conflict. Here, peace-building activities appear to be construed in a holistic manner, or what Lederach (2005) terms "transformative processes" aimed at empowering marginalized communities in the society by listening to their voices. However, CBOs can also play a destructive role in social conflicts and, at times, the enormous diversity within the CBOs might pose obstacles to collaborative peace-building work. I found that none of the CBOs seemed to have explicitly reported on their activities/efforts and successes/failures in transforming the major social conflict issue they identified in the city (i.e., conflict related to Aboriginal people). I observed that NGO peace-building projects appear to have contributed to poor people achieving freedom from want while FBO projects seem to contribute toward some people finding freedom from fear to a limited extent. In part three and four, I elaborated on the CBOs state of social capital and their asset based approach to peace-building along with how their projects may contribute to conflict transformation by having an impact on structural, cultural, relational and personal peace-building dimensions.

The fourth finding concerns how my interviewees perceived the strengths and weaknesses of the CBOs (elaborated on in paragraph 6.3) and about the growing interest and participation of FBOs in social justice issues. I also observed that CBO leaders were engaged in transforming conflicts either through active engagements (for e.g., directly participating in transforming conflict, undertaking peace-building projects, etc.) or through passive engagements (for e.g., advocacy or taking part within a broader coalition/alliance). My research participants also reported on the declining number of young people participating in mainstream faiths/religious activities (mostly the Christian faith). The CBO leaders were of the mind that this trend must be reversed, and the urge to address social injustices can be a prime platform to draw young people to join the faith groups. Further, I noted the various strategies used by CBO leaders

to transform conflicts. These strategies included networking with like-minded groups, and creating inter-faith coalitions through community projects. In addition, these strategies comprised raising awareness about social justice issues and social conflicts through dialogue and seminars as well as educating youth on race, faith, and identity issues through workshops. Finally, the strategies involved collaborating with other CBOs on issue-specific matters, and providing safe spaces for group and individual interaction to take place. I also explored the importance of social capital by identifying assets that CBOs use for peace-building (i.e. the asset-based approach to peace-building), and found that they use seven elements of social capital. These elements include associations and alliances, relationships, attitude, pride, research capacity, credibility and trust, and faith and cultural commonality. Further, in this study, an attempt was made to explore any linkages between social conflict and peace-building (why the leaders do what they do?). It was apparent from the leaders' responses that they consciously did not follow a linear 'diagnosis-intervention' approach to investigate conflict issues first and then determine conflict transformation intervention by undertaking peace-building work.

The fifth finding is about understanding the special roles of FBO actors in conflict transformation and peace-building. The details can be found in chapter 7, and were elaborated on in three parts. Part one (paragraph 7.2) covered a map of FBO actors and their activities in Winnipeg. Part two (paragraph 7.3) dealt with the perceptions, insights, knowledge, and experiences of the FBO leaders in effective conflict transformation. Part three (paragraph 7.4) outlined the study's respondents hopes and dreams, and fears and worries since these are related to social conflicts and their transformation in the city. This was an important part of the study because the participants were able to speak frankly about the future of addressing social conflict in Winnipeg. The FBOs identified the "changing social attitude on Aboriginal issues" as one of

their prime hopes and “people’s participation in social justice issues” as one of their dreams for the future. It is intriguing to note that the ECBO participants were not very optimistic about the outcome of multiculturalism, and said that it appeared to contradict their expectations. However, some opined that Winnipeg still stands out amongst many U.S. and Canadian cities in terms of being a positive multicultural environment for people to live and work in. In addition, some NGO leaders said that their hope for the future was the continued breaking down of cultural barriers between various social groups. Further, some ECBO participants feared the growing phenomenon of ethnocentrism, which could potentially lead to the complete collapse of the current ECBO model. In addition, some of my FBO and ECBO participants expressed their concerns about the possibility that the INM social movement could become violent, and how the “get over your past and work as equals” attitude held by society’s majority group regarding the First Peoples was not grounded in reality.

This study also reveals a possible disconnection between policymakers (provincial, federal, and municipal agencies) and CBOs peace-building activities that seems to impede the latter in achieving the desired impacts of their conflict transformation work. Essentially, the goal of policymakers (the state in the broader sense) and people is the same – to achieve a just society. In order to reach this goal, therefore, both parties are expected to work together. Consequently, the CBO leaders working for the people in Winnipeg expressed their strong motivation to do good and explained how their peace-building projects are geared toward conflict transformation (a constructive means to achieve the end). However, this peace-building work is often undertaken without any government policy support. There appears to be two reasons for this. The leaders sometimes want to work without any political interference, and state policies might not converge with the CBOs objectives. Nevertheless, if peace-building work

could take place with government support then they felt that a deeper, sustainable, and long-term impact in conflict transformation could be achieved in the city. Moreover, oftentimes it was observed that many CBOs at the same time work on multiple projects to intervene in conflicts and as a result, they cannot use all of their resources for a single conflict intervention. Additionally, they suggest that certain social conflicts seem to get undue attention (for example, recently the topic of racism in the city drew media and social attention in Winnipeg) and CBOs are expected to intervene quickly in conflict scenarios. In both cases, the CBO capacities in terms of their social capital cannot be fully utilized. The intention here is not to propose government control over CBO activities rather it is to point out the fact that if some coordination exists between government agencies (i.e. policymakers) and CBO leaders to holistically understand and prioritize conflict issues then immediate, mid-range, and long-range interventions might be made. Ultimately, this collaborative approach would help in achieving an equal and just society for everyone living in the city.

In this research, I also discussed strategies and tools for policy intervention, followed by an integrated model for intervention in Appendix 6 in order to bridge gaps between policymakers and CBO actors. Here, I suggested that we should go beyond a problem solving approach and adopt a long-term transformational approach, which is preferable in terms of resolving the top social conflict issues in Winnipeg that were identified by my respondents. I also suggested that CBOs could collaborate with each other to offset organizational limitations. My study also suggests the need to close the gap between policymakers working at various government agencies and CBOs, as, in most cases, both work to achieve similar objectives. However, the main obstacle in bridging the gap seems to be a lack of trust and confidence, which inhibits all of the key stakeholders coming together to find a common working platform. In addition, I suggest

that it is important to empower local CBOs so that they can provide alternative means to securitization to resolve social conflict as well as creating umbrella organizations within the FBOs and ECBOs. They could use a holistic intervention approach by utilizing Transformational Dialogue (TD) (see Appendix 7) and Action Advocacy (AA) simultaneously. Similarly, I suggested a 3-D model for intervention that includes: 1) the government developing an enhanced collaboration with the CBOs in general and FBOs in particular; 2) deepening multiculturalism by institutionalizing ECBOs; and 3) developing inter-group relationships (see Appendix 6).

My research participants unequivocally expressed that change has to occur in the prevailing situation because conflict invariably leads to change both positive and negative. The bigger question, however, is whether such change is desirable in a violent or nonviolent way; the respondents unanimously supported nonviolent conflict transformation. Throughout my research and through the participant observations and interviews, the participants maintained that small groups, and even individuals, can bring change to the society and drive it to achieve a greater common good, and I agree with this sentiment. In this research, I purposefully expanded my research context to include three different types of CBOs (i.e. FBO, ECBO and NGO) in order to explore if and how their unified strength, social capital, assets, motivation, will power, and commitment offer the potential for societal change. During the participant observation phase as well as in the interviews, the leaders provided a long list of hopes and despairs for the future of their peace-building work in Winnipeg. This substantiates the fact that a combined effort of all these organizations may transform conflicts. They also noted that, since so much is at stake both domestically and internationally, social conflict issues must be engaged with collaboratively since the nation state is unable to solve all of its citizens' problems on its own. In addition, they

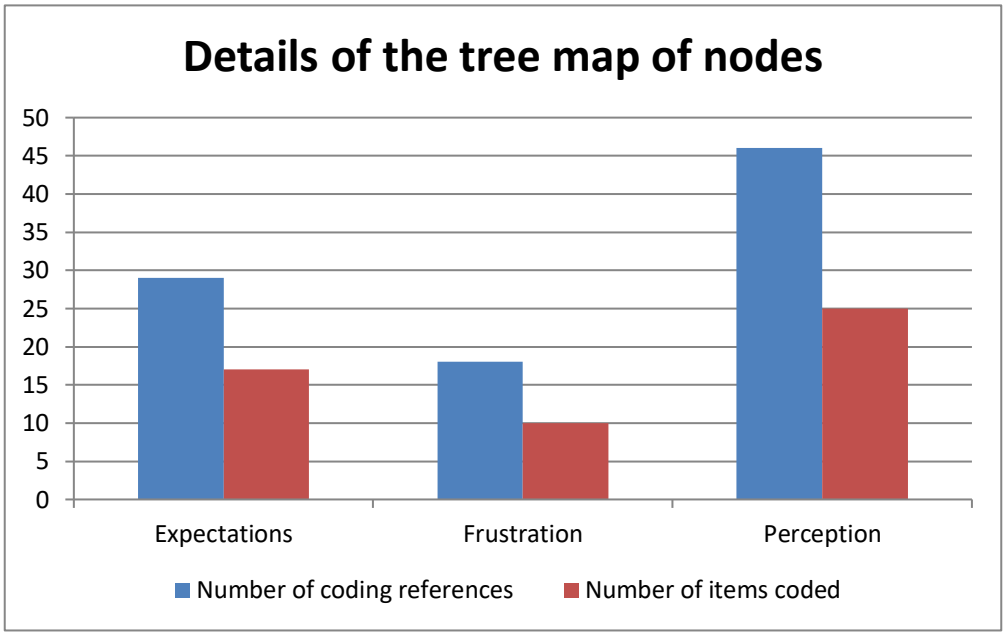
pointed out that Winnipeggers are not helpless and CBO leaders' efforts towards societal change are not in vain.

8.3 Theoretical Concept Generation –Social Conflict and Peace-building

One of my objectives in this thesis is based on the qualitative data to explore how a theoretical concept of social conflict, i.e., "Structural Conflict Perception" can be developed using a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2003, 2006). However, in so doing, I kept in mind that the theoretical concept should be able to connect various social conflict phenomena as well as suggest some empirical consistencies. I assume this to be a middle-range theoretical concept of structural conflict because it is positioned between day-to-day working assumptions and grand social theories and is able to explain social groups behavior and social change (See Merton 1968, 39). Recently, the Working Group on Peace and Development (FriEnt) in Germany carried out an important study and observed that in the field of peace-building and conflict transformation, stakeholder perceptions are the most important element in bringing about change within a conflict situation, which serves as the foundation of the social conflict theory generated in this research (Working Group on Peace and Development (FriEnt) 2014, 2).

A brief snapshot of comparative relationships among these three elements is shown in Figure 5 below (this was generated using a number of coding references vs. the number of items coded):

Figure 5: Coding Pattern Analysis of Perception, Expectation and Frustration (P-E-F)



In Figure 5, on a scale of 0-50, on average, a 46 times coding reference was made and 25 items were coded about the respondents' perceptions during the data analysis process. Similarly, a 29 times coding reference was made and 17 items were coded about expectations followed by an 18 times coding reference that was made, and 10 items were coded for frustration. The participants in this research not only referred to the above displayed components while explaining conflict they also noted the interconnected nature of these three components. Subsequently, in order to finalize and postulate a theoretical model, I followed the technique of constantly "evaluating, analysing and synthesizing information" (Bloomberg and Volpe 2012, 156) .

Using the aforementioned tools in the data analysis process, the following theoretical social conflict concept is generated which I term as Perception – Expectation –Frustration (P-E-F) theory. It has four principal components, which include the following: (1) factors contributing to perceptions; (2) the creation of perceptions through expectations; (3) the reinforcement of

previous perceptions and knowledge construction; and (4) the effect of conflict on social structure, and resulting frustration due to an unchanged status-quo. For the purpose of diagrammatic representation, a linear projection is shown below in Figure 6, and this schematic figure is to be studied from left to right. Four distinct factors are possibly responsible for social conflict in Winnipeg. One, the rootedness in and legacy of the past and how strongly, or weakly people are connected to their roots is important (mostly significant for immigrants, refugees and First Peoples). Two, the historical narrative associated with a specific group of people and its impact needs to be considered (for e.g., the history of First Peoples, the ethnopolitical ties of immigrants and refugees). Three, unfolding contemporary geo-political events and their impacts (for e.g., the 9/11 terrorist attack) impact the local discourse. Four, the unmet expectations of various social groups need to be addressed (for e.g., employment, safety, recognition, human needs, acceptance, freedom, and the promise of multiculturalism). Although these factors impact various groups differently this research shows that they are intrinsically involved in constructing individual and group perceptions and identity.

Consequently, perception is not a static phenomenon. It changes over time, and when a new event takes place, social attitudes and perceptions change based on new information. Moreover, a specific expectation plays an important role in constructing perceptions. For example, Western countries are perceived by outsiders as lands of dreams, a magic solution to all problems, while expectations are also raised by political promises, the media and the promise of multiculturalism. These perceptions are transmitted, propagated, and spread either through oral means (people-to -people stories) or through institutional means (for e.g., the media and government policies, and discourses). These eventually reinforce, sustain, influence or diminish certain previously held perceptions. However, perceptions are socially constructed phenomenon,

which can also be positive or negative and the longevity of negative perceptions are contingent on elapsed time. Its effect on social groups is minimized the further away it is from the incident. For example, after 9/11, negative stereotypes were formed against Muslims that still persist. However, the impact of Chinese persecution as well as Japanese and Ukrainian internments in Canada have greatly diminished and these ethnic groups are now treated positively. Further, expectations and perceptions vary from group to group. For example, the expectations of immigrants and refugees about achieving "social optimum" in Canada are different compared to the First Peoples. While the First Peoples expect that the federal government must honor Treaty Rights, the immigrants and refugees only aspire to get settled in the city and become economically solvent. In contrast, the dominant social group expects that both the immigrants (including refugees) and First Peoples should work hard and be "equal" if they would like to share in the fortune of this country. This group opposes any preferential treatment to be offered by the state to minorities. "Pulling oneself up by one's own bootstraps" does not work if the system is loaded against an ethnic social group. However, despite having varying degrees of expectations all minorities aspire to succeed in life and live in a happy, prosperous, and secure Canadian society.

The perceived contributions of CBO leaders to peacemaking and peace-building as opposed to a conflict creation process can be explained using the theoretical concept in the following way. First, the principal perception of the CBO leaders with regard to peace-building is a holistic, long-term, and collaborative one. Although they identified a host of issues that prevented them from achieving such a goal their perceptions are grounded in their experiences as they often failed to contribute to conflict transformation with a singular effort. Second, their perceptions give rise to expectations and chiefly they expect government agencies to help them

out not direct them by providing resources such as funding. At the same time, they also expect that their organizational decision making process could be more non-hierarchical, politically neutral, conflict sensitive, and pre-emptive. Third, FBO leaders expressed their frustration regarding their inability to intervene in conflict because they continuously suffer from resource constraints. Some ECBO leaders were frustrated by current government social policies such as multiculturalism, which they termed as "double standard" because it raises people's hopes yet fails to deliver resulting in people's dreams being shattered. They perceived that social policies such as refugee intake and a rehabilitation system are restraining people from achieving their dreams, which motivated them to come to Canada in the first place. Some mentioned the extreme forms of frustration people had as they observed their young people starting to go back to their home countries because they may be put in dangerous and life threatening situations.

In addition, social conflict in Winnipeg's Western urban Canadian context seems to be systemic, institutional, and nonetheless subtle. The "destructive stories" (Senehi 2009) regarding some social conflict issues can also be passed down the generations. These conflicts are usually associated with people's expressed frustration surrounding negative social relationships found among various social groups. These conflicts result in determining or reorganizing existing social hierarchies, and in creating an economic equilibrium in undergoing struggles to access resources and in expressing identity defined conflict be it about faith, ethnicity or nationalism. Overall, social conflict impacts the cultural, economic, social, and political structure of society and social groups who are inevitably attempting to change the existing social structure using whatever means that are available to them. However, a continuous status quo frustrates some social groups more than others. The following Figure 6 is a schematic representation of the grounded theoretical concept (i.e. P-E-F) that emerges from this study. This P-E-F concept might

contribute in expanding Dollard's (1939) Frustration-Aggression (F-A) theory as the frustration component is common to both theories.

Figure 6: Social Conflict (P-E-F) Theoretical Model

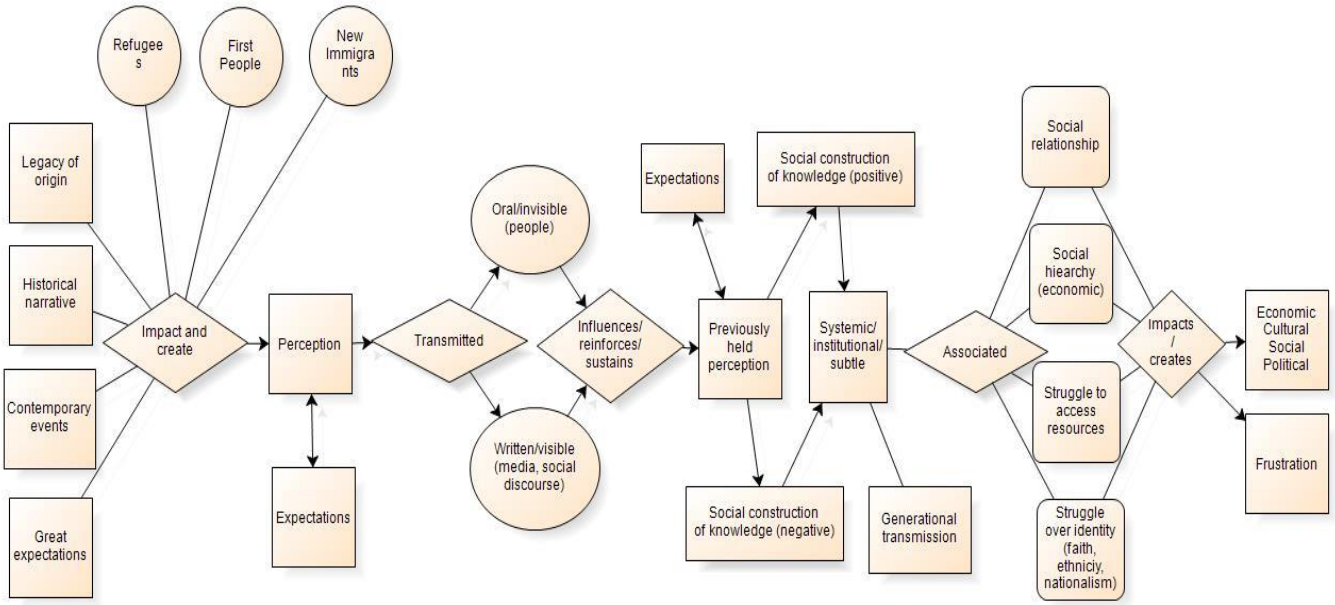
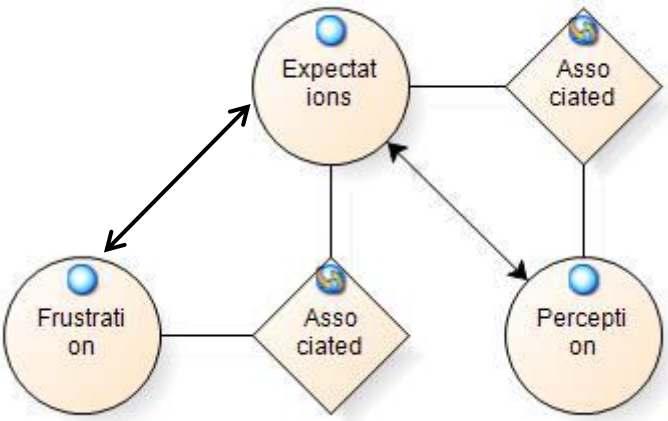


Figure 7: Social Conflict (P-E-F) Theoretical Components



In Figure 7 above, I have shown that Expectations (E) and Perception (P) are associated with each other and new perceptions emerge through their continuous interaction within an iterative system. For example, a perception can be informed by many social factors, which helps to form certain expectations. Put another way particular expectations also help to form perceptions, and when these expectations are not met then frustration occurs. Now the important point to be gleaned from this theoretical concept is from the frustration stage in terms of what method do people choose to channel their frustration. Do they choose to use aggressive means (for e.g., riots, violent demonstrations, blockades), or they chose non-aggressive means (for e.g., peaceful demonstration, sit-ins), and why they chose those means? In this regard, an early-warning system is helpful in determining at what stage a social conflict is in, in order to determine the appropriate timing of an intervention. The role of the variables in the P-E-F theoretical concept is also crucial. I observed two variables that appear to influence the perception (P) component of the theory: one, a major national/international event like a terrorist attack, war, military intervention, or violent political situations in the home countries; and two, the position, policy, and attitude of the ruling political regime on minority issues. Major events that are happening or have happened outside a society shapes the perceptions of people both negatively and positively while the position and attitude of the ruling political regime affects the minority groups mostly. Further, a feedback loop is also observed between the Frustration (F) and Expectation (E) components, where marginal social groups may become frustrated due to their over expectation of achieving equity and social justice from Canadian society. The nature of rising expectations mainly arises from the promises made by the state through its social policies such as multiculturalism, human rights, welfare providing hopes, and employment policies that have failed to deliver people's basic needs.

8.4 Contribution of the Research

This research contributes primarily to our understanding of how CBO leaders perceive and understand complex interrelated social conflict in Winnipeg's Western urban context, and how they use their peace-building projects as conflict intervention tools. As originally intended in this research, which was to seek answers about two important questions in the field of conflict resolution and peace-building: How does change happen in a society? Can individuals and small groups really make social and structural change (especially in a Western urban context), and, if so, in what ways? The following paragraphs outline five specific contributions stating how this research strove towards achieving the aforementioned objectives.

One, primarily the study adds to the peace-building and conflict transformation theoretical knowledge in Winnipeg's Western urban (Canadian) context. It also sheds some light on civil society actors and their roles in ushering in change in society and the potential for social conflict transformation and peace-building. This research further assists in understanding and acknowledging complex social conflict and the social relationships of various social groups as a component of conflict transformation and peace-building in the same context.

Two, although this research integrated FBOs, ECBOs and NGOs into a single unit of analysis and delineated their involvement and work towards conflict transformation, in doing so, it also discovered some of the successes and failures of the broader discourse regarding faith-based peace-building. It showed that faith-based peace-building has future potential in Winnipeg's Western urban context further adding to the work of John Paul Lederarch, Thania Paffenholz, and Douglas Johnston among others. Additionally, small group social actors such as CBOs possess unique sets of social capitals that can be mobilized to possibly bring about incremental changes within an unjust social structure. One way these small groups can influence

changes is by creating awareness among various stakeholders about social inequality causing marginalization. Consequently, an increasing awareness can also motivate policymakers who can possibly bring about changes to existing socio-economic-cultural policies that actually create and sustain such structures.

Three, the study links theory and praxis in the field of conflict transformation and community based peace-building. This research particularly reveals the motivations of CBO leaders, their most used tools, strategies, and techniques as they approach planning and implementing peace-building work.

Four, the P-E-F grounded theoretical concept developed in this research might also be able to explain the frustration of various social groups living in Western urban societies with the caveat that the earlier a social group's frustration is understood then the effectiveness of a peace-building intervention process can be facilitated.

Five, it suggests a need to devise a TD model based on the principles aforementioned that would bridge the gap not only between top level social actors and grassroots level activists but also among various community leaders within Winnipeg's Western urban (Canadian) context. The TD proposed in this research to transform inter-group urban social conflicts might contribute further to "interactive conflict resolution" by focusing on domestic conflict resolution and in this process by undertaking an effort to go beyond mainstream white middle class society as persuasively argued by Ronald Fisher (1999). I also envisage the process might further contribute to creating a platform so that people can interact and collaboratively and come together to resolve a plethora of complex conflict issues (Fisher 1993, 124).

8.5 Recommendations

In this section, two types of recommendations are made. In the first part, recommendations about conflict intervention, and peace-building are made, and in part two recommendations relating to future research are outlined.

8.5.1 Strategies, Tools and Approach to Conflict Intervention and Peace-building

One, I recommend to look beyond the **problem solving strategy and instead, to adopt a *longue durée* transformational method by adopting a holistic conflict transformation approach** in addressing social conflict in Winnipeg. The key distinction between post violent Third World developing or Global South underdeveloped societies and developed, Western urban societies conflict interventions are the methods and approaches used by intervening agencies. In the case of the former, violence reduction could first be followed by developmental work while in the case of the latter projects related to conflict intervention can be launched without being threatened by direct violence. However, acknowledging and diagnosing conflict, in fact, is the most crucial first step towards developing an intervention mechanism for Winnipeg. In a Western urban context, a particular social conflict cannot be isolated and dealt with separately because it is interconnected with other conflicts emanating from the social structure, and state policies. Conversely, one can deal with a specific type of conflict using a problem solving approach due to the project design and specific mandate of the project (mostly adopted by NGOs). Yet a holistic approach taking into consideration other sources of conflict makes transformation more sustainable and achievable (mostly adopted by FBOs). Consequently, analyzing social conflict in Winnipeg warrants an understanding within a holistic system that necessitates a multi-pronged and multi-agency intervention approach by integrating both short and long-term approaches.

Thus, this study suggests creating an asset-based approach that relies on the CBOs strengths and their existing networks and relationships (i.e. assets). Adequate attention should also be given to a conflict lens that does no harm in designing an intervention process (Greenberg, Mallozzi, and Cechvala 2012, 7). Further, any peace-building intervention strategy especially if it includes CBOs should also take into account the capabilities and limitation of such organizations. In 2011-2012, for example, the Alliance for Peace-building (AFP) carried out a study of 119 NGOs within the U.S. (some also work outside the U.S.) involved in peace-building. Its major findings were that the majority of NGOs had limited fiscal and human resources to implement their trust building and social cohesion projects while most failed to collaborate and coordinate their activities in a holistic peacemaking system approach. In the same vein, my study also suggests that inter-CBO cooperation is a key challenge in conflict intervention and peace-building followed by bringing government agencies under a collaborative umbrella so that a synergy can be achieved in drawing appropriate intervention strategies together. Following a long-term and collaborative transformational approach would not only offset resource constraints it would also empower both the policymakers and CBOs to reach out to a wider group of people embroiled in conflict.

Two, **measures must be taken to close the gap between policymakers in government agencies and CBOs at the grassroots level** in order to bring about change in the social structure. Mitchell (2014) has argued that four basic obstacles in a social structure actually prevent mitigating "change and these are: policy, psychological, social and political" (76). Therefore, it is necessary to bring social groups together to analyze existing social policies to attempt to affect structural change at all these levels. In this study, I explored the possible connectivity of policymakers in various government agencies with CBOs in implementing

peace-building projects on the ground. The main findings pointed out that FBOs are often not supported by government agencies in terms of their conflict intervention or transformation initiatives. Almost all the FBO leaders opined that they raise their funds through charity, which is dwindling nowadays, and their volunteers are mostly putting up their own free time to complete administrative and logistical work in their organizations. This is why a substantial number of young people are absent from faith-based and many other types of conflict intervention initiatives, as they cannot afford to do volunteer work. Although this study indicates that the FBOs are increasingly taking part in social justice issues and appear not to have any direct connection to proselytizing. The FBOs indicate that mistrust still exists on the part of governmental policymakers to work with faith-based projects. In some instances, the policymakers have taken a confrontational position with some FBOs when they offer different viewpoints. In this study, my respondents reported that the overall attitude of government agencies toward FBOs is often antagonistic, contradictory and reluctant. Further, policymakers are more interested in working with ECBOs yet still they cannot establish a workable model of conflict transformation for the city.

This study illustrates that the current level of multiculturalism in the city is not adequate to meet the needs of immigrants (including refugees). For example, the recent discontinuation of the MEEAC is a case in point and the First Peoples are entirely left out of multicultural efforts and initiatives. Further, there is no concrete plan to work with various ECBOs from the Ministry despite having a multicultural and ethnocultural act passed in the Manitoba legislature. Given the fact that ECBOs are comprised of various ethnic groups, it has become increasingly difficult to reach every single group and satisfy its demands, aspirations and hopes. In this regard, the ACOMI created an umbrella platform that brings various ethnic groups together so that they can

work in unison to intervene in conflict transformation. Further, intra-group conflict based on sub-group interests is the single greatest hindrance for any government agency wanting to work with ECBOs. Consequently, a closer examination of "super-diversity" might be useful in modifying current ECBO engagement policies at the policymaking level. Nevertheless, the NGOs mostly enjoy a wider level of support from policymakers in terms of conflict intervention policy. In sum, the policymakers are usually left out of the equation of community-based conflict intervention and peace-building except for a few token cases when the objective of state and community coincides.

While it is understandable that policymakers in government agencies cannot get involved directly with some of the CBOs in conflict interventions, the success or failure of conflict intervention largely depends on how all these stakeholders work together since everybody has a stake in preventing social conflict in Winnipeg's multicultural context. Consequently, this study indicates that no system exists whereby policymakers are made aware of ongoing social conflicts and their ramifications for the future unless policymakers choose to do so selectively. Thus, policymakers in various government agencies must be brought closer to the conflict intervention work of these CBOs so that a trusting relationship is forged. In this regard, policymakers should also be made aware of the assets these CBOs bring to the table so that they can complement government agencies current and future peace-building initiatives.

Most importantly, policymakers need to be aware that their goals and those of CBO leaders coincide, to improve peoples' lives and transform conflicts nonviolently. Thus, creative trust building efforts should be undertaken to reduce the existing gap between CBO leaders and policymakers. If trust prevails then dialogue can bring stakeholders closer so that collaborative

peace-building project can be undertaken, and eventually those projects will become sustainable and will transform conflicts constructively.

Three, because **identifying the conflict stage is crucial in order to devise a proper and timely intervention strategy, serious policy attention must be paid to this issue**. In conflict intervention, identifying at what stage the conflict is situated at is critical in deciding a proper and timely intervention mechanism. For example, my research participants identified the top social conflict issue in Winnipeg to be discrimination, inequality, lack of basic human needs, stereotyping, racism and intolerance, which they saw as possibly emanating from an unjust social structure. However, the top social conflict is in the "emergence stage" now (Brahm 2003) and my social conflict theoretical concept (P-E-F) shows that perception is the most important component in promulgating social conflict issues that may be arising from the social structure in Winnipeg. Through a continuous feedback loop, perception is connected with expectation. Consequently, it is incumbent that the intervention strategy should be geared towards dissipating negative perceptions and replacing them with positive images of people in a timely manner in order to transform this conflict. The timing is ripe to intervene in social conflict in Winnipeg since it is in its emerging stage and various social groups have not yet resorted to violence to resolve it. Again drawing from the data, creating positive perceptions appears to be a difficult task due to the absence of targeted peace-building projects to address the conflicts explored in this study.

Nevertheless, in order to initiate systemic change within an overall intervention strategy one proposal could be to decentralize the habitation of low-income people to other areas around the city and improve housing, safety and security conditions in the downtown and the North End areas of Winnipeg. In addition, Winnipeg is the only metropolitan city within Manitoba that

houses all of the Province's administrative and educational services encouraging people to flock to the city, which in turn creates enormous pressure on the physical infrastructures and the city's service delivery system. Instead, my proposal is to decentralize services, create job opportunities, nurture economic activities, and provide learning centers in other small cities. This strategy would encourage people to settle outside of Winnipeg and at the same time, it would develop new services. This strategy to decentralize resources would particularly impact new-immigrants and First Peoples who usually prefer to settle down in Winnipeg because of economic and civic opportunities. If the immigrants and refugees are encouraged to settle outside of Winnipeg, it would ease pressure on existing provincial resources and at the same time address growing inequalities in the city. This strategy would particularly be effective in changing the visual landscape of the city's poor areas.

Four, I recommend that the need to undertake **steps to restore the relationship between and among various social groups is important for conflict intervention** and in adopting an intervention approach to arrest the rapidly deteriorating relationship between social groups. This issue was also identified as one of the important key causes of social conflicts in Winnipeg. Within this relationship matrix there are, on the one side, people from the dominant group, and on the other side immigrants, refugees, and First Peoples. A lack of communication has contributed to negative perceptions between peoples living on both sides of the matrix. Nevertheless, by devising a useful TD model some concrete measures can be taken to improve the current state of communication among various social groups. For example, the physical-social-economic-cultural-educational infrastructure in the First Peoples reserves in Manitoba is not conducive to foster positive inter-group relationships because the First Peoples perceive their dismal situation as a result of intentional segregation and isolation. The latest UN special

rapporteur on Indigenous issues in Canada has also reported on this issue (James 2014). Under the current situation, there are little economic activities available within the reserves (except for some Casinos and gas stations), and as such the prevailing system simply makes the First Peoples dependent on federal assistance. In fact, it appears from my study participant's reports that federal assistance may have created a whole culture of dependency among the First Peoples coupled with the government's lack of honest political willingness to develop the economic conditions of First Peoples in the reserves. This position further contributes to poor communication and antagonistic relationships between these two groups.

If First Peoples leave their trap lines and hunting areas surrounding the reserves after three years, the land with all its resources goes to the federal or provincial government (Ross 2014). Consequently, the federal or provincial government could use these lands for projects generating employment and not relying solely on resource extraction, which is the prevailing trend. However, many of the reserves are located in far-flung areas and due to seasonal flooding; some reserves became flooded on a regular basis. During a flood, people are evacuated to Winnipeg under the provincial arrangement. Yet sometimes they are not repatriated back to their own homes within a reasonable amount of time (for e.g., the people of Lake St. Martin are still languishing since 2011 in a Winnipeg hotel). In this regard, the INM and Aboriginal organizations are trying to make mainstream Winnipeggers aware of this situation. I also propose that some economic activities should be planned and implemented within the reserves using a "social economy model" (Ahmed et al. 2013) that would encourage First Peoples to take ownership of their own socioeconomic situation and restore their dignity. There are successful models to be emulated such as the First Nation's band that changed its economic condition in British Columbia. The feasibility of doing so can be studied with a pilot project and this might

help change the perception of the majority of people about the First Peoples that might contribute to improving inter-group perceptions.

Five, **it is recommended that the Government of Manitoba nurtures and empowers CBOs so that they can actively partner with law enforcement agencies in order to deter the securitization of the society**. In the Canadian context, securitization takes place mostly through federal agencies that are located within the Province. In this study, my research participants unequivocally opined that any securitization effort adversely affects the social relationships of various social groups by creating mistrust and fear. What I suggest here is to create a resilient social system in which the Province is in greater control of security policy implementation matters in collaboration with various CBOs. A community-based, community-oriented (not community-targeted) security policy implementation approach is also suggested. It would allow maximum stakeholders to take part in deciding what security measures would best achieve national security objectives that would also reduce stereotyping to a great extent. In this regard, a 2014 Organization for Security and Cooperation's (OSCE) report suggests that a multi-agency task force including the public and the police is needed to counter terrorism (OSCE 2014, 68). Therefore, some of the OSCE participating states in Europe have already undertaken local community-oriented initiatives and policies to effectively combat terrorism (OSCE 2014, 69).

Six, **umbrella organizations for FBOs and ECBOs should be created and nurtured to reduce intra-group conflict and enhance inter-group interaction**. The idea that the community is a functional system for devising an intervention strategy is often difficult to conceive of because of inherent intra-group dynamics based on group identity, aspirations and differences. In this study, I discovered that the nearest best model to overcome intra-group conflict is to form umbrella organizations and bring all groups into the fold of the policymaking

circle. For example, the faith-based umbrella organization KAIROS can be replicated in other contexts. It would be a daunting task to convince FBOs to form a single group, yet the key motivating factor is to tap into their willingness to participate in social justice issues. ACOMI is another possible model within the ECBO platform to be replicated, where various African ethnic groups came together to work successfully with NGOs in the city. At the policy level, the local Ministry of Immigration and Multiculturalism might encourage these types of models to develop by giving groups proper incentives and economic aid to undertake meaningful projects. Effective collaboration with other ethnocultural groups must also be encouraged so that social relationships flourish beyond yearly cosmetic and superficial Folklorama celebrations and other cultural events. My interviewees argued that it was important to take multiculturalism down to everyday life and one of the ways to make this happen is by bringing various groups together to work on meaningful peace-building projects.

Seven, **I propose an integrated model of social conflict transformation that includes two tools: Transformative Dialogue (TD) and Action-Advocacy (AA) for its adoption by the pertinent institutions (see Appendix 6)**. Based on the contact hypothesis theory, TD is proposed as a tool for dialoguing and multiloguing. Consequently, TD comprises periodic, ongoing dialogues and seminars at the meso and micro levels. My study reveals that there are several efforts being undertaken by CBOs to facilitate horizontal contact with local communities through dialogue, workshops and informal seminars. Yet there are fewer vertical contacts with the policymaking level. Consequently, the output produced through horizontal contact and interaction is not communicated and transferred to the vertical contact level. This results in less impact on socially oppressive and discriminatory policies. TD is an emergent concept within the commonly found dialogue genre that began in 2007 as an initiative arising out of the Carnegie

Foundation's Carnegie Academy on the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (CASTL) Leadership Project (2006–2009) (Kwantlen Polytechnic University 2014). The essence of TD is going beyond dialoguing or multiloguing between two or more parties to build trust to transform their relationships by collaborating together on superordinate goals (Gergen, McNamee, and Barrett 2002, 78). TD adopts a bottom-up approach, moving away from blame to establish relational responsibility. TD emphasizes and allows time for "self- and group expression"; affirming the identity of "others"; improvising group contact in a shared space with group activities (with meals, etc.); allowing self-reflexivity; and encouraging the co-creation of a new reality (Ibid, 99-105).

In addition, if properly planned, TD can also build a "third-culture" by creatively combining unity within diversity (Ekelund, Rydningen, and Matoba, 4-5). This would help build trusting relationships and dialogue to forge social change through functional interaction and reflection (Ekelund and Matoba 2012, 30). Smaller community-based dialogue groups and Interfaith Dialogue (IFD) groups can be situated at the core of a TD framework and can either be contemporary-issue specific or based on a protracted social issue. This approach is meant to simultaneously establish a point of contact within the communities and connect policymakers in the government agencies. In this connection, I also explored Bennett's (1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), which could be a useful element within an intervention strategy. DMIS has direct relevance to peace-building between faith identity groups in a modified form and within an integrated system for intercultural conflict transformation (Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman 2003, 121 cited in Abu Nimer, Khoury, and Welty 2007, 234). DMIS also identifies one's own adaptation to a multicultural society by taking into account one's faith identity group difference. This model also considers the worldviews of "ethnocentricism"

(which avoids cultural difference), “ethnorelativity” (which seeks and accepts cultural differences), and “transitional” (which is transformational from ethnocentricity to ethnorelativity) (Ibid). In addition, I envisage that within the TD process, bringing various faith groups together would pose a particularly significant challenge to build a consensus relating to the conflict intervention method especially if the conflict has a religious dimension. In this regard, Abu-Nimer (2007) explained the “religiocentric” and “religiorelative” orientations of people. He maintained that a “religiorelative” person is one who has a firm belief that others have the right to have different faiths. S/he is accommodative even if it contradicts his/her own faith. As such, s/he is less likely to engage in violence or discriminatory actions against others. In contrast, a “religiocentric” person views his/her religious viewpoint as an absolute truth and therefore s/he is likely to deny the existence of other religions. This type of person is more likely to dehumanize, exclude, discriminate and be the subject of radicalized manipulation. Hence, the TD needs to take all of these categories of people/groups into account.

To summarize, the following are the key elements of the proposed TD. First, there is a need to earmark actors, stakeholders and interest groups in the horizontal and vertical components of the society. Second, it is important to plan and conduct small community group dialogues similar to those drawn from the Jesuit Forum for Social Faith and Justice for the Assembly of Catholic Bishops of Ontario (Jesuit Forum 2010) Third, it is critical to start thematic dialogue on issue-specific social conflict followed by protracted conflicts. Four, it is necessary to refine action/advocacies, and research/education agendas after a dialogue series. A schematic representation of the TD process is shown in Figure 10 Appendix 7.

Eight, it is recommended that for conflict intervention, **output from the proposed TD process should guide Action-Advocacy (AA) in a simultaneous and synchronous fashion**

(See Diamond 1996, 16). Action means that CBOs undertake various projects aimed at intervening in social conflicts, and advocacy means research and consultative functions carried out by various government organizations and NGOs. However, advocacy also ensures that advocacy groups consult with the grassroots regularly to build cross communal coalitions and to educate the public (International Alert 2004, 37). Consequently, AA should take into account the results of the TD process. For example, if the TD reveals that the conflict is around meeting people's basic human needs, then AA should be geared towards suggesting concrete measures to meet BHNs. In this regard, Burton asserts that an interactive process encourages parties to explore the intentions and motivations behind their positions so the BHNs of all the parties can be met as BHNs cannot be compromised (Burton 1987, 16 cited in Rouhana 1995, 322). We must emphasize that we now need a better approach to address social conflicts, as our traditional state-centric approaches are inadequate. CBOs are well placed to conduct AA activities aimed at complementing state-centric conflict intervention systems. For example, faith-based reconciliation advocacy, when coupled with state support, is considered to be one of the best options in handling identity-based conflicts (Johnston 2005, 210). However, a fresh look should be cast to explore new frontiers of AA partnerships due to the lack of trust between policymakers at government agencies and FBOs. For example, numerous FBOs across Canada and in Winnipeg undertake socially oriented productive projects by adopting a social economy model.[37] In the end, the intervention strategies, approaches and tools mentioned here are not the ends in themselves rather they are means to reach an end. The end objective is to create a just, equitable society, and efforts should be directed towards this end. The tools outlined here have a clear goal to transform social conflict peacefully and promote a "culture of peace" (Boulding 2001) in Winnipeg.

To summarize, a 3D approach of conflict intervention propounds: (1) **developing** enhanced collaboration with government agencies and CBOs in general and FBOs in particular to harness the strengths of their assets; (2) **deepening** multiculturalism by re-evaluating government engagement with ECBOs in light of the concept of "super-diversity"; and (3) **developing** tools to improve social relationships among various social groups in general and the First Peoples and dominant social group in particular. Finally, this 3D conflict transformation approach and use of two tools (TD and AA) would greatly assist in influencing the **perception-expectation** components of the social conflict theoretical concept (i.e. Perception-Expectation-Frustration that is discussed in detail in this chapter) that I have suggested in this study in the following three ways:

1. Meaningful and two-way engagement between government agencies and CBOs through a TD that would build trust, and open up spaces for collaborative stakeholder participation by dispelling stereotyping or previously held perceptions about social groups.
2. Conflict stakeholders (i.e. a specific government agency and social group) undertaking top-down and bottom-up approaches of conflict transformation and peace-building projects would eventually converge at a middle point. This convergence can yield meaningful output by clarifying and acknowledging stakeholders realistic and short, middle and long-term expectations. This process would also help in reducing inter-group frustration.

Poor inter-group communication results in erroneous perceptions. In this regard, inter-group TD and AA would be able to capitalize on the diversified peace-building capacities of different social groups resulting in affirming their abilities to actively participate in conflict transformation and peace-building.

8.5.2 Recommendations for Future Research

Research on complex social conflict that is other than structural in nature in a Western Canadian urban context should continue to break new ground to determine a multi-agency holistic approach to transform and contribute to constructive conflict resolution and peace-building in Winnipeg. This exploratory case study was primarily aimed at understanding through the insights and knowledge of my research participant's social conflict, and then in identifying several meso-level actors and their methods for transforming conflict. Nevertheless, based on the research findings I recommend the following arenas for future research:

First, systematic and sustained research should be directed towards exploring structural and cultural conflicts in Winnipeg's Western urban context with special emphasis placed on devising a holistic intervention approach to reduce discrimination, inequity, and racism. This research supports Mitchell's reflection. "Conflict can bring problems to the surface and force the parties involved into a search for solutions, thus enabling the social system to adjust its structure and respond to a change in its environment" (Mitchell 1980, 62). In particular, research should be undertaken to find a way of bringing specific federal and provincial initiatives closer to CBO activities to address discrimination and to eliminate racism concerning First Peoples and immigrants.

Second, further research is also needed to devise specific tools to translate the promise of multiculturalism at the grassroots level. Within that research, a specific exploration can be directed at finding modalities to create umbrella organizations to link a myriad of ECBOs together around common themes. This approach would reduce intra-group conflicts and allow these organizations to contribute organically to peace-building. Further, research on "super

diversity" should also be conducted to understand its potentials to re-evaluate the current Canadian multiculturalism doctrine.

Third, further study is needed to explore the details of a peace-building asset-based approach linked to social capital by exploring the role of FBOs in community development and conflict transformation.

Fourth, more research is needed to improve relationships and to break down stereotypes between the First Peoples and other social groups residing in Winnipeg. Specific research can be launched on the economic activities of First Nations people living on reserves in Manitoba. Currently, hardly any economic activity goes on within the reserves, and any scheme to empower the creation of local economic initiatives can assist in removing negative stereotyping, bringing forth the energy and agency of Aboriginal youth, empowering their resiliency and breaking cycles of dependency for the First Peoples.

Fifth, many universities in North America offer service-learning experiences for young people so that they can travel abroad, gain valuable life experience and understand the "others" as a part of their academic curricula. These activities are conducted in Asia, Latin America and African countries (Green et al. 2004; Kornelsen 2014) for the students to get first-hand experience with poverty and development. Youth are a vital segment of the population. Therefore, future research might explore effective modalities through which substantial youth initiatives can be directed so that they can gain valuable learning experiences from within their own societies. These experiences could include citizenship and leadership training and cultural diversity awareness under the sponsorship of local CBOs.

8.6 Personal Reflection on Transformative Learning (TL) Gained from this Research

Undoubtedly, this is the most significant research that I have ever undertaken. It posed challenges for me on several fronts. I had a close look at some of the social conflicts that people seldom want to share with others. I met a number of inspiring leaders who are committed to transforming conflicts yet appeared to be handicapped by the social structure. I came across a number of stories of racism, discrimination, inequality, and intolerance, which saddened me. And last but not least, I was convinced that despite the fact that conflict is tearing many aspects of people's lives apart, they are still hopeful and optimistic for the future. Consequently, drawing upon the concept of Transformative Learning (TL) theory, I suppose, TL led me to open up my own vistas. In addition, I have learnt to reflect critically during the research fieldwork, data analysis and validation phases, re-examining my beliefs and values that led to my own personal transformation (Kroth and Cranton 2014). The whole research process made me confident in doing conflict analysis and at the end, it reinforced my belief that humans can do extraordinary things to achieve peace. We just have to believe in the human capacity and imagine peace.

8.7 Conclusion

This study might stimulate new thinking about understanding peace leaders "leading for peace" (Amaladas and Byrne 2017), social conflict, exploring its root causes, and CBO peace-building initiatives in a Western Canadian urban context. This is because "…encounters with unfamiliar cultural contexts can also deepen understanding of what we think we know. In a challenge to common senses views of knowledge, the familiar may prove to be less familiar that was previously thought (Grew 1980). The cultural context approach thus opens up the possibility of exploring the taken-for-granted in cultural contexts that we all think we know from the inside" (Agnew, Mercer, and Sopher 2010, 4).

In retrospect, I thought whether the sheer number of CBOs that exist in Winnipeg (nearly 800), and my ethnographic study of my lived experience is representative of what they do and whether it would really change my findings if I considered using a different sample size and proportion of FBOs, ECBOs and NGOs. I attempt to answer this question in two ways. First, over the past two years while I prepared the thesis for final examination, three significant pieces of information with regards to social conflict issues in Winnipeg came to light: 1) McLean's (a well reputed Canadian print magazine) reported that racism is at its worst level ever in Winnipeg (it mentioned the ongoing racism against our Indigenous population)[38]; 2) The TRC's final report was submitted to the federal government and it recommended not only to address racism issues against the Indigenous population but also to improve inter-group social relationships in Canada;[39] and 3) the Mayor of the City of Winnipeg organized a national summit on anti-racism in 2015. Yet on the day of its first anniversary celebration it appeared that no significant improvement was noted towards ending racism in Winnipeg.[40] Based on these three recent developments it is fair to say that even if the sampling size or the proportion of the participants' community organization vary, the identification of major conflict issues would remain unchanged. However, the ranking of conflict issues might differ based on the changing social context. Second, as people's perceptions and experiences of peace-building evolve, I guess with the passage of time new insights with regards to creative peace-building projects will be available yet the motivation of the CBO leaders and their strength and challenges might hardly change.

I want to conclude the thesis on an optimistic note. Despite the social conflicts taking place in Winnipeg, it is still a vibrant city where people from various corners of the world come to settle and realize their Canadian dreams. According to the Fraser Institute's latest study,

although overall charitable contributions in Canada saw a downward trend, Manitoba retained its position as the most charitable Province in Canada for the last fifteen consecutive years (Lammam 2013) with Winnipeg as the most compassionate and social justice city. During this study, I encountered numerous people willing to volunteer their time for interviews, including the leaders of the organizations in this study. On many occasions I also saw an army of volunteers always available during an event or natural calamity or to demonstrate against a controversial bill or to fundraise for an event. These experiences give me enormous hope for Winnipeg's future in terms of conflict transformation and peace-building and in creating a just model of what an egalitarian society should look like in North America in the twenty first century. As Dr. Arthur Mauro often says, "Winnipeg is the new Geneva!"

To conclude, I would like to quote from an Indian philosopher who probably accurately captured the essence of social conflict as well as conflict transformation.

> Understanding comes when we, you and I, meet on the same level at the same time… There is an art of listening. To be able really to listen, one should abandon or put aside all prejudices, pre-formulations and daily activities. When you are in a receptive state of mind, things can be easily understood; you are listening when your real attention is given to something. But unfortunately most of us listen through a screen of resistance. We are screened with prejudices, whether religious or spiritual, psychological or scientific; or with our daily worries, desires and fears. And with these for a screen, we listen. Therefore, we listen really to our own noise, to our own sound, not to what is being said. It is extremely difficult to put aside our training, our prejudices, our inclination, our resistance, and, reaching beyond the verbal expression, to listen so that we understand instantaneously. That is going to be one of our difficulties. (Krishnamurti 2013, 14-15)

Appendices

Appendix – 1 – Research Questions

Phase One Research Questions:

1. What is the nature of social conflict in Winnipeg? What are some of the key social conflict issues that CBO leaders encounter in Winnipeg? Does Winnipeg CBOs provide a unique context of cross-cultural and inter-group conflict transformation and if so, why? and if no, why not?

The following were the Phase Two Research Questions:

2. What do the CBO leaders think about the structural nature of conflict and interrelated social conflict issues that they mentioned in phase one of the interviews? What are the root causes of conflict?

3. What motivates these CBO leaders to get involved in resolving social conflicts? Are they selective in choosing social conflicts to intervene in, and if so, why? What are their core philosophies that encourage them to do so?

4. What are the tools that CBO leaders use for peace-building? How do the leaders perceive the strengths and weaknesses of their organizations in addressing conflicts? How do these leaders pursue their missions through their CBOs and evaluate their peace-building programs? Do they encounter resistance from the state and local people?

5. Among the three CBOs which one (if any) plays special role in terms of peace-building and conflict transformation? Why such a CBO plays a special role and if so how?

6. What are their best hopes and wishes, and fears and worries about the future of the people living in Winnipeg expressed by CBO leaders?

Appendix – 2 – Letter of Invitation

Dear Sir/Madam,

In an effort to understand the contributions and perceptions of Faith-based and Ethno-cultural Community Based organizations in conflict resolution and peace-building in Winnipeg, I am conducting interviews with the leaders/key persons of these organizations. This research project is a part of my doctoral studies in the Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice Studies, University of Manitoba. The interviews will be related to the experiences and recommendations of those activities with regards to conflict resolution and peace-building in Winnipeg. In the beginning of each interview session, I will explain briefly the context of the research and potential benefit that can be derived from this study on completion. It is expected that individuals taking part in the interview may l experience a minimum level of risk in terms of one) the political and security sensitivity of some parts of the research; and two) the risk of endangering their positions within specific communities, that may undermine their leadership within the community.

The interview (with a set of open ended questions posed by the interviewer) might last between 80-120 minutes depending on the participant's voluntary participation, and the participants can withdraw anytime during the interview process and request the already recorded interview materials be handed over to them. Upon request it will be handed over to the participants. The interview data will be kept in digital form (both audio and transcribed texts) up to four years for preparation of the final thesis report and for publication of scholarly journal articles. Afterwards it will be destroyed. Only the dissertation paper and academic papers related to journal publication will be used from the data generated from the research. However, some data might be shared with some external agencies/organizations (for example, Ministry of Multiculturalism and immigration and Public Safety) to evaluate their existing policies. In addition, the University of Manitoba may look at my research records to see that the research is being conducted in a safe and proper way.
You can withdraw from the research process at any time (i.e. during the interview, data analysis). In that case I shall give back the data, field notes that had been taken. However, I shall appreciate if you let me know should you decide to withdraw by 31st March 2014. You can contact me via phone or email.

Thank you.

Kawser Ahmed
PhD Candidate
Arthur. V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice
University of Manitoba

Appendix – 3 –Informed Consent Form

Research Project Title: "***Contributions of Faith and Ethno-Cultural Community Organizations (FEBCO) in Understanding Conflict and Peace-building in Winnipeg: Exploring Their Methods of Conflict Analysis and Transforming Social Conflicts.***"

Researchers: Kawser Ahmed (PhD Candidate, Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice, University of Manitoba).

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

In an effort to understand the contributions and perceptions of Faith-Based and Ethno-cultural Community Based organizations in conflict resolution and peace-building in Winnipeg, I am conducting interviews with the leaders/key persons of these organizations. This research project is a part of my doctoral studies in the Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice Studies, University of Manitoba. The interviews will be related to the experiences and recommendations of those activities with regards to conflict resolution and peace-building in Winnipeg. In the beginning of each interview session, I will explain briefly the context of the research and potential benefit that can be derived from this study on completion. It is expected that individuals taking part in the interview may experience a minimum level of risk in terms of one) the political and security sensitivity of some parts of the research; and two) the risk of endangering their positions within specific communities, that may undermine their leadership within the community.

The interview (with a set of open ended questions) might last between 80-120 minutes depending on your voluntary participation, and you can withdraw anytime during the interview process and request the already recorded interview materials be handed over to you. Upon request it will be handed over to you. The interview data will be kept in digital form (both audio and transcribed texts) up to four years for preparation of the final thesis report and for publication of scholarly journal articles. Afterwards it will be destroyed. Only the dissertation paper and academic papers related to journal publication will be used from the data generated from the research. However, some data might be shared with some external agencies/organizations (for example, Ministry of Multiculturalism and Immigration and Public Safety) to evaluate their existing policies. In addition, the University of Manitoba may look at my research records to see that the research is being conducted in a safe and proper way.

You can withdraw from the research process at any time (i.e. during the interview, data analysis). In that case I shall give back the data, field notes that had been taken. However, I shall appreciate

if you let me know should you decide to withdraw by 31st March 2014. You can contact me via phone or email.

In order to ensure accuracy in reporting your comments, I would prefer using a digital recording device during the interview. The recorder may be turned off at any time, upon your request. I would need your consent for recording.

If you choose to remain anonymous you will be referred to in the final report as "Respondent A," "Respondent B," and so on to keep your anonymity. All comments from you will then be coded, with the identity held separately under lock and key. In case if you choose to decline anonymity, you will be referred by your name and your organizations name in the dissertation and subsequent publications. If you want you will receive draft copies of the report before finalizing any publication derived from the study to provide assurance of anonymity and your comfort.

Do you want to be contacted to verify research findings/reports after interview?

☐ Yes No ☐

However, you are requested to give consent by ticking the box below for audio recording:

☐

I give consent to record the interview in digital format.

☐

I don't give consent to record the interview in digital format.

In addition, you are also requested to give consent by ticking the box below for the disclosures of you identity:

☐

I give consent to disclose my identity.

☐

I don't give consent to disclose my identity.

Thank you.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial

consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout participation.

_____ _____
Signature Date

If you would like more details about this study, please feel free to contact the researchers:

Kawser Ahmed
Phd Candidate
University of Manitoba
XXXX@cc.umanitoba.ca
Tel: XXXXX

This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (protocol number J2013:097). If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 204-474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Sample Verbal Consent Form

I would like to read out the verbal consent with regard to the interview. Please follow what I read and if you have any question you can stop me any time and I shall answer your query.

"In an effort to understand the contributions and perceptions of Faith-Based and Ethno-cultural Community Based organizations in conflict resolution and peace-building in Winnipeg, I am conducting interviews with the leaders/key persons of these organizations. This research project is a part of my doctoral studies in the Arthur V. Mauro Centre for Peace and Justice Studies, University of Manitoba. The interviews will be related to the experiences and recommendations of those activities with regards to conflict resolution and peace-building in Winnipeg. In the beginning of each interview session, I will explain briefly the context of the research and potential benefit that can be derived from this study on completion. It is expected that individuals taking part in the interview may l experience a minimum level of risk in terms of one) the political and security sensitivity of some parts of the research; and two) the risk of endangering their positions within specific communities, that may undermine their leadership within the community.
The interview (with a set of open ended questions posed by the interviewer) might last between 80-120 minutes depending on the participant's voluntary participation, and the participants can withdraw anytime during the interview process and request the already recorded interview materials be handed over to them. Upon request it will be handed over to the participants. The interview data will be kept in digital form (both audio and transcribed texts) up to four years for preparation of the final thesis report and for publication of scholarly journal articles. Afterwards it will be destroyed. Only the dissertation paper and academic papers related to journal

publication will be used from the data generated from the research. However, some data might be shared with some external agencies/organizations (for example, Ministry of Multiculturalism and immigration and Public Safety) to evaluate their existing policies. In addition, the University of Manitoba may look at my research records to see that the research is being conducted in a safe and proper way.

You can withdraw from the research process at any time (i.e. during the interview, data analysis). In that case I shall give back the data, field notes that had been taken. However, I shall appreciate if you let me know should you decide to withdraw by 31st March 2014. You can contact me via phone or email.

In order to ensure accuracy in reporting your comments, I would prefer using a digital recording device during the interview. The recorder may be turned off at any time, upon your request. I would need your consent for recording. If you choose to remain anonymous you will be referred to in the final report as "Respondent A," "Respondent B," and so on to keep your anonymity. All comments from you will then be coded, with the identity held separately under lock and key. In case if you choose to decline anonymity, you will be referred by your name and your organizations name in the dissertation and subsequent publications. If you want you will receive draft copies of the report before finalizing any publication derived from the study to provide assurance of anonymity and your comfort. Do you want to be contacted to verify research findings/reports after interview?

Do you allow me to record the interview? Do you want to give consent to disclose your identity?

Thank you.

Appendix – 4 –Interview Questions

Phase- 1 (respondent's perception of social conflict)

1. What is your experience in going through social conflict in Winnipeg? How do these social conflicts affect you or your organization? Can you name and rank top five social conflicts in Winnipeg that you see?

Phase- 2 (respondent's perception of elements of top five conflicts, intervention strategy and peace-building)

1. What do you think about these top five social conflicts? How do these affect people? What are some of the root causes?
2. Do you consider some of your projects contribute towards building peace and transform conflicts in Winnipeg? Why do you think so?
3. What motivates you to get involved in resolving/transforming social conflicts and how do you do it? Why do you choose one over others to resolve?
4. What do you do to resolve/transform social conflicts in Winnipeg? The measures, methods you adopted, were they effective? If so, how and why?
5. What organizational resources do you mobilize in peace-building and how do you utilize it?
6. What are your hopes and dreams about the future of multicultural peaceful Winnipeg? And what are your worst fears and worries.

Appendix – 5 - Major Conflict Issues, Causes of Conflict, Victims and Period

Table 10: Major Conflict Issues, its Victims, and how it Occurs

Key Conflict Issues	What causes the conflict?		Victims	How it occurs? (conflict elements)	Prevalent period
	Direct	Indirect			
Discrimination		Institutional	New Immigrants	Image of Canada as a wealthy nation, safe, secured – Canadian Dream	After 1946 (Boyd and Vickers 2000) when major immigrant inflow started
	Colonization		Aboriginal population	Previous socio-political structure Systemic, subtle	Current
	Faith	Economic system	Catholics and the sectarian Orange Order		More after the 1990s
Inequity	Historical events		Minority population Disabled people	Security policy	Overt during World War II Currently covert
Stereotyping	Media, attitude and perception		Aboriginal population	Perceptions, oral transmission of ideas	Current
	Misconception Securitization of post 9/11	Prejudice Culture shock	Immigrant, refugee (especially Muslims)	Trans-generational transmission through destructive stories	Current
	Perceptions		Muslims	Media reports	Current
Racism Reverse racism	Lack of consciousness, Awareness	Institutional Perceptions shaped by social structure	Refugee Immigrants	Perceptions and through the implementation of Provincial, federal policies Systemic, subtle	Current

Racialism		Cultural construction	Aboriginal Immigrant Refugees	Overlaps ethnic and faith boundaries	
Intolerance	Attitude and perception	Multiculturalism	Muslims	Media	Current
			Aboriginal population	Lack of interaction. Transfer of stereotyped image from old immigrants to newly arrived immigrants. White leadership	Late 1970s to Current.

Appendix – 6 – An Integrated Model of Conflict Transformation and Peace-building

I propose a Strategic Transformative Engagement (STE) model for social conflict transformation in Winnipeg. The model is *strategic* because it aims to connect the top-level elite actors with grassroots level actors via CBOs and it looks beyond small-scale engagements and micro level policy intervention. Furthermore, it is *transformative* because it advocates transforming the social relationships of various social groups through a sustained engagement. The framework for STE envisages simultaneous engagement both on the horizontal and vertical dimensions of society using TD (Figure 10) and AA. STE is comprised of two components: a Conflict Early-Warning (CEW) system and a Transformative Intervention (TI) system. However, within this STE model, creating a CEW system is of paramount importance with TD and AA as two of its principal tools. While my research participants did not explicitly mention the need to set up an early-warning system to monitor social conflicts in this research, they did explain existing social conflicts and hoped for some system to forecast the intensity and stage of conflict and actor motivation. However, while mapping social conflict issues, I suggest identifying a stress point threshold and a social anxiety threshold (which came from the respondents' observations), because the conflicts after crossing each level produces symptoms in the form of physical manifestations (violent and nonviolent). Consequently, I suggest having some mechanisms, tools and methods properly situated to monitor ongoing social conflicts in Winnipeg, while keeping in mind two important factors: 1) all nonviolent conflict hold the possibility transforming into violence (for example, a violent demonstration, riot); and 2) there should be some mitigating measures properly situated so that conflict can be waged constructively. In this regard, a broad array of actors (including academic research institutions) needs to partner with government agencies. Last but not least, the general tendency for a state's

law enforcement agencies to intervene in conflict should be avoided since it securitizes society and creates mistrust between government and its citizens.

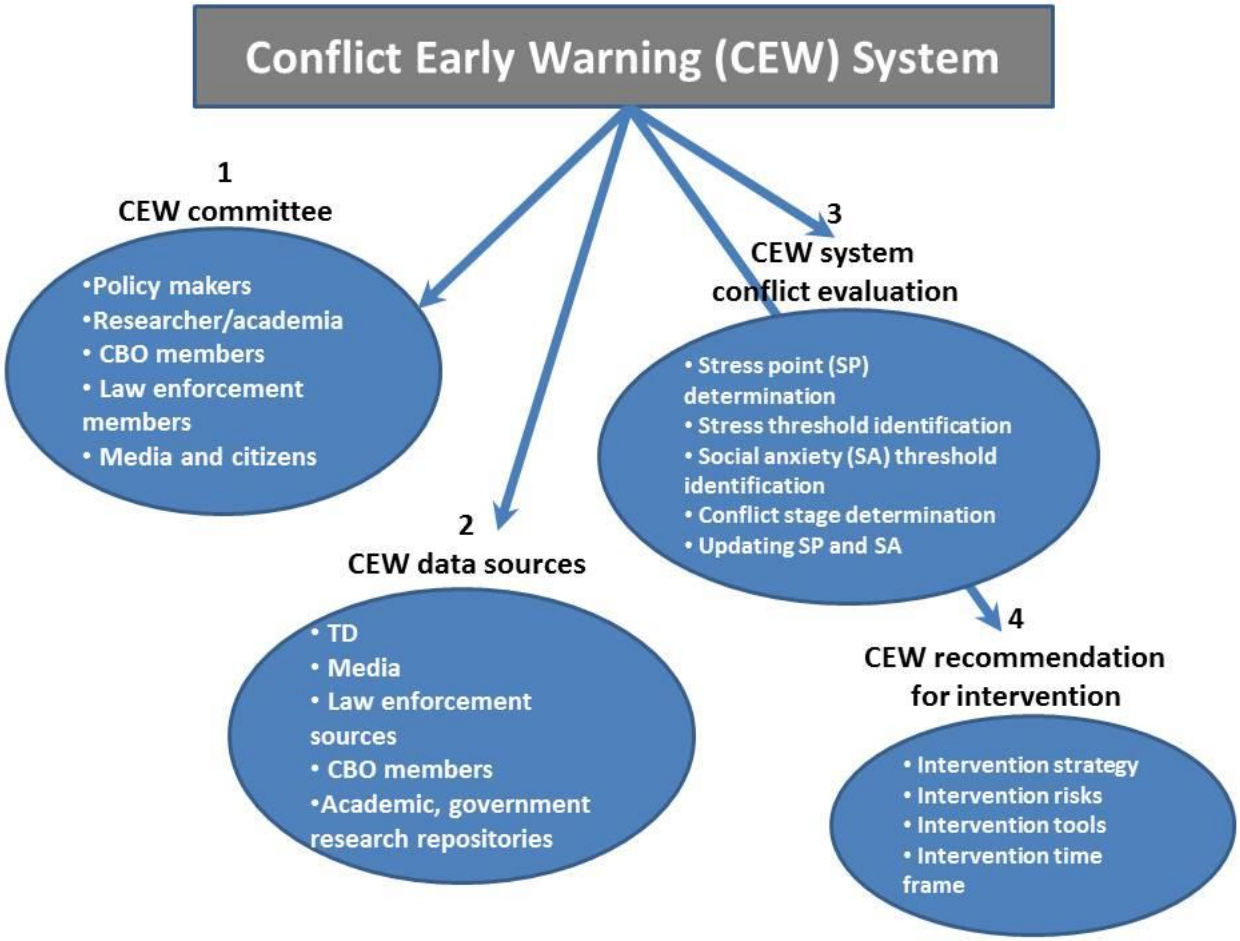
Beyond Intractability (BI) is a Conflict Information Consortium think tank based at the University of Colorado. It defines early warning as sets of preventive strategies (Brahm 2005). Furthermore, the BI identifies that before the conflict becomes difficult to handle the intervention can happen. There are CEW systems available to monitor conflict in Africa developed by a team of experts at the University of Sydney, which successfully forewarned of recent ethnic conflict in the Central African Republic (The University of Sydney 2014) and the PANDA project at Harvard university's program on non-violent sanctions (Bond et al. 2003). Moreover, the Interfaith Mediation Center in Northern Nigeria also created a CEW system to monitor ongoing conflict in Nigeria. Of particular importance is the recent launch of The Global Database of Events, Language and Tone (GDELT) specifically designed to monitor, track, and analyze micro and macro level conflict and peace-building around the globe (Global Database of Events 2014). There is no early warning system in Winnipeg to monitor social conflict is available, although "a rise in societal intolerance and prejudice; an increase in numbers of demonstrations or rallies" can be used as indicators of social conflict (Brahm 2005). In addition, some lessons can also be drawn from the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism 2014) and the Continental Early-Warning System (The Continental Early Warning System 2014).

Nevertheless, the proposed CEW system should be able to map out the actors embroiled in a conflict and at what stage of escalation or de-escalation the conflict is situated at so that an intervention mechanism can be identified. For example, we can analyze the flood of 2011 in Manitoba that caused internal displacement resulting in the evacuation of Aboriginal people from

Lake St. Martin to Winnipeg. The flood was well forecast at the provincial governmental level and the rehabilitation of evacuees was also planned and carried out by a designated government agency. In this whole process, only government agencies were involved, but they could not ensure the safe return of residents to their homes even after two and one-half years have passed by. In sum, despite the government's best intentions and efforts, the evacuation was successful but the repatriation of the residents was not. It caused repercussions along with a wave of media condemnation of the government's efforts, substantiating the already prevailing perception of discrimination, stereotyping and racism against the First Peoples. In this case, I consider an intervention mechanism planned by a single agency that considers only the physical displacement aspects of the First Peoples living in the reserves to never be adequate since displaced people are also affected by multiple issues (i.e., child education, employment, social adjustment, and health care). This sort of short-term conflict resolution approach is inadequate because it needs a multi-modal, multi-level, and multi-agency involvement, as one government agency is not equipped to deal with disaster related issues for a sustained period of time. The current imbroglio with regard to the CFS's failure in taking care of the children in its care is another such example where a single agency approach failed to save Tina Fontaine from premature death and many young Aboriginal kids from joining anti-social groups (in Manitoba, a total of 10,293 kids are currently under the care of the CFS of which 90 percent are Aboriginal kids) (Kusch 2014). Under the proposed CEW system, any disaster (natural or manmade) can be monitored well ahead of its occurrence, therefore a multi-party intervention plan can be put in place. Consequently, such a plan could take care of the physical, social and psychological aspects of the disaster (i.e., conflict). In addition, if there is a CEW system in place, an ongoing social movement (such as the INM can also be monitored, and an appropriate peace-building

intervention can be planned before the issue escalates into a conflict situation). Moreover, it would assist in monitoring and forecasting domestic terrorism-related conflicts, which have increased since 9/11. In essence, this system does not preclude security solutions to conflicts; rather, it recommends a multi-pronged intervention process to handle the conflict without excessively relying on a single agency. Figure 8 is a representation of the proposed CEW system:

Figure 8: A Suggested CEW Model for Monitoring Social Conflicts



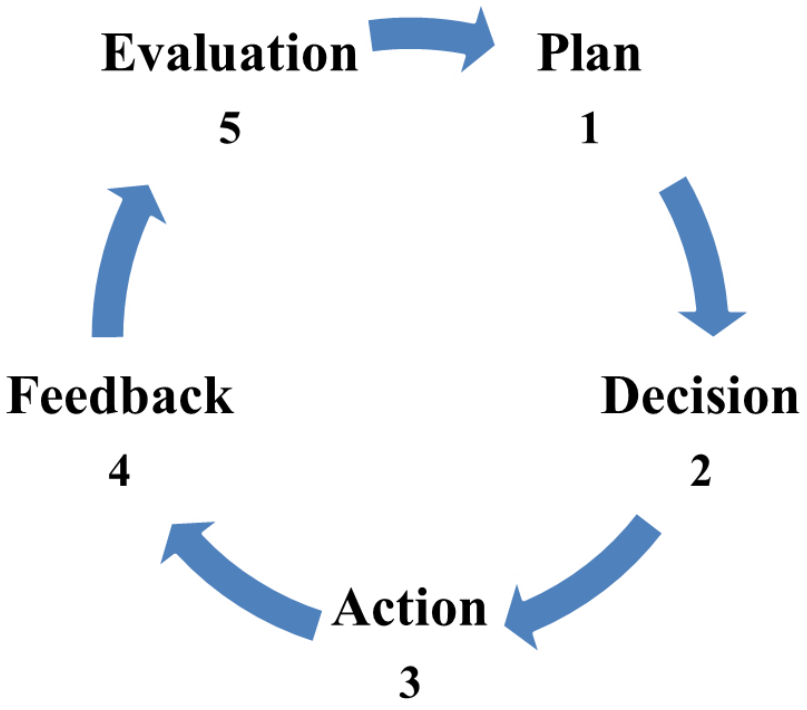
In Figure 8 above, the proposed CEW system is comprised of various stakeholders (such as policymakers, academics, researchers, media, and citizens) and its principal data sources include: TD, AA, law enforcement agencies, government agencies, social media and CBOs. CEW's principal component is designed to constantly monitor and evaluate a conflict to determine the proper intervention timing followed by a sound and inclusive intervention strategy.

Transformative Intervention (TI)

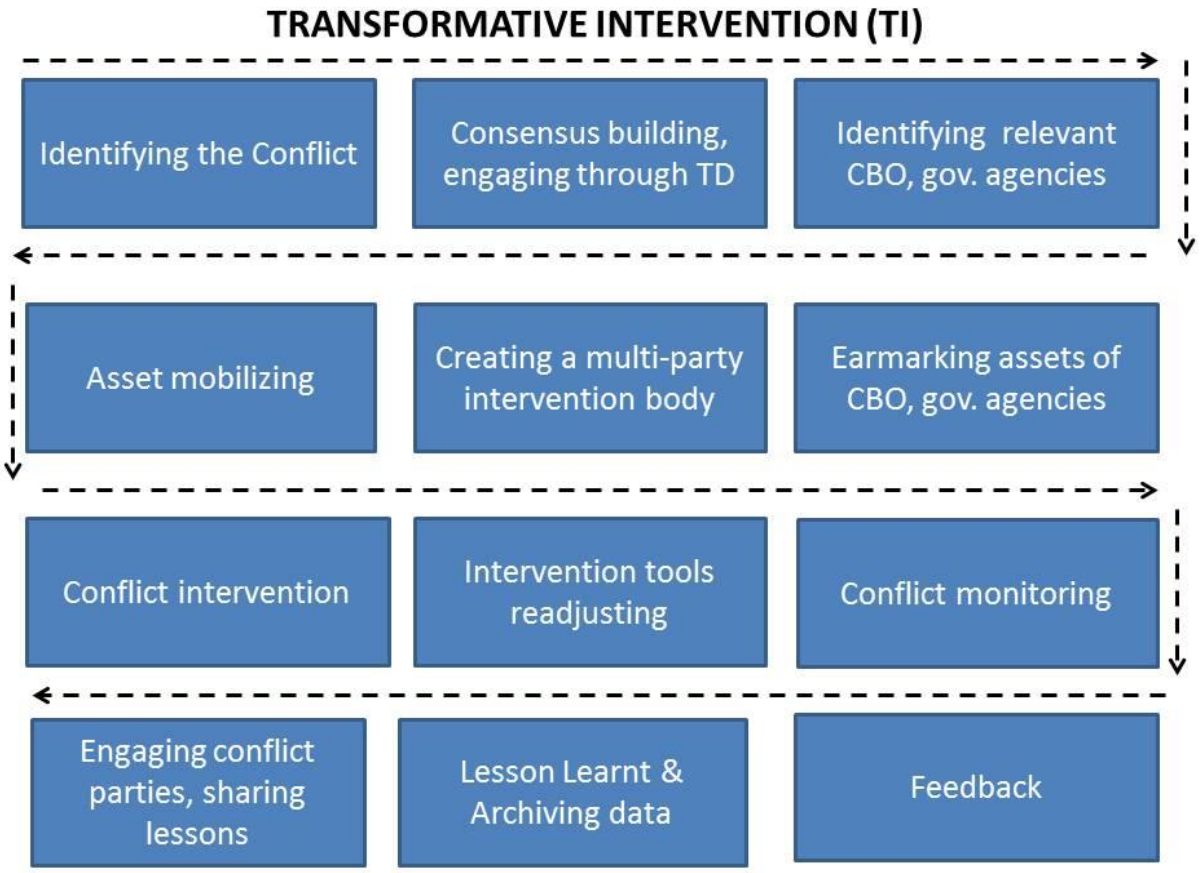
I envisage Winnipeg's social conflict intervention as part of a long term transformation process compared to violent conflict torn societies where external intervention is always planned on a short term basis, intervening in conflict in Winnipeg is a sustained, all-party, consensus driven, issue (and non-issue) specific process. However, TI (below in Figure 15) is envisaged with an assumption that an existing CEW system is capable of generating enough data to analyze and then design an intervention process in a timely manner based on an issue-specific conflict that has escalated beyond a certain stage in a conflict spectrum. Nonetheless, to deal with protracted and systemic conflict, I assume the whole process kicks off once consensus is achieved between and among various stakeholders that an intervention is necessary. The fundamental process of the TI implementation cycle rests upon five core elements: **Plan** – **Decision** – **Action** – **Feedback** – **Evaluation** (shown below in the first part of Figure 9). I envisage that both long term systemic and short term immediate conflict intervention depends upon quickening the implementation cycle. For example, the second part of Figure 9 shows all the requisite components of TI, therefore to intervene on a short-term immediate basis; the whole process can be telescoped by discarding some of the components and shortening the implementation cycle. Nevertheless, in the planning phase of conflict intervention adequate attention should be paid to

the impact, and consequences of short-term immediate conflict intervention. The process is depicted below in Figure 9 in two steps:

Figure 9: A Suggested Implementation Cycle of Conflict Intervention and Transformative Intervention (TI) Process
(Step I)



(Step II)

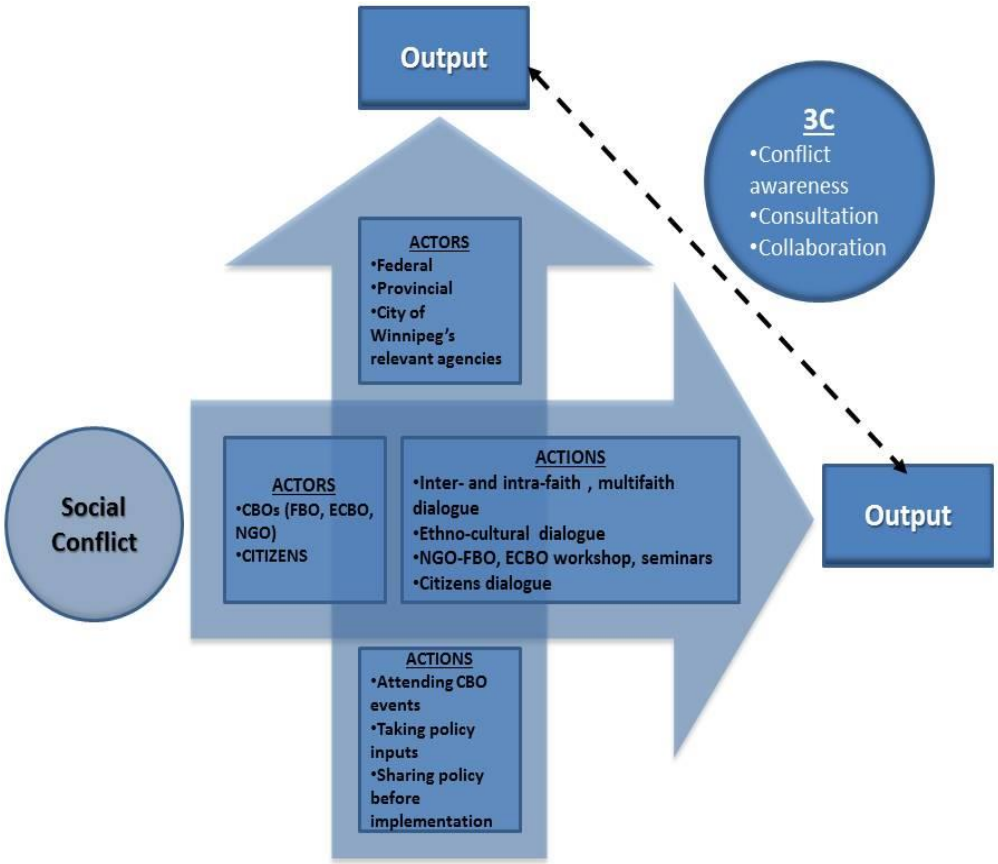


In the aforementioned Figure 9 (Step II), I showed a general conceptual layout of various components of the TI model and it is not necessary that any one component would come chronologically after another, or indeed that all of the components need not be present in a TI. The requirement of which components will be needed will depend on the type of conflict intervention and the objective of conflict transformation. However, the process is shown to follow the dotted arrow marks starting at 'identifying the conflict', finally ending at 'engaging conflict parties, sharing lessons'. Inspired by the ideas of Bruce Mau - a popular Canadian design specialist who suggested that we live in a carefully designed world and the system that works in the background therefore cannot easily be discernible (Mau and Boundaries 2004, i). Hence, the

proposed TI deserves maximum attention through CEW committee members' collaboration during the intervention design phase to uncover the shortfalls of existing intervention strategies. Everything that we see around and live within is the product of a design created carefully by others to achieve some specific goals. That is why unless and until the design fails we tend not to notice its faults and failings (Ibid). His observations are equally applicable in understanding the proposed transformation process of social conflicts as my study validates that conflicts are structural in nature – a product of the existing social design; it needs to be changed and we should not wait to see a failing design resulting in the emergence of violent conflict.

Appendix – 7 – Schematic Presentation of Transformative Dialogue (TD) Process

Figure 10: Schematic Presentation of Transformative Dialogue (TD) Process

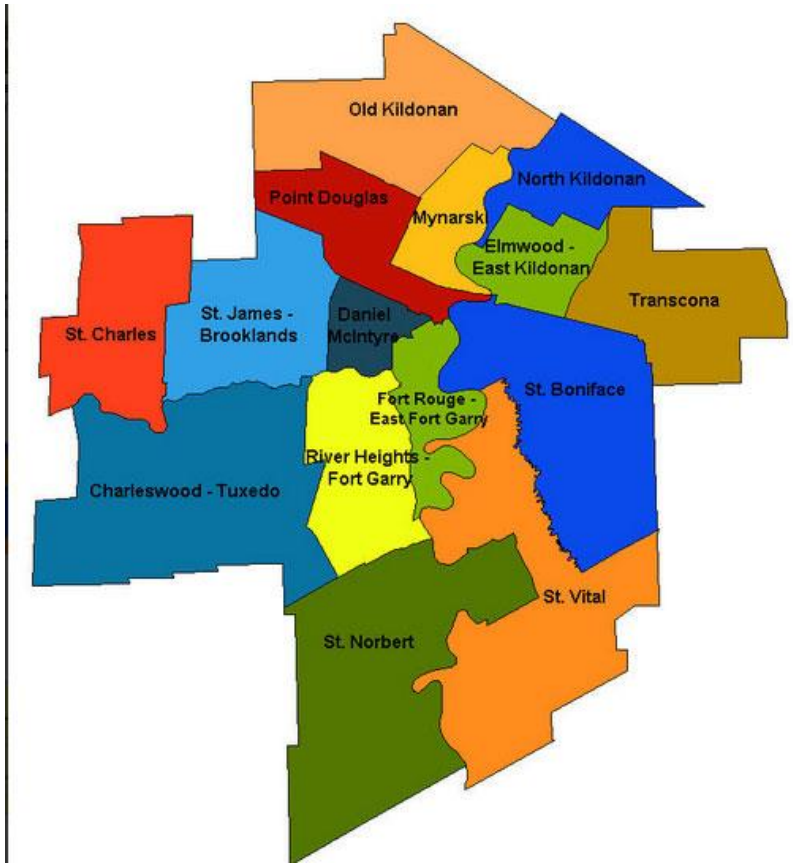


In the aforementioned Figure 10, social actors and their actions are shown in both the horizontal and vertical dimensions. The action consists of TDs among different actors and social groups and their outputs should be synthesized, researched and shared to diagnose the underlying causes of a conflict and draw up an appropriate intervention strategy based on a 3C approach (conflict awareness, consultation, and collaboration).

Appendix – 8 – Figures

All the diagrams (statistical in nature) used in this research were adopted from sources that allowed its use under their copyright usage rules. Graphs and data from STATSCAN and Manitoba government can be used for academic purposes since these are treated as open source. In addition, I contacted some of the organizations to seek their permissions (for example, diagrams used from the web repository MyPeg) to use their data. Further, I also clarified from our university based copyright office to make sure that no copyright violation had been made in this thesis.

Figure 11 : Winnipeg Community Grouping (Administrative)



Source: Manitoba Immigration and Multiculturism, 2010, 32

Figure 12 : Winnipeg Map (income wise distribution)

Source: Source: Ed Manley, Urbanmovements.co.uk (with permission)

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Endnotes:

[1] For the ease of reference, the term First Peoples and Aboriginal have been used interchangeably in this research. 'Aboriginal people' is an umbrella term that includes Inuit, First Nations (Indians), and Métis in Canada. First Peoples is also an all-encompassing term that includes same groups of people. However, Aboriginal and First Nations (the term used in government documents) are not interchangeable terms while Aboriginal and First Peoples are. Source: https://www.itk.ca/note-terminology-inuit-metis-first-nations-and-aboriginal accessed 12 May 2014.
As per the government of Canada, "First Nations people refer to Status and non-status Indian peoples in Canada. Many communities also use the term First Nation in the name of their community. Currently, there are 617 First Nation communities, which represent more than 50 nations or cultural groups and 50 Aboriginal languages. Source: https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100013791/1100100013795 accessed 12 May 2014.

[2] Treaties served as the basis of land allotment and the relationship between the First Peoples and the settlers in Canada. Treaties include both historical treaties made between 1701 and 1923 and modern-day treaties known as comprehensive land claim settlements. In Manitoba, there are seven treaties with the First Peoples (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 10), although five of the Manitoba First Peoples groups are not signatory to any Treaty with Canada (for example, Birdtail Sioux, Sioux Valley, Canupawakpa, Dakota Tipi and Dakota Plains) . The treaties laid the foundation for a complex relationship between the settlers and the First Peoples, with the government responsible for implementing the treaty terms.

[3] See http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo62h-eng.htm for details.

[4] Within the last decade, MOSAIC Newcomer Family Resource Network (2009) that coordinated community-based language programming, the establishment of new SPOs such as New Journey Housing, Spence Neighbourhood Association (SNA) Newcomer Youth Project and the Peaceful Village Program through the Manitoba School Improvement Program, settlement work - Manitoba Immigrant and Refugee Settlement Sector Association (MIRSSA) and Manitoba English as an Additional Language Organization (MEALO). Source:

[5] Yellowbook Year 2013-14. Source: http://www.yellowpages.ca/locations/Manitoba/Winnipeg

[6] Ibid.

[7] "Clearly, the story of non-profit and voluntary organizations is really a story about how Canadians come together to build community, address collective needs and work for the benefit of the public. Collectively, these organizations draw on more than 2 billion volunteer hours, the equivalent of more than 1 million full-time jobs, and more than $8 billion in individual donations to provide their programs, services and products. Canadians have also taken out a total of 139 million memberships in non-profit-making and voluntary organizations, an average of four memberships per person. ...the two largest categories of organizations are those operating in the areas of Sports and recreation (21% of organizations) and Religion (19%). Other common areas of activity include Social services (12%), Grant-making, fundraising and voluntarism promotion

(10%), Arts and culture (9%), and Development and housing (8%). The remaining categories comprise 5% or less of all non-profit and voluntary organizations". Source: Cornerstones of Community: Highlights of the National Survey of Non-profit and Voluntary Organizations (Vol. Catalogue no. 61-533-XPE). Ottawa.

[8] The prominent community based NGOs are IRCOM, Manitoba multi-faith council, Manitoba interfaith council, SEED, United Way, Salvation army, the ladybug foundation, Canadian Food grains Bank, Mennonite Foundation of Canada.

[9] "The organization must have as its mandate the promotion, preservation and sharing of cultural heritage(s); not-for-profit, community-based, with membership open to the public; the organizational and governance structure should include a board of directors or executive that is accountable to the membership, a constitution, by-laws, and Articles of Incorporation that clearly define the nature, objectives, and tasks of the organization". Manitoba Labour and Immigration-Immigration and Multiculturalism Division.
Ethnocultural Community Support Program: Promoting the principles of multiculturalism in Manitoba- General Guidelines. Source:
http://www.gov.mb.ca/immigration/multiculturalism/ecsp.html, accessed 11 February 2014.

[10] I recently learnt that the MEEAC had been abolished and the Ministry is currently mulling over a new committee during my conversation with one of the officials from the Ministry of Multiculturism, Manitoba.

[11] The 2003 AmeriCorps Guidance, Center for Faith and Service National Crime Prevention Council, USA. Source: 'Toolkit Items' at
https://www.nationalserviceresources.gov/filemanager/download/196/F_Definitions.pdf

[12] The Multiculturalism Policy of Canada advocates "promoting the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assisting them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation".[12] In light of this policy, at the provincial level, the provinces invest quite substantially not only in its promotion but also to ensure its sustainability. For example, in Manitoba, the Ministry of Immigration and Multiculturalism founded the Manitoba Ethnocultural Advisory and Advocacy Council (MEEAC) by an act in 2001 (Government of Manitoba 2014b).[12] This advisory body of 21 members (16 nominated by ethnocultural groups) helps the Minister who appoints five members in advising and recommending matters "on anti-racism, education, human rights, immigration, settlement, cultural and linguistic diversity, and heritage". [12] Four standing committees also advise the Minister on various issues relating to community integration and outreach activities, etc. Conversely, despite all of the aforementioned provincial efforts, my research participants neither mentioned MEEAC's activities, nor any of its contributions with regards to taking meaningful actions to deepen multiculturism in the city and Province.

[13] Bill Blaikie asserts that "We have a greater variety of faith communities, and they are going to express positions that come out of their faith. I don't think that's going away just because we live in a pluralist context. People are going to bring their foundational beliefs, whether they're

theological or atheist, to public life….," Source: http://knowles-woodsworth.org/ accessed 12 May 2014. I met with Bill Blaikie in the Faith in the City seminar in 2013 at Winnipeg.

[14] Distinguish between Equity and Equality, see for details, http://sgba-resource.ca/en/concepts/equity/distinguish-between-equity-and-equality/

[15] Gender and Health, see for details http://www.paho.org/hq/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2680%3Agender-and-healt&catid=3344%3Agender&Itemid=4017&lang=en

[16] A term used by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz writing on the idea of an interpretive theory of culture in the early 1970s (*The Interpretation of Cultures*, first published as a collection in 1973).

[17] Nodes are thematic categories and sub-categories generated by QSR nVivo 10.

[18] Bill C-45 is a 457-page omnibus budget legislation bill (also known as the Jobs and Growth Act) that will make changes to several Canadian laws and enactments. Bill C-45 includes the following:

Bill S-6 First Nations Election Act Bill S-8- Safe Drinking Water for First Nations Act Bill S-2- Family Homes on Reserve and Matrimonial Interests or Rights Act Bill C-428 Indian Act Amendment and Replacement Act Bill S-207- An Act to Amend the Interpretation Act Bill S-212- First Nations Self Government Recognition Act.

This includes the Indian Act, the Fisheries Act, the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act, and the Navigable Waters Act. These changes are detrimental to all Canadians, not just First Nations peoples.

Source: http://shamelessmag.com/blog/entry/bill-c-45-affects-all-canadians-not-just-first-na

[19] See "Civil society - Define Civil society at Dictionary.com". Dictionary.com for details.

[20] See Civil Society, http://www.un.org/en/sections/resources/civil-society/index.html for details.

[21] See https://www.uwinnipeg.ca/mdp/docs/ngos-winnipeg.pdf for details.

[22] Social Justice and Equity, see http://www.etfo.ca/advocacyandaction/socialjusticeandequity/pages/default.aspx for details

[23] I requested the research participants to name five conflicts in Winnipeg and rank them as per priority (keeping three caveats in mind: conflict should involve more than one social groups; conflict should be structural in nature; conflicts which are seldom reported in media or social space but affects people in various degree). These are the conflicts they chose to discuss in this research.

[24] This is not analyzed in the discussion of findings section.

[25] Employment Equity Act, S.C. 1995, c. 44, for details see http://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/e-5.401/page-1.html#h-1

[26] The Manitoba Multicultualism Act, see http://web2.gov.mb.ca/laws/statutes/ccsm/m223e.php for details.

[27] I discussed with Dr. Mary Le Maitre on KAIROS's involvement in securing justice for Aboriginal people of Manitoba in November 2013 during the research fieldwork.

[28] Details can be found at http://www.folklorama.ca/festival

[29] Nevertheless, an NGO respondent reported on a study that his organization conducted in 1995 titled "Education in a Multicultural Society" where it collaborated with other organizations to conduct research on racism and discrimination in the city.[29] Since 1995, little effort was taken by CBOs to research this issue in Winnipeg due to an apparent unwillingness on their part to engage in politically/culturally sensitive matters like racism and discrimination (especially when it pertains to the VM and Aboriginal groups).

[30] An example of issue based conflict is Quebec's past initiative to introduce the Charter of Values, which was intended to prohibit the use of religious symbols in public offices (related to the top social conflict selected by my interviewees, i.e. discrimination, racism, and intolerance). In general, my research participants perceptions of the Charter was negative, and although they viewed it as discriminatory, contradictory to Canadian values, divisive, and a tool of wedge politics, they suggested that multi-faith collaboration was necessary to protest against it.

[31] See for details at http://worldpeacepartners.org/ for detail activities of WPP.

[32] "Maher Arar is a 34-year-old wireless technology consultant. He was born in Syria. On Sept. 26, 2002, while in transit in New York's JFK airport when returning home from a vacation, Arar was detained by US officials and interrogated about alleged links to al-Qaeda. On Jan. 28, 2004, under pressure from Canadian human rights organizations and a growing number of citizens, the Government of Canada announced a Commission of Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Maher Arar. On September 18, 2006, the Commissioner of the Inquiry, Justice Dennis O'Connor, cleared Arar of all terrorism allegations, stating he was "able to say categorically that there is no evidence to indicate that Mr. Arar has committed any offence or that his activities constitute a threat to the security of Canada." To read the Commissioner's report, including his findings on the actions of Canadian officials, please visit the Arar Commission's website or click here". Source: http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2010/06/nowhere_to_hide.html accessed 13 May

[33] I discussed with Dr. Mary Le Maitre on KAIROS's involvement in securing justice for Aboriginal people of Manitoba in November 2013 during the research fieldwork.

[34] See 'Positivism' at https://www.britannica.com/topic/positivism for details.

[35] See http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/positvsm.php for details.

[36] Arthur V. Mauro suggested such a benchmarking system in his interview on 5 June 2013 at Winnipeg.

[37] The Antigonish Movement of Canada; the Quebec Catholic supported the Caisse Poulaire credit unions and cooperatives; British Columbia and Alberta's social economy research alliance (BALTA); ecumenical Christian organization the Jubilee Fund in Manitoba; Winnipeg's Local Investment Toward Employment (LITE), providing affordable housing (for example, the Habitat for Humanity International (HFHI), Salvation Army, Siloam mission in Winnipeg for homeless), providing health services (Eden health care services in Winnipeg).

[38] "Welcome to Winnipeg: Where Canada's racism problem is at its worst", source: http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/welcome-to-winnipeg-where-canadas-racism-problem-is-at-its-worst/, accessed on 16 Dec 2016

[39] "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action", see para 24, 27, 28, 57, 90 (iv), and 93. Source: http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf, accessed on 16 Dec 2016

[40] "National anti-racism summit kicks off in Winnipeg", Source: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/national-anti-racism-summit-kicks-off-in-winnipeg-1.3233317
"Winnipeg declares Year of Reconciliation — 1 year after being called most racist", Source: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/winnipeg-declares-year-of-reconciliation-1-year-after-being-called-most-racist-1.3415360, accessed on 16 Dec 2016