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(A UNITED METHODIST- RELATED INSTITUTION)

STATE-NGO RELATIONS: BUILDING SUSTAINABLE AND PEACEFUL
LINKAGES BETWEEN THE STATE INSTITUTIONS AND NGOs WORKING
IN THE AREA OF HIV AND AIDS - A CASE STUDY OF MAKONI DISTRICT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE OF PEACE,
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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the relations between the State and HIV and AIDS NGOs in Makoni District. The paper analyses the factors that influence such relations, with special cognisance of a background of the shifting political and economic dispensation in Zimbabwe. The investigation revealed that a plethora of factors determine the nature of relations between the State and Non Governmental Organisations, and these include the policy frameworks, the resource scarcity affecting many government departments as well as the political nature of Makoni District which is characterised by monolithic politicians who all belong to one political party. Although the State- NGO relations in Makoni can pass for a "peace test" because of the absence of incidents of overt conflict, it is noteworthy that most commentators in the District felt there was need to move beyond "peace under duress" to relationship building approaches so that the peaceful relations between NGOs and the State become sustainable. The study also noted that the NGOs and State Institutions have already in existence methods that they use in their interaction to prevent problems or conflict and these include informal interactions, meetings, dialogue, Memoranda of Understanding and in some cases religion is also employed as a peacebuilding tool. The study also discovered the possibility of using different peacebuilding models in the Makoni case to assist in the maintenance of sustainable linkages between the State and the HIV and NGOs in the area. It is noteworthy that there is potential for peaceful relations between the State and NGOs in the area as both entities have realised that they are more of partners in service delivery rather than competitors. Overall, the results of study seemed to confirm the Gramscian conception of civil society which sees the nexus between the State and civil society as both become mutually reinforcing in the quest for development.

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I also acknowledge support form my family who understood my need to be away from home every weekend as the work on the project was unfolding.

DEDICATION

To my late father, for encouraging "one who hungers for knowledge", and for possessing aspirations which I still seek to accomplish.

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Mark T Jones, Jordan

Whilst much good work is done many NGOs are extraordinarily naive when dealing with government ministers. I would also suggest it is time that NGOs occasionally got out of their expensive Land cruisers and walked, as this gives them the opportunity to meet or hear of those in greatest need.

Terry Helton, USA

What is wrong with you people? Grow up, wake up and smell the coffee. NGOs are the only entities that are trying to solve the problems Africa is facing. The reason why they are having so many problems is that the governments & politicians are ticked off because they are there working.

Hezekiah Agwara, Kenya

If you want to know, take a keen look at the stark example of Kenya. For the past decade plus, the NGO sector has boomed, taking all the donor money the former Government could not get. Today, what do they have to show for it? Poverty levels instead ballooned by over 20 percentage points. To me, majority of NGOs in Africa are just deceivers.

Andrew Cudjoe W., USA

If we Africans learn to be responsible in handling our internal affairs, NGOs and whoever we keep blaming for our problems will stay away from us. If we smear ourselves with gorilla dung, we invite flies. With or without all the human errors that come with them, Africa needs these NGOs.

Carlos Dominguez, Spain

NGO's are more and more becoming part of the problem instead of being part of the solution

Memezi Nyoni, Zimbabwe

NGO's are an indispensable partner for development. That said it is important that they remain impartial players. In Zimbabwe, some of them have become an unofficial opposition to the government. They should leave the politics to the politicians.

CHAPTER ONE

This chapter details the introduction to the study and explains the purpose statement of the study. The chapter also gives a background to the study which sets the scenario in which the research has been undertaken.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Need to Understand State- NGO Relations in the area of HIV and AIDS in Makoni District

This study looks at the State-NGO relations in Makoni District. The study specifically looks at the interaction of State institutions and NGOs which are focusing on HIV and AIDS in Makoni District. Makoni District is part of the larger Rusape an area under the jurisdiction of Manicaland Province. The District is manned by the Makoni Rural District Council as well as the District Administrator's office. Makoni District has 32 wards. There is quite a significant number of NGOs which are delivering HIV and AIDS intervention programs in this district. As such programs are being implemented by the NGOs, they find themselves liaising with some State institutions which include government departments and political instruments. While NGOs have been operating in Makoni, little effort has been made to find out form the State and these NGOs on how they are perceiving their relations with each other. The need, therefore, is to seek an understanding of the nature of such interaction between this genre of NGOs and the State. This is important because and understanding of relations between the two parties is necessary because relations have a bearing on how services are provided to the communities. This would make it possible to design some models of peacebuilding so as to protect the relations, if they are desirable of to mend such relations if they are found to be broken.

This study was based in Rusape's Makoni District. The study looks at the domain of NGOs who are specialising in HIV/AIDS work. The study area was picked as a result of the fact that the researcher works for an organisation that is carrying out research in the area of adolescent reproductive health in the same district, hence the study would not only be of relevance to the academic community but to my research organization as a manual for community entry and the maintenance of rapport between stakeholders in the field of rural research and development. Focusing on NGOs that are working in the HIV/AIDS domain in Makoni district has made it easier for the researcher to gain entry because such NGOs are partners in the research project being undertaken by UZ-UCSF's Regai Dzive Shiri Project. Makoni district was also chosen because this is also an area that Regai Dzive Shiri is undertaking its project, thus the researcher made use of the time to collect data that is related to the research on NGO-State relations. The study looks at NGOs that are operating in Makoni and that are focusing on HIV/AIDS. The work of NGOs is very diverse, so the research chose to focus on one particular genre of NGOs because these have not been studied in terms of their relations with the government, owing to the assumption that these organisations are not very political and advocacy oriented. The goal therefore was to discover whether such assumptions are true as well as

to gain a deeper understanding of the State-NGO relations in a seemingly apolitical area like HIV and AIDS.

1.2. State-NGO Relations in Zimbabwe: An Overview

Relations between the state and NGO's in Zimbabwe have not been bounded. Instead the NGO-State relations in Zimbabwe have been in a continuous state of flux, depending on the context. In colonial Zimbabwe, there was a racial undertone in the operation of NGO's. During the Smith regime, NGOs in Zimbabwe were restricted to social clubs for blacks. The larger NGOs like Christian Care were strictly for whites (Schmidt, 1989). Thus, the State-NGO relations were characterised by a placid environment as the white supported NGOs sought to placate the colonial government. As Zimbabwe achieved independence, NGO- State relations were characterised by complementarity and co-option as the focus was on reconstructing the country. A decade after independence saw a facelift in the NGO-State relations as developments in the economy and polity took a nosedive. The 1990s saw the effects of the drought, ESAP and the political winds affecting many people in sub-Saharan Africa, NGOs in Zimbabwe not being the exception. This therefore witnessed the development of advocacy organisations which fought for socio-economic justice, poverty alleviation, gender issues, among other issues. The State, however, remained in control as the Zimbabwean politics was still favourable to Western countries and international agencies.

It is essential to understand the evolving political framework under which NGOs have operated and developed since Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980. This section will therefore chronicle the development of NGO activity in Zimbabwe by looking at the different policy frameworks that were adopted by Zimbabwe since 1980. It is important to note that NGO-State relations in Zimbabwe since 1980 up to the present day have not been static, but have been in a continuous state of flux. One thing to note is that the relationship between the state and NGOs in Zimbabwe has been characterised by both continuity and change (Moyo et al: 2000). State –NGO relations in Zimbabwe have gone through a lot of stages depending on the context. They, like the State- NGO relations in Bangladesh and India, have moved through stages of indifference to ambivalence. Sometimes, NGOs and the government have been known to be competing directly or indirectly, consciously and unconsciously for the influence over the same constituency through development albeit for different political ends (Moyo et al: 2000).

Although NGOs were operational during the colonial era, data on these NGOs is very limited. However, the study of development of NGOs in Zimbabwe since 1980 is abounding with literature. Sam Moyo, John Makumbe and Brian Raftopoulos (12000) chronicle the role and development of NGOs in Zimbabwe since 1980, and posit that NGO activity was closely associated with changes in the social, economic and political conditions of the society. Before independence, the colonial government had set up political and economic policies that were designed to marginalize the black majority economically as well as to deny them their voting rights. This attitude by the settler government led to a dearth in civil society and the consequent suffocation of most non governmental organisations. Thus, during the colonial era in Zimbabwe, there were very few independent black organisations, apart from the social clubs, burial societies, farmers' organisations and church development clubs. In essence, pre-independent Zimbabwe was characterised by dormancy of black focused NGOs, except those that

were initiated and promoted by the white settlers. Such NGOs had a stereotypical orientation since their intention was to civilize blacks.

The independence era in Zimbabwe was however characterised by a marked growth of NGOs as people sought a common national ground, development and improved livelihoods. These aspirations by the Zimbabwean government and populace spurred the need for NGOs. Between 1980 and 1989, Zimbabwe had an average economic growth rate of 2.7 % (Herbst: 1990). Further, the provision of education and health services was also expanded in the rural areas. Such a state of affairs of a burgeoning economy and a welfarist state created a conducive atmosphere for a cosy relationship between the state and NGOs as both had a common goal of improving the people's livelihoods. At independence, the Zimbabwean government however inherited an economy that was heavily skewed in favour of a small white minority. Most of the agricultural land was in the hands of white commercial farmers. This scenario was compounded by the restrictions faced by the majority of blacks to participate in the economy. Thus, a dual economy emerged that was characterised by a yawing gap between the rich whites and the poor black population. The rural –urban chasm was also widened as a result.

Moyo, Makumbe and Raftopoulos (2000) hold that there have been four phases in the growth of NGOs since independence in Zimbabwe, from welfare orientation between 1979 and 1981, to a focus on development activities during the second generation of NGOs that emerged between 1982 and 1986. Between 1980 and 1986 the state was initially occupied with the socio-economic rehabilitation of people and infrastructure and the transformation of social services. The government of Zimbabwe was met with a "crisis of expectation" as people expected the gains of the liberation struggle to come pouring in. The state then responded by engaging in massive redressing of social imbalances. This was done through huge government investments in health, education and other social services. During the same period, the government espoused a commitment to socialist principles and aligned itself to the socialist world. According to Jeffrey Herbst (1990), there was visible commitment by the ruling ZANU (PF) to socialism, but socialism was primarily an ideology of opposition. The social policy system by government however tended to be more welfarist rather than socialist, hence donors like CIDA, DANIDA came in to assist NGOs in Zimbabwe in the provision of social services. For Herbst, the expansion of social services, insulation of workers and the attempt to resettle some people by government was not tantamount to socialism but simply reflected the welfarist tendencies that were expected of a nation that was emerging from the war. However, the expansion of social services by government was not met with congruent expansion in the economy. The government of Zimbabwe's macroeconomic strategy that was characterised by massive state participation in social service provision consequently led to high levels of budgetary expenditure which resulted in sharp fiscal deficits. Ultimately this loss of tandem between state expenditure and economic performance contributed to the downward spiral of the country's economy. The budget deficit for 1983 t0 1985 increased from 8% of the GDP IN 1981/82 to 12%in 1984 as government expenditure outstripped its revenue. The new black government was

then faced with a dilemma to choose between continuing with the welfarist policies that did not match the national income or to withdraw from social service provision.

This phase was later followed by the emergence of "new wave" service NGOs from 1987 to 1991, and finally the post- Structural adjustment period was characterised by NGOs that were preoccupied with poverty alleviation. (Moyo et al: 2000). Soon after independence, NGOs were trying to embrace the gains of independence, to redefine their constituencies and establish linkages within the state and civil society. Euphoria after independence led people to support their government with few reservations and led NGOs, in particular, to work hand in hand with government in development projects. Thus, most of these NGOs were focused on organizing women's groups into hygiene, nutrition, sewing and child care clubs. Such NGOs include the Voluntary Organisations in Community Enterprises, the Zimbabwe Women's Bureau, the Federation of Women's Institutes and the Association of Women's Clubs. During this same period, a group of NGOs was focusing on rehabilitation, relief and social services aimed at reconstructing the country. Such NGOs interacted closely with the then Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs, the Department of Social Welfare and the Ministries of Health and Local Government. Analysis of the development of NGOs in Zimbabwe therefore reveals that NGOs have existed to fill existing development gaps, to complement existing government and private sector initiatives and to expand development opportunities. This concurs with the Gramscian conception of civil society which sees congruency between the State and NGOs as both seek to fulfill development goals. Other interesting issues also took place during this period, NGOs began to compete among themselves for constituencies and some of them ended up aligning more with the ruling party, ZANU PF, while some developed close links with external donors, and yet others chose to align with traditional community groups.

From 1982 to 1986, there were NGOs that focused more on development and income generating activities. These projects included sewing, poultry and soap making projects, although the target group tended to be rural women. This genre of NGOs was based on the assumption that women were poorer than their male counterparts, that they needed extra income to raise families and that cooperating or pooling of resources among women would work in income generating projects. The period 1987 to 1991 saw the emergence of advocacy NGOs which focused more on human rights. These NGOs include the Legal Resources Foundation, ZimRights, Zimbabwe Women's Resources Centre and Network. These NGOs addressed issues such as HIV/ AIDS, gender, socio-economic justice and the environment. This new wave of NGOs began to network with donors and other NGOs outside Zimbabwe. NGOs established around this time included ZERO, SAPES Trust and SAFOD. 1991 TO 1994 saw the emergence of post-ESAP NGOs which were concerned with poverty alleviation under the socio economic stress that was created by ESAP. The dominance of poverty alleviation NGOs was compounded by the 1993/ 93 drought. For Raftopoulos (2000), the NGO-State relations in Zimbabwe, given such a prevailing scenario cannot be seen to be purely confrontational or opposing. He argues that there is a great deal of continuity that has been characterised by the growing interdependence between the government and voluntary organisations. This is because the state's capacity has been greatly hampered owing to the downward spiral of

the economy. NGOs on the other hand have access to international aid as donors believe that they are more accountable and efficient in terms of resource use.

The transition from a controlled economy to a liberalised economy between 1990 to present has seen the role of NGOs changing from simple service provision to advocacy and lobbying. NGOs began to demand that government make some concessions and policy changes with regard to provision of goods and services to the public. It is in this background that the State- NGO relationship began to take a twist form complementarity to mutual suspicion. They became what Bratton (1997) refers to as "uncomfortable bedfellows".

The late 1990's witnessed the development of democratization, the mushrooming of political parties and the emergence of pluralist tendencies which saw the growth of independent media, pressure groups, interest groups and advocacy organisations. The 1990's saw the focus of the international community on "good governance" as African governments were persuaded to promote political pluralism in the form of mulitipartyism. Further, the state's role in social service provision had been gelded in the process of structural adjustment. The introduction of SAPs in Zimbabwe brought changes to the economy and social conditions, through the removal of food subsidies, erosion of real wages and massive retrenchments. In the 1990's, as a result of SAPs, unemployment was estimated to be between 35 to 45%, while more than 60% of the population lived below the poverty datum line (Jamali). Thus, the trickle down effect that was envisaged to come out of SAPs did not materialise. In fact, the result of SAP in Zimbabwe was the manufacture of burgeoning poverty. It is in this context that civic organisations and civic organisations emerged to challenge the legitimacy of the state which left its people toiling under poverty. For most civic organisations, the states in Africa were to blame because they had accepted the suggestion form IMF and World Bank to implement economic reforms through Structural Adjustment Programs, which however had proved unworkable. The SAPs required that the state roll back in the provision of social services and this had tended to remove the cushions and safety nets that previously protected the poor. In Zimbabwe, the state withdrew from health provision, education and social security with the result that there was a downward spiral in the standard of living of the majority of Zimbabwean citizens. It is against this background of SAPs failing that most African governments were blamed by their citizens for accepting the neo-liberal policies from IMF and World Bank. Thus, pluralism in the political arena became the most sought after solution to the economic crises facing the countries in Africa, and Zimbabwe was not spared of such a perception from civic organisations, NGOs included. NGOs also came in to press for greater accountability of the state and its structures, with the result that there were seething divisions and chasms between the rulers and the NGO representatives. Further, because most NGOs had a larger constituency in rural areas, which was also the domain of the ZANU (PF) led government, the struggle between NGOs and the state led to explosive tensions. This seems to support one major theory in the non profit sector discourse which is the 'market failure/ government failure' model, a theory which posits an inverse relationship between the scale of government social welfare provision and the size of the nonprofit sector spending. According to this theory, nonprofit organizations are an alternative provider of public goods when population

diversity and other factors make it difficult to mobilise the popular majorities required for government to respond (Weisbrod, 1977). Where government involvement in the provision of social services and public goods is low, therefore, this theory would expect a high level of non profit activity (Salamon, 1995).

The State reacted to this competition from NGOs and civil society organisations by passing a series of repressive acts like the University of Zimbabwe Act which was meant to control the eruption of student demonstrations, the Private Voluntary Organisations (PVO) Act, which attempted to regulate and watch over the activities of NGOs. This move is similar to what the government in Bangladesh also did. In Bangladesh, all NGO activities came under the purview of the "President's Secretariat Public Division". NGOs are to register through the NGO Affairs Bureau (NAB), and to renew this registration every five years. Each project must be approved in advance by NAB. NAB regulates the use of foreign consultants by NGOs and also monitors the foreign accounts of NGOs operating in Bangladesh. This period saw the emergence again of advocacy NGOs who sought social and political justice and lobbied for constitutional reform. This was partly due to the winds of change that were blowing across Africa which had seen the demise of apartheid, the fall of dictators like Mengistu of Ethiopia and Mobutu Sese Seko of the then Zaire. The effects of ESAP were also beginning to be felt by the populace, and together with the drought the impact of ESAP became more acute. Thus, a new phase of NGOs was registered and continues to dominate the NGO arena in Zimbabwe today. These NGOs are campaigning for various legislative and policy changes. Examples include inheritance laws for women, affirmative action for indigenous business people, land rights organisations, natural resources organisations, and organisations standing for people with HIV / AIDS. Thus, the increasing trend towards pluralism and democratization, in the context of economic liberalization and escalating poverty favoured the growth of NGOs in Zimbabwe.

There is deficient data on the State-NGO relations in Zimbabwe during the 21st Century. The year 2000 heralded a number of advocacy NGOs owing to the development of opposition parties in Zimbabwe which for the first time offered stiff competition to the ruling ZANU (PF) party. The period from 2000 up to the present witnessed another transition in State perception of NGOs since this period was characterised by a down-turn in the popularity of the ruling ZANU (PF) party as it faced challenges form the fledgling labour based Movement for Democratic Change. A lot of NGOs in the field of human rights, election monitoring and socio-economic justice mushroomed. This scenario was also compounded by the "legitimation crisis" (:1996) that characterised the country in the post-ESAP era. Zimbabwe in the post 2000 period was also witnessing some sharper isolation from the global bodies and most Western countries. For example, in 2000, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) announced that it was not going to release aid to Zimbabwe following the land reform program that sought to undue the imbalances of land, which saw the land being heavily distributed heavily in favour of the white minority since the colonial era. The land reform in Zimbabwe had been heralded by some peasant farmers who started settling on white owned farms. These social movements were greeted with the green light from the ZANU (PF) government, but unfortunately, the Western countries and international development agencies interpreted the move to be the

condoning of a violent, chaotic and unjust land reform program. It is in this context that Zimbabwe became more isolated from the international community, with the consequent downward spiral of its economy as no help was not forthcoming from donors, development agencies and other Western governments. These toughening socio-economic conditions, coupled with the wrath of the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) and HIV/ AIDS, contributed to the decline in living standards of an average Zimbabwean. With this background, a fledgling worker based party, the Movement of Democratic Change (MDC) was formed, and it had a lot of sympathy from Western countries and white commercial farmers who had lost their farms in the land reform program which had come to be code named the "Third Chimurenga". Owing to the MDC's alleged association with white farmers and international agencies, the State perception of NGOs activities, even in the seemingly apolitical field began to be characterised by suspicion. It was believed that opposition political parties were using donors to influence the demise of the ruling party.

The rise of the MDC did not augur well with the liberation party, ZANU (PF), which had the belief that MDC was an extension of the imperialist tendencies of countries like Britain who still wanted to maintain hegemony in their former colonies. Such mistrust of Western countries and their motives towards independent countries of the South trickled down to NGOs which were also seen to be sponsored by these Western countries and development agencies. NGOs on the other hand, began clamouring for influence in economic and political policies, in agitating for democratization, constitutional reform and other concessions which the government was not willing to give. The State on the other hand, reacted through punitive and repressive measures to some NGOs like National Constitutional Assembly (NCA). Thus, this period saw the development of mistrust between the State and NGOs, which culminated in the exchange of accusations. While the State accused NGOs of having ulterior motives of spreading imperialism, NGOs felt the Zimbabwean government was abusing human rights, implementing policies that made little economic sense and being paranoid about the noble intentions of most NGOs. This study is responsive to the socio-economic and political changes that have taken place in Zimbabwe from 2000 to the present. The study also seeks to relate these developments to the State- NGOs in the country.

The study of NGO-Government relations in Zimbabwe has been characterised by dearth in information vis-à-vis how the two parties have manage to coexist in their delivery of services to the people. This study therefore hopes to analyse the NGO-Government relations in Zimbabwe, with reference to Makoni district now as well as deduce ways of building sustainable and peaceful linkages between these two parties in the quest for development. The study will focus on how NGOs and the various government departments coexist and how the two domains interlink and manage their relations.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

NGOs have increasingly been accepted by governments, donors and the public as critical instruments for enhancing development in Africa. Most development practitioners, planners, policy makers and scholars believe that NGOs are the appropriate channels for development in some fields of work and at the local level. However, like most development institutions, NGOs have undergone tremendous changes in the last decades with regard to their legal organisational form, the context of their work, the political and economic environments in which they operate as well as their strategies and constituencies. Zimbabwe as a country has witnessed a lot of social, economic and political changes, and this has tended to have a bearing on the work of NGOs in this country. Further, in Zimbabwe, as in many African countries, there has been confusion in the framework guiding the interaction between the State and civil society. In Zimbabwe, the Department of Social Welfare is responsible for the registration of NGOs, although other ministries have long claimed responsibility for the State's relations with NGOs. These include the Ministry of Local Government and National Housing as well as the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Recently, the government of Zimbabwe has been passing its stance on foreign based NGOs, accusing some of them to have ulterior motives of destabilising the ruling ZANU (PF) government. Such NGOs include World Vision, which was accused of distributing opposition political party cards in the bags of food aid as well as Population Services International (PSI), which was also accused of disguising its opposition political nature in the business of distributing contraceptives. Relations between NGOs have therefore taken a nosedive since the 2000 elections and this has resulted in the National Association of Non Governmental Organisations (NANGO) seeking some mediation services so that dialogue between the State and NGOs can be opened up.

These events have led to the realisation that the provision of services by NGOs and State institutions can not be separated from political and social relations. In other words, there is the realisation that development is a multi-faceted concept which encompasses relational, social, political and structural issues. This research therefore was carried out in light of the realisation that as NGOs in the area of HIV and AIDS are delivering their services, they also tend to coalesce with State institutions, and in the event relations can be enabled or disabled. In the light of this, the study seeks therefore to unravel the nature of such interaction so as to determine how the quest for service provision is enmeshed in relational, structural and socio-political aspects.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1. Makoni District: A Background

This chapter gives a brief description of the NGOs and State Institutions that are focusing on HIV and AIDS in Makoni District.

2.2. NGOs in Makoni District

There are a variety of NGOs working in the Makoni district of Rusape. These include relief and development organisations. However, this research was focusing on NGOs that are working in the area of HIV and AIDS, be it in the area of prevention, research, training, education, care, mitigation and advocacy. As long as an NGO had a focus on HIV, it was included in the study. In Makoni district, there are 7 NGOs whose program component has a focus on HIV, although the researcher had an intimate interaction with four of these. These include Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT), Farm Orphan Support Trust (FOST), Zimbabwe Ahead (Zim –Ahead), Catholic Diocese Community Care Program (DOMCCP), Scripture Union, Africare and Linkage. The organisations with which the researcher interacted with for a greater deal of the time are:

a). Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT)

FACT is a Christian oriented NGO with a focus on HIV and AIDS prevention, care as well as mitigation. FACT is running five projects in Makoni district. These are the "Workplace and Commercial farms HIV Prevention" which is based in Makoni district's commercial farming area. The project is involved HIV prevention strategies like peer education, condom distribution and income generating projects for the young people. The "In and Out of School Youth Project" targets young people in rural communities by offering peer education, reproductive health information and life skills to young people living in rural communities. The Home Based Care Program offers care and mitigation services to people infected and affected with AIDS. The support includes drugs, counselling services and basic food packs for families. The Orphan and Vulnerable children Support Program assists children whose parents are sick or dead because of AIDS with things like school fees, food, social safety nets in the form of counseling services and psycho-social support. The Urban Community Program is running in Rusape Town, therefore it is beyond the jurisdiction of Makoni District.

b). Farm Orphan Support Trust (FOST)

FOST has a multifaceted approach to HIV and AIDS intervention. The NGO is involved in HIV prevention as well as AIDS care and mitigation, albeit focusing on Makoni district's commercial farming areas. This NGO works with children who are orphaned as a result of AIDS. Although it is difficult for children to confess that their parents died of AIDS, there are social methods that are used by the community to recruit children who should benefit from FOST's orphan care program. Community members do not rely on the biomedical approach of having HIV voluntary counseling and testing, but utilises

community based methods where the community identifies children who had sick parents who died. This NGO offers assistance to children who are orphaned as a result of AIDS. Such support comes in the form of educational assistance where the organisation pays school fees, buys books and uniforms for orphans in Makoni district's commercial farms. Further, the realisation that children who have nursed their ailing parents and who have seen these parents die are traumatised has informed the introduction of a program where orphans are continually offered psycho- social support. So, educational assistance to these orphans is coupled with psycho-social support. Therefore, FOST has trained two teachers at some schools in the commercial farms who act as focal counselling points for children whose parents have died. The teachers assist the orphans in dealing with the trauma of losing parents and breadwinners through counselling. Child headed households which are becoming a common feature a result of AIDS' great toll are being assisted with seed packs so that they start nutrition gardens. They are also given blankets and other household necessities. In cases of extreme food insecurity in the family of orphans, FOST sometimes assists with therapeutic feeding programs for malnourished children, with the help of health workers from the local clinic.

FOST runs youth clubs in Makoni district's commercial farms, where the orphans meet during their spare time to discuss issues ranging from child abuse, parenting, reproductive health and HIV and AIDS. The children also meet to have fun by participating in recreational activities like football and netball. They are also radios in the community supplied by the NGO where young people listen to an educative soap entitled Mopani Junction on the radio. This is an HIV prevention program that is focused on young children after the realisation that most farms do not have much recreational facilities apart from bars where the youth end up engaging in risky behavior like drug and alcohol abuse as well as immature sexual activity.

FOST also runs a home based care program for families who have members affected by AIDS. In this program, the NGO assists families affected by AIDS with drugs like painkillers, cream for wounds and gloves. The organisation has trained volunteers from the community who help care givers in the family with psycho- social support since caring for an AIDS patient is socially, psychologically and economically depressing. The volunteers have been trained in counselling, primary health care, hygiene, HIV and AIDS survival skills, and they in turn train care givers in the family in the management of AIDS in the family.

c). Catholic Diocese Community Care Program (DOMCCP)

This NGO is a Christian organisation under the tutelage of the Catholic Relief Services, working in the general development arena with the aim of improving rural people's livelihoods. The NGO has intervention programs in Makoni's 129 villages which are in Gowakowa's 6 wards. In these 129 villages, DOMCCP is working in 22 schools, 18 of which are primary schools, while 4 are secondary schools. DOMCCP is assisting children who are orphaned as a result of AIDS in paying their school fees and buying essentials for schools like books and school uniforms. DOMCCP also has a health component in the HIV and AIDS intervention strategy. The NGO is working with 7 clinics where health workers help in the screening of children who are malnourished. These children who are identified both at community and clinic level, are then made to undergo a therapeutic nutrition program where they are fed with nutritional foods. Families of theses children are also given seed packs for vegetables to cultivate in their nutrition gardens so as to promote self-sufficiency and sustainability.

DOMCCP also has an HIV prevention program that is running at community level. This program acknowledges the importance of psycho-social aspects in contributing to health or lack of it. Thus, given this background, DOMCCP offers therapeutic games for both in and out of school youths in Makoni District. These include netball, football, *tsoro* (a traditional game played using pebbles, though the mentality is more like chess). The games are open to both orphans and other children so that they can prevent HIV through recreation. Also at village level, the organisations runs awareness workshops with both young people and adults on reproductive health issues, HIV and AIDS, drug and alcohol abuse as well as on problem issues in the community like child abuse. The belief is that gaining knowledge on such issues would empower the community to deal with HIV and AIDS related issues at the prevention, curative and care levels.

This NGO also runs a capacity building program where there is intervention that is designed to help villagers improve their welfare. However, this program is still a pilot project in one village where there are income generating activities that are introduced at community level. A Community Management Board is elected by the community members. This board, which is chaired by the local councilor oversees the running of the income generating projects in the community.

d). Zimbabwe Ahead (Zim- Ahead)

This is a development NGO with a focus in capacity building and livelihoods improvement for the rural people in Makoni District. Although the NGO is generally broad based and focuses on a lot of issues including food security, female economic empowerment, hygiene and primary health care, ZimAhead has an HIV component in its development intervention strategies. Zim-Ahead's part in HIV and AIDS issues in Makoni district is in teaching communities about HIV and AIDS survival skills. This is through training community members in some home grown and context specific solutions to their health problems. Thus, the NGO offers training in primary health care, home based care and herbal medicines. ZimAhead also facilitates the development and maintenance of income generating projects among the rural poor. These projects include bee keeping, paper making, and nutrition- gardens. For Zim-Ahead, the emphasis is on sustainable development where the development process is owned by the community. In its HIV and AIDS work, Zim-Ahead encourages the community people to identify the sick and also for people who are living with HIV to come out in the open so that they can be given assistance. There is also a program on orphan care which came about as a result of the realisation that HIV and AIDS are leaving a burden of orphans in the rural communities.

2.3.Government Departments in Makoni

Department of Social Welfare

This department falls under the Ministry of Public Service and Social Welfare, the ministry that is responsible for voluntary private organisations that are operating in the country. It is the department that has the statutory capability for overseeing development initiatives that have the poor and vulnerable in mind. Although this department is not explicitly focusing on issues to do with HIV and AIDS, the department authorities acknowledge that HIV and AIDS have affected and determined the department's activities somewhat. Due to HIV and AIDS' toll, Makoni district finds itself with an increasing number of the chronically ill, the unemployed, and the orphaned as well as families in difficult circumstances. The department's role is to offer documentary assistance to vulnerable groups like the disabled, the sick, the unemployed so that they can get assistance from other government departments like Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Home Affairs as well as Ministry of Local Government and National Housing. Vulnerable groups are given assistance in the form of free health and educational services as well as social welfare in the form of monthly allowances.

Ministry of Health and Child Welfare

The Ministry of Health and Child Welfare in Makoni District is involved in the provision of health services to the community. This State Institution is responsible for the operations of all clinics and hospitals in the district. The Ministry is also mandated to oversee the work of all Health focused and child oriented NGOs. The Ministry is Coordinated at District level by a District Nursing Officer. The Officer is responsible for the surveillance of work by various clinic and hospital staff who are operating in the district. The State institution is also responsible for training NGO staff in health related issues like Home Based Care for those affected with AIDS, counselling and other related issues. The District level department of this Ministry is also responsible for liaison with health focused NGOs and determines the communities they should be operating in after consultation with the Rural District Council. Apart from networking with NGOs, this department interacts closely with the Department of Social Welfare, Rural District Council and the Ministry of Agriculture.

Ministry of Education

This government department works towards the provision of quality education from early childhood, primary up to secondary school levels. In relation to the HIV and AIDS issue, this department works with HIV and AIDS focused NGOs only if their program component is dealing with the schools. Consequently, NGOs dealing with school children in their intervention programs are supposed to consult this department as well as inform them on what school they are going to choose. Now and again Ministry of education embarks on a monitoring and evaluation exercise to see if the work of these NGOs is targeting the intended beneficiaries as well as reaching the set goals.

District Administrator's Office

This is part of the local government, apart from the Makoni Rural District Council. The department's role, among others is to facilitate development activities in Makoni District, by playing an advisory role to the Rural District Council. The DA's Office also coordinates the work of NGOs in the area by placing them in their suitable committees. For example food and humanitarian organisations fall under the Drought Relief Committee, while child focused NGOs like FOST, FACT, DOMCCP and Girl Child Network have a Committee on Children in Difficult Circumstances. HIV and AIDS focused NGOs on the other hand fall under the District AIDS Action Committee (DAAC). NGOs wishing to operate in Makoni district have to gain entry through the DA's office, which then alerts other government departments on the new visitor. The DA's office facilitates the signing of a memorandum of understanding between this NGO and the Makoni Rural District Council. After this process, the NGO is then given an introductory letter for forwarding to other stakeholders in the district so that they are accepted as a legitimate partner in the quest for development. The DA's office also monitors the work of NGOs operating in Makoni through monthly reports which NGOs are supposed to give to this office.

Ministry of Gender, Youth and Employment Creation

This department is responsible for the socio-economic empowerment of the women and youth in Makoni District. The thrust of this State Institution is to uplift the socio-economic standards of communities through self help projects. The department offers training and capacity building to youth and women in communities. Because of the shortage of resources, this Ministry is no longer involved in project implementation at grassroots level but offers support to projects being run by NGOs which are focused on livelihoods improvement. Due to its focus, this State institution is not very much involved with HIV and AIDS NGOs unless they have an income generating component. In this case, the State institution would offer training in project management for NGO-implemented development projects.

3.0. CHAPTER THREE

This chapter covers the research assumptions, objectives, justification of the research as well as the methods of data collection.

3.1. Research Assumptions / Hypothesis

The researcher is not so much a firm believer in hypothesis testing in the field of qualitative research. This is because of my firm conviction and belief in grounded theory which allows the data that one gathers to inform one's theory (Glasser and Strauss:.1967). However, I did have hunches that led me pursue this research topic. These hunches played a role in the formulation of my research questions and assumptions. The research therefore, is based on the following assumptions:

The State-NGO relations in Zimbabwe have witnessed a shift owing to the changing socio-economic and political climate.

The NGOs and the State are experiencing not only paradigmatic shift but are seeing a flux in the way development projects are being implemented in the rural areas.

The tension between the State and NGOs has led to the resultant need of the search for peaceful and sustainable linkages between HIV/ AIDS NGOs and the government departments in Makoni district.

3.2. Justification

By understanding the current relationship between NGOs and the State and the factors determining such relations, this research will seek to improve the relations between government departments and NGOs working so as to bolster development in Zimbabwe

The study will fill in gaps in knowledge about the NGO-State relations in Zimbabwe now as such literature tends to be characterised by paucity.

The study will be a useful manual for community entry, relationship building and conflict resolution between NGOs and Government bodies as they work in Makoni district in the area of HIV and AIDS.

3.3.Objectives

This research had four objectives. These were :

To trace the development of the State- NGO relations in Zimbabwe, from 1980 to the present day through a review of relevant literature. Although this part was done mainly through desktop research, it is an important facet of the research as it enables one to establish the history and context in which the present HIV/ AIDS NGO- State relations in Makoni district are based.

To analyse how such relational developments affect the present NGO-State relations in Zimbabwe. This analysis was done basing on findings from the Makoni district.

To analyse the work of HIV/ AIDS NGOs in Makoni district and see how they relate to the State as well as see how all stakeholders in the district are managing such relations.

To assess how peacebuilding models can be used to build sustainable linkages between NGOs and the government.

3.4. Research Methodology

The study comprised a combination of document review and primary data collection. Literature from scholars as well as policy documents from the government was analysed.

The study was conducted among purposive samples of NGO representatives and select key government informants at the Makoni district level. Purposive sampling allows the researcher to access research participants who, by virtue of their characteristics fit into the research topic. In this case, the research topic was concerned with NGOs and the State, hence, the researcher specifically targeted NGOs and State institutions that were focusing on HIV and AIDS in Makoni District.

The researcher used semi structured interviews with NGO representatives to ascertain the degree of interaction as well as the nature of relations between their organisations and government departments. According to Patton(1995), semi structured interviews allow the researcher to maintain a grip over the direction of conversation with a research participant, while also giving room to the research subject to expand on the ideas they raised. This research tool required that the researcher develop an interview guide which outlined the topics that were to be covered, although the guide left room for subjects to give as much detail as possible during the discussion.

Semi structured interviews were also used on representatives from State institutions in Makoni to determine their perception of NGO activities in the area, their interaction with such organisations as well as the nature of their relations. The State institutions included the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Youth, Gender and Employment Creation, Department of Social Welfare, District Administrator as well as the Makoni Rural District Council.

Focus group discussions with NGO representatives were help to get a group perception of the matter. A focus group discussion is an interview with a small group of people on a specific topic. Focus group discussions emanated from the classic work of Robert. K.. Merton (1957) who felt the need to understand the views of a relatively homogeneous set of people. The objective was to triangulate the data from the semi-structured interviews as well as to get high quality data in the social context where people were allowed to consider their own views I the context of vies from others.

Representatives from State institutions and NGOs were asked to draw Venn Diagrams to portray the degree and nature of interaction between their organisations. This Venn diagram is a participatory method of conducting an institutional analysis of organisations operating in a particular community. Participatory reflection Action (PRA) emanates from the work of development practitioners, Paulo Friere (1989(and Robert Chambers (1991) who advocated for the demystification of the supremacy of the researcher. PRA is an approach which empowers the researched people to take a lead in the research process as they explain things to the researcher in a manner that is context-specific and friendly to them as research subject. The Venn Diagram or Chapatti thus enables the researched people to explain in a simple, diagrammatic manner the nature of relations they enjoy

with other organisations operating in their area. The Venn Diagram helps to establish the psycho-social and political distance between the informant and other organisations.

Participant observation was also used. According to Bruyn(1966:14), "the role of the participant observer requires both detachment and personal observation". For Denzin(1978), "participant observation is a field study which combines document analysis, direct participation and observation of events happening in the field". This ethnographic method allows the researcher to intimately experience the life and activities of the researched people in the setting under study. The researcher happens to be working with a research organisation that has program activities in Makoni. As I conducted my field visits, I also made use of that opportunity to see how NGOs focusing on HIV and AIDS re conducting their business. Community meetings were attended and efforts were made to get views from community members on how they perceive the work of, and nature of relations between both NGOs and State institutions operating in their area. I also took part in meetings between NGOs and State institution. I was allowed to gain entry into such meetings as my organisation, Regai Dzive Shiri is a member of the District AIDS Action Committee (DAAC). Such meetings enabled me to see how relations are managed.

Content analysis of relevant documents like policy documents and minutes of meetings was employed to see how NGOs and other stakeholders are dialoguing over this matter. According to Neumann(1998), content analysis is a tool that allows the researcher to establish meaning and symbols from written documents or any coded message like a picture, a song or a film. The aim is to trace a theme or concept that the researcher is interested in.

A number of problems were encountered in carrying out this study . Sampling was problematic, as during field visits some NGO representatives' choice to participate in the interview left some organisations doing some HIV and AIDS work unattended to. This resulted in limited returns, from those targeted as not all HIV and AIDS NGOs' participated in this study.

Others problems arose to do with the availability or inadequate information and limited respondent knowledge relating to the subjects. For example, most respondents were less than 10 years old in the district so it was difficult for them to note any changes in the State-NGO relations in Makoni district. This made the tracing of shift in relations somewhat challenging.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1. Defining the State and Non Governmental Organisations

Non governmental organisations are dimly understood, argue Salamon and Anheier (1998).This is because of lack of a suitable definition and theories. While some authors like Salomon and Anheier (1998) use the terms 'third sector' to mean that NGOs exist alongside and interact with the State and the private sector. and 'nonprofit sector' interchangeably to refer to NGOs, Lewis (1994) prefers to refer to NGOs as 'civil society organisations' and Farrington and Bebbington (1992) call them 'private voluntary organisations'. The National Association for Non Governmental Organisations (NANGO) (2003) defines NGOs as "those organisations that are separate from the State, from political parties, and from quasi- governmental agencies". Much of the available theory on the non profit sector emerged in the context of advanced Western societies, and therefore tends to over-generalise features that are lacking in the developing world such as open market economies and democratic political systems.

There is no generally accepted definition of an NGO and the term carries different connotations in different circumstances. Nevertheless, there are some fundamental features. Clearly an NGO must be independent from the direct control of any government. In addition, there are three other generally accepted characteristics that exclude particular types of bodies from consideration. An NGO will not be constituted as a political party; it will be non-profit-making and it will be not be a criminal group, in particular it will be non-violent. These characteristics apply in general usage, because they match the conditions for recognition by the United Nations. The boundaries can sometimes be blurred: some NGOs may in practice be closely identified with a political party; many NGOs generate income from commercial activities, notably consultancy contracts or sales of publications; and a small number of NGOs may be associated with violent political protests. Nevertheless, an NGO is never constituted as a government bureaucracy, a party, a company, a criminal organization or a guerrilla group. Thus, for this article, an NGO is defined as an independent voluntary association of people acting together on a continuous basis, for some common purpose, other than achieving government office, making money or illegal activities.

Recent years have witnessed an upsurge of organised non governmental organisation activity in developing countries because the NGO sector is a significant presence in the developing world. According to Salamon (1994) and Fisher (1993), there is increasingly a new appreciation of the important role non governmental organisations play in the process of economic and political change. The World Bank (1995) has also come to recognise that such organisations are not only critical contributors to economic growth and civic infrastructure but are a fundamental precondition for representative political institutions to function.

Non governmental organisations are known by various scholars by various names. David Lewis (2003) refers to NGO's as the "third sector' because these organisations are neither part of the state nor the business sector. They "exist alongside and interact with the State and profit making firms" (UNDP, 2001). This concurs with the Hegelian perspective on civil society which posits that civil society exists in the realm that is between the family and the state. However, academics who adopt the critical theory of Habermas take the opposite view. They see civil society as integrated with the state in maintaining bourgeoisie hegemony in capitalist societies. In the Northern literature, NGOs are commonly known as non profit or voluntary organisations. Non governmental organisations are therefore defined as independent, professional not for profit, charitable organisations that are usually occupied in the field of development. Now the concept non governmental organisation has come to refer to all organisations within the aid and relief channels that are institutionally separated from the state, and are non profit making. NGOs thus include voluntary organisations, civil society organisations, grassroots organisations and independent organisations. This paper takes Clarke's (1996) definition of NGOs which posits that NGOs are "private, nonprofit, professional organisations, with a distinctive legal character, concerned with public welfare goals. In the developing world, NGOs include philanthropic foundations, church development agencies, academic think tanks, human rights organizations and other organisations focusing on issues such as gender, health, agricultural development, social welfare, the environment and indigenous peoples. On the other hand, the State is defined as a politically organised body under a single government. According to Ronen (1999), the State is defined as an internationally bordered territory and its inhabitants. D'Entreves (1967) defines the state as "an organisation that is endowed with the capacity of exerting and controlling the use of force over a certain people and within a given territory". That definition implies that the State is the powerhouse and has the ability to govern the citizens as well as ensuring the adherence to law and order with the view to protecting citizens and property. The bordered territory of the State includes both material and human resources. The definition by Ronen has a replica of D'Entreves' sentiments because he says the State is "a legal and political organisation with the power to require obedience and loyalty from its citizens". Held (1983:1) also echoes the same view when he notes that "the State is the apparatus of government, which appears to be everywhere, regulating the conditions of our lives from birth registration to death registration". There appears to be lack of a clear-cut distinction between the State and the government. According to Ronen, this may be due to the lasting impact of the French Emperor, Louis XIV's famous dictum, "*L'Etat c'est moi*" (The State is me). In the academic atmosphere, the meanings of the concepts of state and government are still obscured. While Ronen defines the government as a body that is controlled by human beings, it is evident that it is government which exercises political and economic sovereignty within the State. Given this coalescing of the concepts of the State and government, this paper will adopt the common usage approach of taking the word state and government as synonymous.

NGO – State relations are issues of interest to scholars from diverse backgrounds. NGOs and governments operate in the field of politics, economics, religion and social life. Although NGOs have been discussed in development studies (Midgley: 1996), economics (Todaro: 2000), sociology (Giddens: 1998) and other social sciences, the topic

of NGOs is not new to peacebuilding studies. NGOs have dominated peace and conflict studies as they are part of civil society and social movements which have promoted a means of non violent social change (Tandon, 1996). NGOs have also been mentioned in the contemporary debates about democracy and voluntary action (Haberson: 1994).debates For Lester Salamon (1998), NGOs signal the globality trends that are underway. In his own words, "A striking upsurge is underway around the globe in... the creation of private, non profit or non governmental organisations... Indeed, we are in the midst of a global 'associational revolution' that may prove to be significant in the latter twenty first century as the rise of the nation state was to the latter nineteenth century".

4.2. Role and Functions of NGOs

Clarke (1991) attributes three roles to NGOs, While Hadenius and Uggla (1996) see NGOs as having two main functions. Clarke (1991) represents the liberalist view that NGOs can fulfill three roles of complementing, reforming or opposing the State. The idea NGOs complementing the State views NGOs as partners with the State in development activities. In this case, NGOs fill in the gaps left by public services. In this case, the State is seen as an enabler in the development process, not as a provider of growth, but as partner, catalyst and facilitator. When NGOs provide social services to the people, where the State has not reached, the State is said to be delegating this responsibility to NGOs, not abandoning it. (Thomas:1992).

The reforming role of NGOs is related to NGOs as agents of advocacy and contributors to policy dialogue. NGOs can represent the interest of people they work with and hence assure some relevant policy change. In this way, policies are legitimised as NGOs contribute to the generation of informed public judgement. The advocacy and reformist role played by NGOs is referred to as "mediation" by Tandon (1991). Here the argument is that NGOs are not just well-meaning, uncontroversial, non-political groups. This means that NGOs can seek to oppose the State. For example, in Indonesia, Gerald Clarke (1998) notes that many NGOs oppose attempts by the State and the ruling party, Golankan Karya (GOLKAR) to form an authoritarian government. These NGOs are seeking to expand the political space by advocating and lobbying for democratic principles from the government. Such NGOs go beyond mere service provision and seek to transform the political environment by catalyzing the change process. As such, the "social movements" theory sees NGOs not only as actors in the development process, but as vehicles for non violent social change. Clark (1998) talks of NGOs as being in the process of "democratizing development" as he gives an example of NGOs in Chile who were able to restructure left-wing opposition to the State by helping opposition parties to participate in the 1992 elections, while those in the Philippines were involved in influencing legislation and public policy. In the Philippines, the NGOs sit alongside political parties in local government structure created by the 1991 Local Government Code, and they have actively sponsored opposition parties' participation in the 1992 Presidential and 1995 Local Government elections. This advocacy role by NGOs as they seek change in the areas of human rights, labour and State legislation has seen most governments in the Third world accusing NGOs of being "quasi- political parties". This reinforces Migdal (1988)'s assertion that NGO communities have become important players in the contemporary political contestations, and this makes the State to feel threatened. Furthermore, there is no difference between the role of NGOs in domestic and in global politics. At both levels, they are diverse, controversial and of major political significance. The impact of a particular NGO may vary across time and place, and from one issue to another, but collectively NGOs generate the dynamics of political change. This reinforces the Gramscian position that NGOs have become a new "trench" or "permanent fortification" in a "war of position" waged between the dominant and subordinate classes through the critical juncture of the State. However, Fowler (1997) appears not to see evidence of this advocacy role of NGOs as he posits that NGOs in

Africa are contributing to the maintenance of the status-quo because of the fragmented, competitive and unrepresentative nature.

Critical thinkers and neo-Marxists see NGOs as opposing the State when NGOs act as watchdogs and hold the State accountable. This can be done directly through lobbying, or indirectly by supporting groups that are adversely affected by the State and government policy (Thomas, 1992: 140). Various non-state actors or components of civil society, NGOs included are contributing to the revamping of governance approaches in specific issue areas. The State is increasingly being lobbied and challenged by civil society and international agencies. Efforts by local NGOs to establish priority for basic human needs and security have been bolstered by several international agencies like the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the United Nations Institute for Social Research (UNRISD). This increasing "internationalization of the State" has also led most governments of developing societies who are not yet in tandem with the new values of transparency and democracy to become wary of NGOs (Clarke 1992:30). Clarke argues that many government leaders express quite hostile attitudes to NGOs, even in some democratic societies. There are particular factors that explain the irrationality. Firstly, the increased impact of NGOs has caused resentment among those whom they criticize. Secondly, the claim by some NGOs that they are the "voice of the people" and hence have greater legitimacy than governments is deeply offensive to government officials. As NGOs become more involved in formal operations, they tend to take on roles as "sub-contractors" to official actors, thus gaining a higher measure of legitimacy (Shaw and Maclean:1999).Thus, because NGOs represent social forces that are potentially counter hegemonic to, and transformative of the dominant State, most governments in the developing world have tended to react to the revitalization of civil society by muzzling NGOs and maintaining a watchful eye over their activities.

Hadenius and Uggla (1996) see NGOs playing either the pluralist or educational function. The pluralist function concerns the distribution of power in society and political life. By organizing themselves and communities, NGOs promote multi-vocality and the development of associations which are better able to demand services from relevant service providers. The educational role of NGOs is seen when NGOs support people's efforts to search for the fundamental principles of democracy. Consequently NGOs are seen as important implementers of development activities as well as contributors to the consolidation of democracy. Therefore, generally, NGOs are seen playing different roles depending on the context as well as the development goal that they are seeking to accomplish.

4.3. Theoretical Perspectives On Ngo-State Relations

Various scholars have theorized and written about State –NGO relations. Edwards and Hulme (1995) and Clark (1991) have written a lot about the role of NGO's in development. Bebbington and Farrington (1991) have written extensively on policy issues of NGO relations with states. They emphasize the role of NGO's in community based action. While Farrington and Bebbington (1993), Edwards and Hulme (1997) and Wuytts (1992) offer an integrative approach by portraying NGO's as one of the number of key actors in the processes of development alongside the state, local government and the private sector, Salamon and Anheier (1992) sharply contrast with this view. For Salamon and Anheier, NGOs are portrayed as distinct, autonomous and competitive institutions in the development arena. Their distinctiveness is met with mutual suspicion from other development actors, the government being the chief culprits.

However, Bratton (1990) talks about there being coexistence between government and NGO when the government does not feel neither threatened nor challenged by these organisations. Bratton maintains that although the State and NGO's can be referred to as, 'uncomfortable bedfellows", they are likely to cohabit. This is because governments are happy with the resources NGO's bring, while NGOs need the policy and structural support from the government so as to enable the development process to unravel. This view is also echoed by Krishna (1997) who acknowledges that most governments in developing societies have to deal with the difficult problems of widespread inefficiency which is compounded by shortage of resources. That is when NGOs come in by providing multifaceted assistance to government. Bratton and Krishna's arguments tally with the principles of the partnership theory of NGOs. This theory was developed by Salamon (1987). According to this theory, the competitive, almost conflictual relationship between the nonprofit sector and the State is seriously overstated. Instead, there is what Salamon refers to as a *modus vivendi* between the State and the NGOs, which is a relationship of complimentarity and reliance. For Salamon, the nonprofit sector is not simply an alternative to the State in the provision of public goods that can be expected to grow only when State provision of such goods is constrained. Rather, there is a strong reason to expect the State and the nonprofit sector to grow in parallel, and even in cooperation with each other. This is so because both are responses to the same set of social pressures for expanded public goods, and each brings to the responses to these pressures unique attributes that the other lacks. The State has the ability to generate resources, while NGOs have the ability to deliver services at the local level. Thus, far from operating in conflict, the NGOs and the State are expected to work hand in hand. The idea of the complementing NGOs views NGOs as service providers and implementers of development activities. In this case, NGOs fill in the gaps left by public services. In this case, the State is seen as an enabler in the development process, not as a provider of growth, but as partner, catalyst and facilitator. When NGOs provide social services to the people, where the State has not reached, the State is said to be delegating this responsibility to NGOs, not abandoning it. (Thomas:1992). This idea is aptly illustrated by the literacy initiatives in Nicaragua and Papa New Guinea where the State was shown increasingly relying on NGOs to provide basic adult literacy services. NGO literacy efforts in Nicaragua increasingly involve cooperation between the state and

NGO community (Arnove and Christina:1998). This concurs with Malone (1997)'s view that diverse NGOs with different resources and skills can collaborate with the state to increase accomplishments in any development initiative.

Clarke and Salamon's conception of State- NGO relations is invariably reminiscent of the Gramscian conception of civil society. Antonio Gramsci (1963), a critical neo- Marxist, differs from Hegel who conceptualizes civil society as an entity that exists in a realm that is separate from both the State and the family. For Gramsci, civil society coalesces with the State, hence the State and NGOs can be said to be mutually reinforcing. This is similar to the "critical theory" approach of Habermas who sees civil society as integrated with the state in maintaining bourgeois hegemony in capitalist societies. Indeed, governments are coming to recognise the contributions of nonprofit organizations can make to the development process. Such cooperation has been central to the development discourse in India where the Ghandian village associations were incorporated into government development planning from the outset. Similar patterns have recently gained prominence in Thailand, Ghana and Brazil where government support for the nonprofit sector has grown considerably. This reflects a corporatist model in which both the State and the nonprofit sector are involved in societal problem-solving, often in cooperation with each other.

There are other scholars who see tension that exists between the State and NGOs. These authors propounded the statist model of NGO activity. For such scholars like Clarke (1997), although NGOs are noted to be benefiting from State financial, infrastructural and policy aid, nonprofit organizations fear to be co-opted by the State and to be crushed into the State's embrace. State- NGO relations become contentious when negotiations for power, finances and control over programs are involved. Thus, most NGOs have resorted to private funding in order to allow themselves to retain meaningful degree of independence of State control. This private orientation of most NGOs makes governments are skeptical of NGO's. The then Minister of National Development in Zimbabwe, Ms Stembiso Nyoni, in 1989 commented that, "a nation cannot be developed by projects alone, let alone projects from outside". NGOs, therefore, when they are leaned towards private funders tend to be perceived as outsiders and non legitimate. Many governments in the Third World are wary of the role of NGOs which are externally funded. Clark (1996) cites the case of India where the Communist Party of India regards foreign –funded NGOs as agents of imperialism, and has called the Indian government to strengthen regulation of their activities. In 1992 in the Philippines, the Communist Party of the Philippines clamped down on NGOs which were accused of contributing to the party's disunity. (Clarke:1998:155).

Bebbington and Farrington (1993) posit that NGO's are smaller than the State; hence they have to rely on the State for technological services and innovation. Thus, NGO's cannot work independently of the State. Further, the State is in charge of ensuring "a foundation of law, a benign policy environment, investment in people and infrastructure and protection of the natural environment" (Clayton et al, 2000:17). Even though NGOs are important actors in the development playing field, they are not an island entity, or a "system on their own". NGOs are not operating in a vacuum, but are

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part of the wider environment hence dialogue between the two is important (Bratton, 1989).

Various socio-political issues also happen to determine the State-NGO relationship. For example, the regime under which NGO's operate has effects on NGO's. Bratton (1989) mentions NGOs in Latin America where the regimes felt threatened by these organisations, and reacted by trying to curtail their operations. There is the argument that authoritarian regimes tend to retard NGO development. Salamon and Anheier (2003) examined nonprofit sector activity in developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and they concluded that authoritarian political systems tend to muzzle the activities of NGOs. Landim (1998) echoes the same sentiments and says, 'In Brazil, the State has always taken itself the task of 'creating' society, whether by arranging groups and individuals hierarchically according to an exclusionary economic order, or by intervening to destroy autonomy'. Given patterns of authoritarianism in countries like Ghana under the Rawlings government, there was little room left for a truly independent third sector. Authoritarian regimes are also characterised by distrust on the nonprofit sector, whereby the State remains highly watchful of its power and too easily interprets the emergence of NGOs as a challenge to its legitimacy. In Egypt, for example this distrust is currently fueled by the antagonism between a strong secular State and Islamic fundamentalist groups that are using NGOs as a way to strengthen their links with the urban poor (Salamon and Anheier, 2003). Hadenius and Uggla take this further by arguing that the State has the ability to strengthen civil society or undermine it. They define a continuum of five stages from a situation in which the State is hostile to civil society to one of benevolence. The first stage characterizes totalitarian regimes where organisational activity is banned. The second stage comprises of the State which has withdrawn , either intentionally or otherwise from social service provision. In most Third World countries, the State has withdrawn from various social spheres as a result of the structural adjustment programs. The result is the mushrooming of NGOs who try to cushion people from the hardships caused by the removal of various safety nets. The third stage involves the State which has installed facilitative legal-administrative framework or solving conflicts and for interacting with various associations. The fourth stage involves the State initiating programs that are aimed at strengthening and assisting civil society. Hadenius and Uggla cite the example of Ghana's draft National Policy on Strategic Partnership with NGOs, as well as South Africa's National Development Agency (NDA) whose vision is to "contribute towards the creation of a healthy economically vibrant and stable civil society". In the last stage, the government actively promotes civil society

Table 1 below shows the treatment of civil society by the State,

Table 1: State Treatment of Civil Society:

State	State Treatment of civil Society	Type of State
1	The state does not tolerate independent civil activity. Threshold: de facto right to form autonomous organisations	Hostile State
2	The State accepts autonomous organisation, but does not provide a space for it. Threshold: State withdrawal opening up a space for independent activity.	Benevolent State
3	A space for independent activity exists, but the practice of governance does not promote autonomous organisation. Threshold: Favorable institutional structures	Benevolent
4	The State provides favorable structures, but no active support. Threshold: Active State programs in support of civil society.	Benevolent State

Source: Hadenius and Uggla, 1996

Clarke (1997) believes that there is an element of power relations between the government and NGO's. The sharing of power is what is at stake in the relationship between NGO's and the government. For Clarke, governments seek to keep programs of NGO's within state control because they fear that if unchecked NGOs can "de-governmentalise" the State since they have more resources than the State. Hulme (1987) posits that while NGO's have the right to attempt to democratize development, government too have the right to control NGO's. This, Hulme says would allow NGO's to properly account for the resources they utilize. Hulme says NGOs have become hypocritical. This he says because he noted that very few NGO's are transparent with their own activities, yet they advocate transparency from the government. In Bangladesh, Hulme cites the case of the government losing control over NGO's. The then Interior Minister in Bangladesh in 1990 commented about the relationship between government and NGO's as "uneasy". This led to the formation by government of a board which was to monitor the activities on NGO's. The Board submitted a report which recommended that:NGO's should be registered, that NGO activities should be supervised by an elected committee, that NGO salaries had to be worked out after consultation with the government and also that employment of expatriate staff was to be monitored.

Another theory explaining the work of NGOs is the "social origins approach". Developed by Salamon and Anheier (1996), the 'social origins' approach assumes that the nonprofit sector is deeply embedded in the social, economic and political dynamics of different societies. As such, the evolution of NGOs cannot be attributed to any single factor such as unsatisfied demand for public goods. Rather, the emergence of NGOs is rooted in the broader structure of class and social groupings in society. In particular, vibrant nonprofit organizations are likely to emerge where the elites turn to such institutions as a way of forestalling radical demands from below, often in alliance with conservative religious forces. The emergence of newly emboldened educated middle class elements seeking greater economic and political opportunities has resulted in a great deal of civic activism and consequent NGO development in the developing world. This was the case, for example, during the military regime in Brazil, the Nasser era in Egypt, and during the latter Nkrumah and early Rawlings periods in Ghana. In Zimbabwe, the 1990s witnessed the development of NGOs with a strong base in the influence of the educated elites. These include NGOs like ZimRights, National Constitutional Assembly, Women Action Group and Women and Law in Southern Africa. Thus, NGO- State relations are not static, but are determined by changes in the socio-economic and political arena. The economic and political forces of globalization are creating new patterns of similarity and difference across social, cultural, economic and political landscape which is undergoing massive change(Giddens: 1993). Thus, Sogge (1996: 146) draws attention to the fact that the aid industry assumes there is a problem "out there" on a poor periphery of the world, whose misfortunes have no connection with acts and omissions by the powerful in the wealthy core of the world. This attitude by some NGO's is said to irk government s of the Third World, hence the uncomfortable relations between the two entities. In most parts of the Third World, therefore, the State has generally been skeptical or strict towards NGOs and other civil society organisations like human rights groups and community based organisations (Huband et al, 1999). For example in Zimbabwe, there is new policy framework that was designed to curtail the influx of

4.4. Relationship Building, Sustainable Linkages And Peacebuilding Frameworks

An understanding of the State- NGO relations in the area of HIV and AIDS cannot be adequate without good comprehension on how parties have built peaceful linkages in other communities. This section therefore discusses how people have used different peacebuilding and relationship building frameworks in order to generate the development of sustainable linkages between parties in conflict or parties who envisage a conflict between them. Since this study intended to learn how the Government and NGOs in the area of HIV and AIDS in Makoni are managing their relations and building peaceful linkages, it goes without saying that there is a need to take a critical appraisal of peacebuilding models that have been employed by parties engaged in conflict.

Peacebuilding as a concept has become increasingly popular over the 1990s. However, there are few common understandings of the term. Definitions seem to be context bound and vary between voluntary groups, communities at large, policy-makers, politicians and funders. It is important to differentiate between 'peacemaking' and 'peacebuilding'. Norbert Ropers (2000) provides a broad definition of these when he writes that "Peacemaking is understood to mean the attempt to tackle some concrete problem in a process that generally begins with a difference of interests, proceeds in the form of negotiations, and in the end—if successfully dealt with—leads to an agreement concerning the conduct of both sides. Peacebuilding, on the other hand, covers a wider area and, in most cases, a longer time-scale. Its aim is a change in the social structures underlying the conflict, and a change in the attitudes of the parties to the conflict

It is the "wider area" of peacebuilding and "longer term time-scale" that this paper is more concerned with. ". The definition by Boutros Boutros Ghali (1997) concurs with the one above. Peacebuilding is the effort to strengthen the prospects for internal peace and decrease the likelihood of conflict. The overarching goal of peacebuilding is to enhance the indigenous capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence. Ultimately, peacebuilding aims at building human security, a concept which includes democratic governance, human rights, rule of law, sustainable development, equitable access to resources, and environmental security. The pursuit of this goal in countries torn by internal conflict poses special and complex challenges.

Peacebuilding may involve conflict prevention, conflict resolution, as well as various kinds of post-conflict activities. It focuses on the political and socio-economic context of conflict, rather than on the military or humanitarian aspects. It seeks to address this challenge by finding means to institutionalize the peaceful resolution of conflicts. External support for peacebuilding should supplement, not substitute, local efforts to achieve a sustainable peace. Peacebuilding is a long-term, complex and non-linear process. For Maire Dugan (1997), peacebuilding is both processal and dynamic, like the social relationships it seeks to transform. For Lederach (1997), peacebuilding should be short-term emergency responsive and long-term institutional in perspective; linking the here and now to the desired goal of peace. As John Paul Lederach notes, what is needed for genuine peacebuilding is the exploration of peacebuilding as processes of change within a more expansive view of context and time relevant to but not limited by the

discrete chronology entertained with the term post-agreement is important. What this means is that we cannot tie peacebuilding simply to the development of the so-called concrete markers of peace such as the signing of agreements, or the cessation of hostility. It means that peacebuilding is an ongoing, multifaceted and holistic concept that should be tied to society's social, cultural, political, spiritual, economic and developmental fabrics.

There is a marked difference between making peace and building peace. Building peace needs to be "expansive" in its horizon, operations and strategy, and operationalised tactically over time. Strategies for peacebuilding also need to reflect social complexity, rather than trying to manipulate and define it too rigidly. John Prendergast (1997) proposes a peacebuilding model that follows John Paul Lederach's framework. For Lederach, peacebuilding is a process made up of a multiplicity of interdependent roles, functions and activities. It has different levels i.e. the top, middle-range and grassroots levels. Using the Sudanese case study, for Sudan has been at war for more than forty years, Prendergast analyzes conflict in Sudan using Lederach's models of conflict and peacebuilding. At the top level, one finds the top-down approach to peacebuilding which is characterised by eminent figures who act as mediators between the protagonists. Top level actors are the main military and political leaders. These leaders are usually highly publicly visible, and their actions may be sharply constrained by political considerations. This approach is often focused on the cessation of hostilities, which will in turn culminate in an agreement. The assumption is that the peace that is achieved by the leaders through the role of eminent mediators, will "trickle-down" to the lowest levels. It is envisaged that if leaders agree, then that sets the stage, the framework and the environment for delivering the rest of society in the implementation of the agreement to end the conflict. A number of regional and international actors have attempted to facilitate negotiations between the National Islamic Front(NIF) and rebel forces, with little success. The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a regional organization covering the Horn of Africa, has been very active in Sudanese negotiations. IGAD negotiations produced an agreement on the terms for resolving the Sudanese civil war. However the NIF later reneged on that agreement. The NIF appears to be fundamentally committed to regional Islamization, and so there seems to be little room for compromise with more moderate forces. While IGAD continues to pursue negotiations within Sudan, it also encourages international pressure on the NIF government, and fosters coordination among the various rebel groups. Should it prove necessary to remove the NIF by force, it is hoped that a unified rebel opposition would be better prepared to take over.

Middle-range actors are usually respected figures in business, education or religion. These actors generally have connections to people in both the top and the grassroots levels. Extended civil war has eliminated much of the middle-range in Sudan, as the warring parties have attempted to maximize their control within their territories. Middle-range peacebuilding attempts have focused largely on arranging meetings between church leaders from the opposing sides. United Nations (UN) groups, such as UNICEF, both deal with middle-level actors, and try to encourage and empower moderate middle-level leaders. Generally such middle-range initiatives are frustrated as the conflict becomes increasing polarized and dominated by extremists.

The grassroots level is characterised by massive numbers of people. It is a "bottom-up" approach which is largely driven by pressure form the grassroots. This level involves local communities and civic organisations including NGOs because these people have an intimate knowledge of the community as well as expert knowledge on local politics. For Prendergast, grassroots leaders in Sudan are primarily traditional and tribal authorities. Relief and development workers also have some grassroots authority. Grassroots actors generally are constrained by a relative lack of power and the immediate need to survive. In Sudan, both rebel and NIF forces initiated programs designed to disempower traditional authorities, and so further consolidate their own power. Nonetheless, Prendergast argues that "the greatest vitality and innovation in peacebuilding are to be found at the grassroots level, with diverse responses and initiatives being undertaken that involve both external agencies and internal actors."[p. 158] The New Sudan Council of Churches has trained local villagers to monitor compliance with a local peace agreement. Violations are reported to village elders. Grassroots leaders have staged local peace conferences, of which the Akobo Peace Conference is one notable example. Communities have also sought to rebuild customary law and traditional courts, in response to the breakdown of national order during the extended civil war.

The case study of Ethiopia again exemplifies this nesting model, according to Prendergast. Two issues contribute significantly to national tensions: the withdrawal of major opposition parties from the electoral process, and the support for certain Ethiopian opposition groups provided by radical Islamic groups in Sudan. These issues arise within the context of historical ethnic relationships and rivalries in Ethiopia. Local peace conferences have had some success in peacebuilding between ethnic groups. Issues of gender equity have also been addressed at the relationship level. Fairly specific local proposals which encourage gender equity are more likely to be implemented than broad systemic reforms, which often conflict with local traditions. Ethiopian social institutions have traditionally viewed conflict management as a matter of mending broken relationships. Sub systemic and systemic factors contribute to conflict in Ethiopia. Poverty, especially in the form of food insecurity, contributes to conflict in the region. Resources generally are scarce in Ethiopia. Prendergast notes that "the central role of the state in determining resource distribution makes it a major target of, and--when power is overcentralized--a major reason for, conflict."[p. 165] Peacebuilding strategies have focused on reducing poverty, increasing food supplies, and decentralizing government. The Ethiopian government has implemented a Green Revolution approach to increasing farm yields and reducing poverty, with mixed results. The government is attempting to decentralize along a model of ethnic federalism. This has contained what would once have been national conflicts at the local level. However, the process of drawing regional boundaries has been very contentious, and has occasionally prompted violence.

Lederach also adopts researcher Maire Dugan's "nested foci paradigm" for relating the immediate issues within a conflict to the larger systemic aspects. Dugan helps in understanding the role of different actors in peacebuilding. In her "nested paradigm", Dugan considers both the narrower and broader aspects of conflict resolution and peacebuilding. She sees peacebuilding as a reconciliation of a problem relationship.

The problem or the conflict is seen as a broken relationship. Thus, the peace practitioner's effort in the event of a problem is to help diffuse the immediate face to face tension and to repair the broken relationship. Lederach concurs with Dugan by positing that peacebuilding deals with issues that are embedded in relationships which need to be reconciled. He says particular issues arise within relationships, which exist within the larger context of subsystems, and ultimately society-wide systems and these may constitute the conflict which can only be transformed if relationships are aptly analysed. Thus, peacebuilding should address systemic issues of the relationship. Deeper systemic analysis provides for practical initiatives for addressing immediate issues. It also allows for the peace process participants to benefit from the institutional, cultural and informal networks that cut across the lines of conflict, and connect the levels of peace activity within the population. This facilitates and sustains long-term transformation in the conflict setting.

Another scholar in the peacebuilding discourse is Elsie Bouilding (199?) who talks of "imaging" the future, whereby people come up with a vision on how to build peace. Thinking about the future involves articulating distant but nonetheless desirable, structural, systemic and relationship goals. Such goals might include sustainable development, poverty alleviation, dealing with basic human needs like health, education and shelter. When such a desirable future has been "envisioned", this is followed by transformation, where people make efforts to climb out of the problem towards the desired change. At the practical level, transformation refers to the deliberate intervention to effect change. It can happen at the structural level, where policies and resources are made available to suit the desired goals, or it can take place at the relational level where there is change effected in the social relations as well as the interactive aspects of the conflict. Establishing personal relationships with people on the other side can go a long way toward breaking down inaccurate and hostile stereotypes and increasing interpersonal and inter-group understanding. While this alone does not bring about conflict resolution, it can transform the character of the conflict, making it more constructive. A variety of trust-building measures can be implemented to build up trust so that more cooperative problem-solving approaches can take place. The principles of coexistence and tolerance are important as a basis for building mutually acceptable relationships between highly entities that are engaged in a relationship problem. As such, these principles can contribute significantly to the strengthening of the integrative system. One technique for peacebuilding and relationship building is to engage in joint projects with people on the other side of a conflict. If opponents can be brought together in some cooperative endeavor, they tend to break down their negative stereotypes, begin to depend on each other, and start building normal, positive relationships which can later be extended to issues in conflict.

Religion as a peacebuilding tool is increasingly gaining prominence among scholars, governments and development practitioners. Appleby (1999) in **The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation,** argues that religion's ability to inspire violence is intimately related to its equally impressive power as a force for peace. Johnson and Sampson (1994) in **Religion: the Missing Dimension of Statecraft** concur with this view when they posit that, "We all realise that religious

differences have often been the cause or pretext for war. Less known is the fact that the actions of many religious persons and communities point in the other direction. They demonstrate that religion can be a potent force in encouraging peaceful resolution of conflict". Sampson (1997) further proposes that religion can be used as a tool in developing an "increasingly intentional and systemic approach to peacebuilding". Religion is a particularly significant factor in the emergence of issues such as human rights, economic equity and humanitarian intervention. At the same time, the emergence of feminist perspectives, non violence and NGO or social movements owe their roots to religion, yet the paradigms to international or even local politicians have tended to remove religion form this equation (Fox: 2001: 73). Within some religious communities such as the Mennonites Central Committee, there is an increasingly intentional and systematic approach to peacebuidling. In societies such as Rwanda, Uganda, Sudan, Croatia and Bosnia- Herzegovina, religious actors are increasingly being targeted as a critical constituency to be trained and mobilized for peacebuidling. NGOs in the relief and development sectors are also being witnessed embracing a religious approach in their work. From all this, Sampson (1997: 307) concludes that' "there is a pluralism of roles, actors and methodologies in the religious sector" and that "the time has come to identify, encourage, develop and mobilise and empower the special resources and potentials for the constructive resolution of conflict- and to coordinate their contribution as integral to the larger peacebuilding enterprise". Appleby (2002) reviews the several roles of religion in peacebuilding. He identifies different kinds of religious actors in peacebuilding which include religious NGOs, national and transnational religious hierarchies, ecumenical and intereligious bodies and local religious communities. These conduct a range of activities from preventive diplomacy, education and training, conflict mediation, nonviolent protest and advocacy for structural reform.

Ho-Won Jeong (2002) and a cast of experts explore the ways in which the dynamics of post-conflict situations can be transformed to sustainable peace. The authors focus on designs and models of peacebuilding, functions of peacekeeping, capacity building through negotiations, reconciliation, the role of gender in social reconstruction, and policy coordination among different components of peacebuilding. The analysis illustrates past and current experiences of peacebuilding and suggests conceptual and policy approaches that can overcome the weaknesses of existing strategies.

This paper is looking at the maintenance of sustainable peace between NGOs and the State, hence there is need to analyse the role of development organisations in peacebuilding. In various contributions, Jonathan Goodhand framed this debate as the question of whether development agencies should try working *in* or *on* conflict (Goodhand 2001). Working *in* conflict signifies that development and humanitarian organisations retain their original mandate, but take care to deliver their services in ways that do not further exacerbate the conflict. This is reminiscent of Mary Anderson (1999)'s "Do No Harm" prescription where she encourages aid agencies not to be involved in conflict by being partial when delivering their services. When agencies work *on* conflict, they broaden their mandate to address political and conflict issues, thereby consciously compromising humanitarian principles such as neutrality and the priority of saving lives and livelihoods. Even if these positions rarely exist in their pure form, aid agencies need

to take decisions about how far they are prepared to go in their political engagement. Development practitioners are left to choose whether they want to limit themselves to "do no harm", work on structural conflict issues, empower peace constituencies, engage in mediation and Track II diplomacy, or dedicate themselves to advocacy on the conflict. Different genres of NGOs adopt different approaches to building peace, with some working in the conflict while others focus more on the conflict.

Another approach to peacebuilding is through problem-solving workshops. A problem solving workshop constitutes a very carefully constructed process of convening and selecting participants to talk about the problem and find solutions thereon. Analytical problem solving is an approach to difficult conflicts developed by conflict scholars John Burton (1997), Herbert Kelman (1999), and others which focuses upon systematically analyzing a conflict to determine the degree to which fundamental human needs of the parties are being met. Burton borrows from the work of psychologist, Abram Maslow (1970) and sociologist, Paul Site (1973), who argued that the real source of power in social life lies in individual needs such as those for security, recognition, redistributive justice and a sense of control. In cases where there are significant unmet needs, analytical problem solving examines options for meeting those needs as a way of resolving the conflict. These workshops sometimes referred to as "interactive problem-solving", provide a venue for persons who unofficially represent parties to the conflict. These people therefore engage in the process of "collaborative analysis" of the problems that separate them. According to Christopher Mitchell (199?), the workshops are usually informal and they are done in a setting that permits the re-analysis of their conflict as a shared problem. Participants come out with alternative courses of action as well as self-sustaining resolutions. Besides providing for an analysis of the interests, needs, perceptions, tactics and goals of the parties, the approach allows for the costing of different alternatives and for the deducing of policies and structures that would lead to mutual fulfillment. This type of approach can encompass attitudes, interpersonal relationships and social, political and economic structures. Ultimately, the goal of this facilitative process is to rationally transform conflictual attitudes and situations. This belief is based on the assumption that human beings are capable of consciously changing their behaviour based on past experience (Hill: 1986). Such discussions can focus on improving interpersonal understanding and trust between groups, or they can go so far as to explore options for dispute settlement. However, problem-solving workshops have a major limitation in that they tend to work among those who share a common language and common values.

The conflict transformation perspective is another approach to building peace or mending broken relationships. This view of conflicts regards conflict as organic, with genesis or birth, growth into maturation and ultimate death. In other words, conflict is assumed to have a life cycle Conflict transformation implies developing a solution that will not reappear in another time or place to demand solutions for resolutions that did not work the first time. According to Vayrynen(1991: 6), conflict transformation may take place in several ways. It can happen through actor transformation whereby there are changes in major parties to the conflict or there is appearance and recognition of new actors. Issue transformation occurs when the political agenda of the conflict is altered.

This can be through reducing the relative importance of issues which might have caused antagonism. Issue transformation is made possible when actors in the conflict begin to emphasise the commonality which prevails among them, thereby resulting in the demystification of dichotomies that might exist among them. Rule transformation entails the redefinition of norms which the actors are expected to follow in their mutual relations, while structural transformation comprises of the overhauling of the entire structure of relations between parties to the conflict. The strength of conflict transformation lies in its ability to address deep-rooted suspicions that parties may have had against each other. The approach gives attention to the long-term relationship and issues that engendered the conflict.

Dialogue is a process in which parties engage in deep and meaningful conversations with their opponents, not for the purpose of resolving a dispute. Through dialogue, disputants break down negative stereotypes, focus on deep-rooted feelings, values, and needs, and come to understand the complexity of the conflict and the issues on all sides. Dialogue assists groups to discuss their interests. It allows for the search of issues, interests and motives. Through dialoguing, groups learn to work together. Groups which are interdependent are less able to sever ties in a severe conflict. Thus the development of interdependence is an escalation-avoidance strategy. It is also an approach to de-escalate a conflict, as interdependence encourages cooperation, which then encourages peacebuilding efforts. Negotiation can be considered the fundamental form of dialoguing in dispute resolution. For Vayrynen (1999), the main method of solving a conflict is negotiation, which, to be effective should focus on mutual gains rather than fixed interests. Essentially it involves two or more parties working together to examine their interests and needs, and working out a solution that will give the best possible outcome to both sides. This can be done cooperatively, where parties focus on interests instead of positions (Fisher, Ury and Patton: 1991). Thus, an explicit objective of negotiation is to help a party to realise its interests in cooperation with others. Adam Curle discusses the concept the movement from confrontation to negotiation in his peacebuilding framework known as, "the progression of conflict". For Curle, conflict starts as a subtle or latent issue, and progresses into over conflict or confrontation. This stage require then that there be rebalancing of power in the relationship of parties to the conflict. This can be done through allowing parties to address their basic needs by they negotiate with each other. Thus, negotiation allows parties to the conflict to be more aware of their interdependence as they are now made to mutually recognise the existence of the other. In essence, negotiation means that various people or groups involved recognise that neither can simply impose their will on nor eliminate the other side, but that they must work with one another to achieve their goals.

Preventative diplomacy or conflict prevention is another way of building peace and maintaining sound relationships between parties. It analyzes current problems and trends to identify situations which seem likely to escalate if not effectively managed. Steps can then be taken to remedy the situation before the conflict escalates so much that it becomes difficult to deal with. If successful, this approach can eliminate the need for dispute resolution activities by avoiding the conflict in the first place.

An understanding of different approaches to building peace, it is hoped will generate some discussion and insights on how the NGOs and government departments in Makoni district can peacefully work together and deal with relationship problems that may ensue during the process of interaction

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0. DATA FINDINGS/ ANALYSIS

5.1. State –NGO Relations in Makoni District

From the interaction with different government departments and the NGOs in Makoni focusing on HIV and AIDS, it was established that these two facets of social reality are interacting amicably. From the NGOs that were interviewed, it emerged that they interact with the relevant government departments peacefully. This peace has to be manufactured in the sense that these government departments have the capacity to affect the scope, focus and efficacy of the work of these NGOs. My interpretation was that there are structural reasons that call for interaction between NGOs and the government departments in Makoni. For the government department, NGOs are their stakeholders in certain committees. In Makoni Rural District Council, there is a committee on Children in Difficult Circumstances, and naturally such committee includes NGOs like FACT, DOMCCP and FOST. The presence and participation in community development issues is heavily welcome indeed. This committee is a platform where NGOs and the various government departments have the opportunity to share ideas, network or discuss any relationship or structural problems that might have emanated during their day to day interactions. According to the District Social Welfare Officer, the government department of Social Welfare, for it to operate effectively, partners with a number of NGOs which are focusing on children. He acknowledges that due to the rampant impact of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, the district is faced with a large number of orphans or children who are affected by AIDS, as well as adults whose lives are affected by the pandemic. Due to such a scenario of the impact of HIV and AIDS in the community, the department of Social Welfare finds itself partnering with NGOs which are focusing on this pandemic in order to enable the poor and vulnerable groups to access medical care and treatment. The department also finds itself merging with child focused NGOs like FOST when making arrangements for alternative care for orphaned children. The department of Social Welfare is the entity that has the mandate to take up cases of child abuse, while NGOs can only refer such cases to the department for legal action. A representative from FOST acknowledged that, as an organisation, FOST refers cases of child abuse to the department of Social Welfare because FOST is not empowered to take legal recourse for such issues. In this case, one can conclude that the relationship between some NGOs and government departments is structurally determined. This means that the nature of both entities' work requires that they interact and work closely in a peaceful manner. This concurs with Bratton (1990)'s idea that although NGOs and the government are sometimes uncomfortable bedfellows, in some situations they are forced to cohabit because of the nature of their work which requires cooperation lest the constituency suffers.

The relationship between NGOs and the State is also determined by some policy requirements which were established by the government. NGOs now are supposed to be transparent to the government and to the district authorities they are operating in. Thus, most government departments are mandated to monitor NGOs which fall under their

jurisdiction. For example, the department of Social Welfare is responsible for monitoring NGOs like FACT and FOST to see whether they are operating according to government policy. The department of Social Welfare is currently responsible for the registration of FACT into a private voluntary organisation that is separate from FACT-Mutare, their Head Office. The policy framework in Zimbabwe holds that NGOs should be transparent with their activities, and NGOs have responded to this call by bringing in representatives from government departments inside their business so that they have an idea of how NGO operations are unfolding. This means that most heads of Government department are ex-officio members of NGOs' Boards of Directors. For example, the representatives from the Ministries of Health and Child Welfare, Education and Social Welfare are all members of the FACT- Rusape Board, DOMCCP and FOST. Being Board members for NGOs has allowed NGOs and government departments to share ideas on how to approach particular development challenges. Other policy frameworks that determine HIV and AIDS NGOs' operations include the Zimbabwe Orphan Care policy, The National AIDS policy and the Gender policy.

Further, registered NGOs are required to submit at least quarterly reports of their work to government departments that are in the line of their work. The Ministry of Public Service and Social Welfare expects registered Private Voluntary Organisations or NGOs to also submit annual reports and audited statements of accounts so that the government and NGOs are both in tandem with the issues of public accountability and transparency. However, it is noteworthy that not all NGOs have been respecting this policy framework as the department of Social Welfare has indicated that it has not received reports form each and every NGO operating in the district of Makoni. In addition, the Government of Zimbabwe introduced a National HIV/AIDS Policy in December 1999; to guide programs aimed a combating HIV/AIDS. In 1999, the Government introduced the AIDS Levy which culminated in the establishment of the National AIDS Trust Fund, managed by a National AIDS Council Board, responsible and reporting directly to the Minister of Health and Child Welfare. The National AIDS Council, in turn established Provincial and District AIDS Action Committees which are responsible for integrating the work of various NGOs and government departments which are focusing on HIV and AIDS. Membership to DAAC is compulsory for NGOs who are working in the area of work. Thus, one can conclude that the coexistence of HIV and AIDS NGOs and the government departments is also due to "peace by forceful means". According to one NGO representative from Makoni District, NGOs have no choice but to enjoy working with government departments. If they do not follow policy guidelines, then they risk being denied entry and sustainability in the communities they are operating in. This attitude is compounded by the fact that the designing of the HIV and AIDS policy was not characterised by adequate consultation of stakeholders, NGOs included. The maintenance of accountability by NGOs to their host governments is regarded as an important facet in the maintenance of peaceful coexistence between NGOs and the state. Tandon (1995) acknowledges the role of annual reports and audited statements of accounts in dispelling suspicion between NGOs and the State. Tandon argues that NGOs have an obligation to account to the governments of the countries in which they operate by making available some information on their activities as well as their expenditure of funds.

The State –NGO relationship is also determined by need. There is a dialectical relationship between NGOs and the State in Makoni. This dyad becomes evident when one notes how both NGOs and the State depend upon each other. NGOs and the government depend on each other for several reasons. Firstly, the government has been cash strapped owing largely to the impact of structural adjustment programs. Owing to SAP's policy, governments have been made to cut on social spending, hence unproductive government departments like Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Public Service and Social Welfare have been hardest hit by the plague of resource shortage. Because government department lack the necessary material resources to reach out to the communities, they have been forced to rely on NGOs to deliver the goods. In the words of the District Social Welfare officer, *'Although NGOs are more on the ground and closer to communities, but they communicate back to us"*.

NGOs in Makoni which are focusing on HIV and AIDS, with particular attention to children compiled a database of orphaned and vulnerable children. This information was forwarded to the Department of Social Welfare, which had no resources to carry out the survey of children in difficult circumstances. Sometimes, when government officers want to visit the communities, they team up with NGOs visiting that particular area in order to maneuver around the transport challenge that has grounded most of the work by government departments. However, the relationship is not one-sided because NGOs also depend on government departments for a variety of reasons. The NGOs in Makoni depend on the government departments for infrastructural and structural support. For example, for FOST to successfully undertake its therapeutic feeding programs, get assistance from the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare because they will be using the local clinics and the health staff to do the screening of malnourished children. The NGOs that are offering mitigation and care services to people infected and affected by HIV and AIDS make use of clinic too to store their drugs. NGOs are rather "footloose" since they do not stay for good in a community. Apart from that, NGOs tend to have smaller structures, which therefore imply that they can only introduce pockets of development through "pilot projects". This hampers their efficacy. Government departments and structures, on the other hand, tend to be more permanent even if there is change of ruling parties. Owing to this, there appears to be a symbiotic relationship between the State and NGOs, albeit structurally determined. NGOs also depend on the State to provide policy framework and structure of community entry. NGOs that are working in Makoni district are required to follow the structures in the community that were established by the government in 1980. These structures include traditional leaders, Councilors, Village Development Committees and Ward Development Committees. NGOs cannot bypass these structures for fear that their projects might not be regarded as legitimate. This scenario where the NGOs depend on the State for these reasons is aptly summarized by Clayton (2000) who posits that, "The State is responsible for ensuring a foundation of law, a benign policy environment, investment in people and infrastructure, protection of the vulnerable as well as protection of the environment and natural resources". This also concurs with Hadenius and Uggla's position that the State has the ability to strengthen civil society. In other words, there is a strategic alliance between the State and NGOs because the success of HIV and AIDS programs depends on the cooperation of

stakeholders because the pandemic requires a multifaceted and multi-sectoral approach. This scenario demonstrates that NGO s are not taking over government, but that they are providing services that governments alone are failing to.

The State and NGOs in Makoni district are also witnessing a shift at the relational level. From the interviews that were conducted, it was revealed that non-formal methods of interaction between government staff and NGO workers are being implemented to communicate. Such non formal methods of interaction include courtesy calls, friendships as well as informal meetings. Most people interviewed contended that these methods were effective in building and maintaining relations between the State and NGO development practitioners. Although meetings and monthly reports are also used by NGOs to update relevant government authorities of the work of NGOs, such foray are also complemented by informal methods of interaction. This reinforces Maire Dugan's assertion that peacebuilding should be taken as mending or maintaining a relationship.

The emerging theme from the NGOs in Makoni district is that if NGOs do not go through the government channels and the structures in the community, their work may be hampered. The communities in the district have high regard for government appointed figures as well as political figures who are aligned to the ruling party. This is because of the general assumption that the NGOs are externally funded, and therefore they might have ulterior motives. Thus, legitimacy of NGOs in Makoni district has been eroded due to their exogenous dimension. One NGO in the study had to temporarily stop operations as local politicians and community members, for some reason believed this organisation was linked to opposition parties and some external agencies. The dispute was only resolved when the NGO went with its problem to some top party members who visited the community and convinced the people that the NGO was apolitical. This incident confirms Hellinger, Hellinger and O'Regan (1988)'s qualms about NGOs relying on external funding. Quoting a traditional African proverb, they say, *"If you have your hand in another man's pocket, you must move when he moves"*. This argument basically implies that external links of NGOs compromises their independence from donors, which in turn affects their reception from the communities they seek to serve. NGOs basically know that they rely on the formal relationships between governments and their citizens for them to effectively deliver their programs. Although scholars like Farrington and Bebbington (1987) note that NGOs have substituted the State in key aspects of development, particularly service provision, NGOs still need to pay reverence to the State for its hold over the citizens. Thus, peaceful linkages are maintained when the NGOs regard state structures as important. The incident when one NGOs was put to task by some local politicians was only resolved when that NGOs sought the assistance of the Chief Executive Officer of Makoni Rural District Council as well as the District Administrator who then went to explain to the people that the NGO was indeed apolitical. It was after this name clearance from the State Institutions that the NGO later gained legitimacy in the eyes of the community.

During my observations of meetings between the State and NGOs, for example the DAAC meetings, I discovered that religion was used in the proceedings. Although it was not that blatant, I noted that all meetings started after a prayer as well as the traditional

clapping in reverence to the Chief Makoni, even though the Chief was not necessarily present during these meetings. These gestures tended to put participants in the meeting on equal footing as they identified with the same values. In a way, these religious symbols pacified even tense scenarios so that discussions would be conducted with everyone knowing that they were doing things under the watchful eye of God, so to speak. In other words, these religious gestures played a functionally important role, as Durkheim would say, of demystifying any existing problems between parties to the meeting. Such religious practices even "trickled down" to the grassroots level as NGOs and State departments holding any meeting in the community follow this approach of starting with a prayer and traditional clapping for the Chief. These practices by both parties reinforce the notion of the State and NGOs acting in unison and for a common purpose.

The State and NGOs are therefore seen to be coexisting in an environment where overt conflict is not the norm. There are mechanisms that are being employed to enhance harmonious interactions between these two parties. However, absence of open incidence of conflict does not entail that there are no challenges to peace. Although peaceful relations exist, there is still need to ensure that this peace is not ephemeral, but that it is wholly owned and sustainable. This done, will ensure sustainable and successful service provision to the communities as they battle against the HIV and AIDS pandemic.

5.2. Changes in the State-NGO Relationship

Both NGO representatives and government department officials agreed that there was a paradigmatic shift vis- a-vis the State-NGO relations over the past 5 years. Most of them noted that prior to 2000, the relationship between NGOs and the government departments tended to be conflictual and competitive, while the post 2000 era has been characterised by a mutually reinforcing relationship. NGO workers also acknowledged that since 2000, relations between NGOs and the State have developed for the better and this is manifested by a higher degree of networking between NGOs and the State. For example, in the area of HIV and AIDS, NGOs and the various government departments have a forum where they meet to share ideas and embark on activities. This forum is known as the District AIDS Action Committee (DAAC). DAAC is the result of the government of Zimbabwe's National Policy on HIV and AIDS, with a view to make the management and mitigation of HIV and AIDS multisectoral in orientation. DAAC was initiated by the National AIDS Council so as to allow stakeholders at district level to fight the pandemic in a mutually reinforcing manner. DAAC has also inadvertently served a very useful function of coordinating NGO activities as all NGOs with a focus on HIV and AIDS are required to be DAAC members. This is useful in the sense that not only government departments are aware of what NGOs are doing, but NGOs also get to know what programs their counterparts in Makoni district are delivering and to which communities. This avoids duplication of activities, which in turn curbs the problem of NGOs and government departments competing over constituencies. NGOs and the government departments involved in any HIV and AIDS work meet once a month in the DAAC forum, under the Chairmanship of the Makoni Rural District Council to discuss progress issues, activities of various organisations in the area of HIV and AIDS as well as to offer each other support in deliverance of programs. Asked to explain why there was this change, officials from most government departments said that they began to realise that there was no need to compete with each other since each entity was well endowed with a particular form of resource. While NGOs possessed material resources and human resources expertise, government departments also realized that they had political and social capital which NGOs needed in order to gain entry into the community as well as maintain legitimacy in the eyes of the communities they serve. One other explanation for such a shift in relations could also lie in the political fabric of the Makoni District. Since the 2002 parliamentary and council elections, Makoni district is a de facto one –party district, with all members of parliament and councilors bearing the ruling ZANU (PF) party ticket. This has implication of creating "peace" as there are no party squabbles or suspicions from government of NGOs promoting the opposition. Thus, the de facto one party state is responsible for crating this placid atmosphere, which some scholars like Sriskandarajah (2002) refer to as "uneasy peace".

Most NGO representatives and officials from State institutions agreed that there is a change in the State-NGO relations. They acknowledge that the "one party State" scenario in Makoni district may be the reason for such quiet relations. The district is known for having politicians who are all members of ZANU (PF), the ruling party. Such absence of oppositional politics has disenabled the tense atmosphere that characterised the district prior to the 2000 elections. With all the seats in the district being occupied by the ruling

party, Makoni district tends to have smooth working relations between NGOs and the State institutions as the degree of suspicion is not very strong. Soon after the 2000 elections, all the NGOs operating in the district had a meeting with the local Members of Parliament, explaining their role in the development of Makoni district. Because of such moves towards transparency, the State institutions have also tended to be supportive of the programs being delivered by NGOs. According to one State official, "NGOs are coming back now. Before the elections, they were aloof and superior". Since the 2000 era, NGOs have tended to follow the dictates of the State when it comes to operational principles. For example, the Public Order and Security Act (2002) requires that they notify the Home Affairs Ministry, through the local police as well as the State security officials if they are to hold any meeting with the police. While this act may seem repressive, the State justifies it by arguing that it allows for the monitoring of any subversive or inimical acts by some members of the community. However, the NGOs seem to be uncomfortable with the increasing hegemony of State institutions, which is being reinforced by several statutory instruments. One NGO representative feels that some of the instruments were imposed, and they have the consequent result of marginalising NGOs in decision making yet they should be partners with State institutions when providing services to the community. The new regulations are said to make State institutions and their officials feel that they are more superior to NGOs, yet they do not have resources to achieve substantial development. In the words of one NGO representatives, "the present scenario forces NGOs to mix with State institutions. Failure to follow the new rules of the game results in NGOs being labelled opposition parties". Questioned whether such a forced relationship can be sustainable, indications were such that NGOs cannot do without the State. NGOs are seen trying to convince State bureaucrats of the efficacy of their programs before being given mandate to embark on projects. It is also felt that NGOs should not try to replace government through their projects, but should play a complementary role. According to one NGO representative, "NGOs and the State cannot do without the other. We are not a government. Rather, NGO programs should be supported by the State because both entities seek to develop communities."

Despite such smooth relations, there are however grey areas in the State-NGO relations. NGOs feel that they have no problem with the State bureaucrats, but they have had some misunderstanding with the local politicians. Some NGO representatives feel that the local politicians like councillors are suspicious because they are always accusing NGOs of different things like being linked to the opposition. This could be explained by the fact that the councillors do not meet much at formal platforms with NGOs, unlike the State officials who sometimes deliver services or projects together with NGOs. For example, the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare is involved in training voluntary caregivers who look after people affected by AIDS in the communities. Such caregivers are trained by the health Department on behalf of NGOs like FACT, FOST and DOMCCP. The Ministry of Health also offers technical advice to HIV and AIDS NGOs working in the district. Thus, State departments are more involved in NGO program relative to the politicians who only manage to get snapshot views of NGO program at community meetings. Another reason why politicians may be suspicious of NGOs is the apolitical stance by NGOs. NGOs declare that they should not take part in party politics, hence they

do not participate in sloganeering or other expected political behaviour. This non –
aligned stance to party politics may be misconstrued by politicians as portraying an anti-
ruling party stance. However, this is not to say that NGOs and politicians in Makoni are
at loggerheads. Some members of Parliament are known to support NGOs in their
program delivery. They attend field days, competitions and events like the World TB
Day, World Health Day and the Day of the African Child to show their support to
organisations working in the area of AIDS.

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated that the relations between the State and HIV/
AIDS NGOs are far from conflictual, yet not so perfect. The State and NGOs do share
common goals in the sense that both institutions are providing services to the people with
the aim of reducing the impact of HIV and AIDS. While the State depends on NGOs on
resources and service provision due to its crippled economy, NGOs still require State
support in order to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the communities they seek to help. The
government has taken a new stance by passing some legislation and introducing policies
designed to monitor and control NGO activities, which although viewed with disdain in
some sectors of the NGO sector, are nonetheless helpful in establishing the code of
conduct for NGOs. The shortage of resources on the part of government has also tended
to draw both parties together, but this factor does not act in isolation. The nexus between
the State and the NGOs was also facilitated by the political environment which is
characterised by homogeneous political personnel in Makoni, who all belong to the ruling
party in Zimbabwe. Such factors have contributed to the placated relations between
NGOs and the State.

5.3. Peacebuidling Models That Can Be Applied To The Makoni Case

Lederach 's peacebuilding Framework

The Makoni District has potential to emerge as a community where both the State and HIV and AIDS NGOs can work together peacefully and sustainably in the near future. THE State and NGOs in the district have been using some methods of maintaining harmonious relations between themselves so as to ensure the success of service provision to the communities. On e model of peacebuilding that is applicable to the Makoni scenario is Lederach's peacebuilding framework.. John Paul Lederach suggests a peacebuilding framework that is comprehensive and that takes on board all the stakeholders. For Lederach (1995), "a comprehensive framework understands the transformative process in conflict as both a long-term and short-term challenge". This framework acknowledges parity of esteem in the role of top level, middle range and grassroots actors in building peace. The Makoni case demonstrates the efficacy of the Lederach framework. Here, top level actors in building peace include key government official who wield power and influence as well as heads of institutions. These include the District Administrator and the Chief Executive Officer of the Makoni Rural District Council. The Directors of Non Governmental organisations also occupy this brass. Negotiations that can occur between these two parties include the need for programs to be implemented. Top level negotiations have occurred between one NGO which was threatened with dismissal until the issue was taken to the DA and the CEO of the Rural District Council for their attention. When leaders had agreed and negotiated with each other, the results of such dialogue later filtered down to the grassroots, thereby resulting in the community allowing the NGO back into their area to operate again. The middle range actors are the civil servants and the NGO staff who are also well, respected by the communities. The grassroots make up the majority of community members as well as local leaders and community based organisations. Such people have been influential in determining the State-NGO relations in Makoni district. Community people have been empowered to demand services from providers who are both the State and NGOs. The community have structures in place that enable them to interact with both the State institutions and NGOs. Such clarity of methods of community entry have enabled both NGOs and State institutions to be able to deliver services using appropriate channels, and avoiding confusion. The organisation of the community has therefore gone a long way in preventing conflict that could have been caused by duplication of services.

Maire Dugan's Nested Foci

The Maire Dugan nested paradigm considers the narrower and broader aspects of conflict resolution and peacebuilding. For Dugan, peacebuilding should take into consideration both the immediate micro-issues of the conflict as well as the broader systemic concerns. If parties to the conflict take this approach, that therefore implies that conflict is akin to a broken relationship that needs to be restored. The Makoni case can significantly benefit from Dugan's approach to relationship building and maintenance. For example, in

Makoni district, face –to-face tensions between the NGOs representatives and the local Members of Parliament were resolved when the NGOs established a forum which was tasked to go and give feedback to the MPs of the NGO activities in the district. The NGO representatives liaised with the MPs at the relational level as they explained their programs to these MPs. However, the issue did not end at the micro-level. Broader systemic issues were also addressed. After the realisation that local MPs were feeling left out in the NGO activities, the NGOs, during a DAAC meetings, where they met with the other stakeholders from the State Institutions were advised to set up an NGO forum which would have the responsibility of having linkages with the various State arms for the purpose of encouraging transparency and accountability in NGO activities. Thus, the structural issue of the communication gap between NGOs and State Institution was resolved through the creation of this NGO forum.

Adam Curle's Progression of Conflict

Adam Curle is a conflict transformationist who describes conflict as longitudinal because it develops from one form into the other. Curle suggests that conflict moves along a continuum from unpeaceful to peaceful relationships. This movement towards peace is also accompanied by the changing roles of the parties to the conflict. Thus, conflict moves from being latent or hidden, to being open and confrontational and lastly to being transformed through negotiations or power balancing. This description is reminiscent of the Makoni case study as from the findings, most participants to this study agreed that the relations between the State and NGOs have transformed to the better over the past five years. Prior to the 2000 era, the relationship between the State and NGOs was said to be characterised by covert conflict as NGOs dictated the pace of events owing to their resource abundance and power from the global politic. Although, this was to the disdain of the State, nothing much was done, hence the conclusion that at this stage the conflict was latent. However, just before the 2000 Parliamentary election, the conflict between the State and NGOs became open as there were exchanges and accusations between the two. While the State accused the NGOs of being unaccountable and having imperialist and subversive tendencies, the NGOs also complained against the authoritarian nature of the State as well as the failure of the State to allow for different actors to participate in service provision. However, the confrontational stage ended in 2002 when the State and the NGOs went back to the drawing board to discuss methods of improving service provision in the community. This witnessed many NGOs and State Institutions becoming members of the same committees like the District AIDS Action Committee (DAAC), the Rural District Development Committee (RDDC) and the Committee on Children in Difficult Circumstances. The State and NGOs therefore sought a common ground and reminded each other that both their needs were paramount. This negotiation led to the restructuring of the State-NGO relationship to one where "more peaceful relations" exist.

The above discussion has demonstrated that in Makoni District, there is potential for the State and NGOs to build sustainable linkages as they offer different services in the area of HIV and AIDS. The different peacebuilding frameworks that have been applied bear testimony to the existence of grounds for peace which only need to be scaled up.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter spells out the lessons learnt recommendations and conclusion.

6.1. Lessons Learnt

This research has spurned quite a number of lessons in the area of relationship and peacebuiling. It was revealed that relationships are determined by a variety of factors which include the socio-economic and political context. Further, certain structural issues like the channels of communication, resource availability as well as policies appear to have had a bearing on the State-NGO relationship. Thus, the State and NGOs were interacting not only at the official structural levels, but also at individual level since both NGOs and State staff discovered that building individual relations promotes sustainable peace. These discoveries therefore reinforce the notion that peacebuilding is a multifaceted concept that touches on all levels including the personal, social, structural, religious and political issues. Knowing about the holistic nature of peace in Makoni district has necessitated the search for a way forward or recommendations that would ensure the maintenance of peaceful and sustainable linkages between the State institutions and NGOs in Makoni as they work towards fighting the HIV and AIDS pandemic.

6.2. Recommendations

The data from the research above has demonstrated the need for continued sustainable linkages between NGOs and government departments in Makoni District. There is no separation between humanitarian issues and political ones. This means that in the process of their interaction, State institutions and HIV and AIDS NGOs exchange and strive for power, hence the relatrionship cannot be said to be apolitical. In the light of the above findings, there were quite substantial recommendations that came from the informants on how to build and sustain peaceful linkages between the State and the NGOs working in the area of HIV and AIDS in Makoni District.

The State and NGOs should keep on networking on development and service provision matters since both parties share the common goal of reducing the impact of HIV and AIDS. NGOs should not take advantage of the shortage of resources that is bedeviling the State currently by by-passing its authority and disregarding policy. Rather, the inadequacy of the State should be complemented by NGOs with the goal of improving service provision, not substituting the State.

On the other hand, the weakening state, due to the absence of economic and resource preponderance should not deal with its quagmire by simply by tightening its grip on NGOs for the sake of it. When NGOs feel they are not consulted in the development of policies that affect their activities, there is a tendency for some feelings of resentment to develop. This poses a difficult dilemma on NGOs on whether to respond to the State

dictates or stop operation. In some areas, NGOs following the stringent measures from the State, have stopped operations thereby resulting in more gaps in the development arena. The most affected in this power struggle are the grassroots people.

While NGOs are encouraged to stick to policy documents governing their operations, it has been realised that accords and legal instruments are not the only instruments that should influence the State- NGO relations. It should be borne in mind that the liaison of NGOs and the State is found at the relational level. Thus, efforts should also be made to cultivate a habit of promoting informal interactions between NGO staff and State workers. Such habits are already being practised, although at a small scale. Informal interactions help nurture the spirit of trust and friendship which is essential in any relationship.

NGOs and the State should make way for formal fora where the two parties are able to network, share ideas and resolve problematic issues. Although such platforms like the DAAC and Rural District Development Committee meetings are already in place, it is recommended that they happen frequently, rather than once a month as it is now. Thus, NGOs and the State should not work in isolation, but should jointly approach problems because experience and research in the area of HIV and AIDS indicate that a multi - sectoral approach to the management of the HIV/AIDS epidemic offers tangible benefits to the communities affected.

By continuing to liaise with each other and updating the other party on program developments, NGOs and the State institutions would be able to avoid duplication of services, which is another cause of competition between the State and NGOs.

6.3. Conclusion

This research has demonstrated that the State-NGO relations in Makoni are a product of time, context as well as structural issues. The State-NGO relations, with particular reference to those NGOs focusing on HIV and AIDS have shifted tremendously over the past five years owing to the developments on national politics, economic conditions as well as the continued toll of the pandemic. While the de facto one party system in Makoni has witnessed a sort of harmonious relationship between NGOs and the State, some circles feel that such "uneasy peace" is not adequate unless it is juxtaposed to other peacebuilding approaches like dialogue, networking as well as adherence to policy. The economic challenges facing the country have been a blessing in disguise in the area of peace. Although shortage of resources in government departments like Health, Education and Social Welfare has led to the disenabling of the State in service provision, NGOs have come in with a complementary approach, seek to fill in the gaps left by the State, and co-opting the State where necessary. The continued havoc by HIV and AIDS has also led the State that it can not fight a battle against the pandemic alone, hence the welcoming of NGOs even in the face of the current dichotomy between Zimbabwe and the Western countries and donors. Such a context poses possibilities of sustainable peaceful relations between NGOs and the State as both realise they need each other in order to effectively provide services to the communities. Although it might seem as if NGOs and the State have been unintentionally brought together, it is still a cause for hope that such a link might not remain ephemeral, but should become permanent and more relational. Although the nexus between NGOs and the State may have some aspects of duress, the challenge remains for development practitioners and State officials to transform the structural and institutionalised relationship into a more social relationship that is characterised by cooperation.

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ANNEX 1: ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DA	District Administrator
DAAC	District AIDS Action Committee
DNO	District Nursing Officer
DOMCCP	Diocese Community Care Program
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
FACT	Family AIDS Caring Trust
FOST	Farm Orphan Support Trust
HIV	Human Immune Virus
IGAD	Inter- Governmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
NAC	National AIDS Council
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
RDC	Rural District Council
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
RDDC	Rural District Development Committee
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UZ-UCSF	University of Zimbabwe-University of California San Francisco
VIDCO	Village Development Committee
WAAC	Ward AIDS Action Committee
WAG	Women Action Group
WARDCO	Ward Development Committee
WILSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa
WB	World Bank
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZimAhead	Zimbabwe Ahead
ZimRights	Zimbabwe Human Rights
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR NGO-STATE RELATIONS RESEARCH

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE (NGO STAFF)

INTRODUCTION
My name is Martha Mutisi. I work for Regai Dzive Shiri Project, which as you know is also operating in Makoni District in the area of adolescent reproductive health, which also encompasses some work in HIV/AIDS. I am also a student with Africa University, enrolled in the Masters Program in Peace, Leadership and Governance. I am therefore carrying out research on NGO-Government relations, to see how NGOs focusing on HIV/AIDS are interacting with the various government departments at district level. I hope to get information that would be of help in building peaceful and sustainable linkages between government and NGOs, not only in Makoni District but in the country as a whole. I therefore request you to answer the few questions that I have and join me in a discussion that I envisage to be not only interesting experience, but a worthy and fruitful venture to both of us.

Explain to them that they should willingly join the discussion, and that they can withdraw at any time. Ensure that the key informant willingly consents to hold the interview with you by signing a consent form.

Thank you for agreeing to hold the interview with me. Before we proceed, do you have any quetsions?

Answer the informant's questions

Topic 1
Key informant general information
Name
Name of organisation
Job title
Duties and responsibilities

Topic 2
General information about the organisation
Can you decsribe what your organisation does?
- Vision
- Mission
- Activities
- Area of focus
- Why you chose to work in Makoni/ how did you end up in mMakoni?
  Establish whether this was by choice or the choice was from government/ rural district council.

Topic 3
Relations with government departments
- Describe your interaction at District level with various state departments:
- Ministry of Health and Child Welfare

- Department of Social Welfare
- Ministry of Education
- Ministry of Youth, Gender and Employment Creation
- District Administrator
- Ministry of Local Government
  - Rural District Council
  - Governor
  - Councillors
- Ministry of Home Affairs
  - Zimbabwe Republic Police
- Politicians
  - Members of Parliament
  - Councillors

For each department, ask
- How often do you interact?
- On what matters do you consult this department?
- What matters do you regard as needing no consulation/ autonomous?
(Ask the informant to draw a Venn Diagram (chapati) to depict the nature of relationship and degree of interaction with each government department they have mentioned).

When you look at the relationship between your organisation and the government, when do you see the two parties complementing/ cooperating?

When do you see the government and your organisation competing/ conflicting?

Can you cite any events that you remember more for the cooperation between you and a government department/ departments?
- When was that?
- What was the issue involved?
- What were the results?
- How was the community affected?

Can you cite any incidents between you organisation and a government department/ departments that you remember more for the conflict/ tension/ competition?
- When was that?
- What issue was involved?
- How was this resolved?
- What were the results?
- How was the community affected?

Topic 4
Determinants of the NGO-State relations
What are the instruments that are used to guide the relationship between you and the government departments?
- Legal instruments?
- Meetings
- Contracts?

- Verbal agreements?

Rank the effectiveness of each method/ instrument.

What, in your opinion are the factors that affect the relationship between NGOs and the government?

> *Ask them to cite specific examples, or to use pseudonyms for confidentiality.*

Topic 5
Relations with other NGOs
Describe your relationship with the other NGOs working in Makoni District.

- When do you consult each other?
- When are you autonomous?
- How does this affect the community?
- How does this affect your relations with government departments?

(Ask the informant to draw a Venn Diagram (chapati) to depict the nature of relationship and degree of interaction with each NGO they have mentioned, then do and interview of the venn diagram).

Topic 6
Perceived developments in the NGO-State relations
In sum, how do you perceive the development of NGO-State relations in Makoni in the last five years?

- Do you notice any changes?
- How do you perceive such changes (negatively or positively)?
- What caused such changes?
- How have these changes affected your work?
- How have such changes affected the community?

Can you suggest recommendations for better (sustainable and peaceful) linkages between NGOs and government departments in Makoni District?

Conclusion
Thank you very much for the time and information that you have given me. I hope this information will be of help to all the satkeholders in Makoni District.

Notify the informant that you might come back with feedback for the information that you have collected, or to fill in gaps that might come up.

ANNEX 3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR NGO -STATE RELATIONS RESEARCH

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS STAFF

INTRODUCTION
My name is Martha Mutisi. I work for Regai Dzive Shiri Project, which as you know is also operating in Makoni District in the area of adolescent reproductive health, which also encompasses some work in HIV/AIDS. I am also a student with Africa University, enrolled in the Masters Program in Peace, Leadership and Governance. I am carrying out research on NGO-Government relations, to see how NGOs focusing on HIV/AIDS are interacting with the various government departments at district level. I hope to get information that would be of help in building peaceful and sustainable linkages between government and NGOs, not only in Makoni District but in the country as a whole. I am requesting you to answer the few questions that I have prepared and join me in a discussion that I envisage to be not only interesting experience, but a worthy and fruitful venture to both of us.

Explain to them that they should willingly join the discussion, and that they can withdraw at any time. Ensure that the key informant willingly consents to hold the interview with you by signing a consent form.

Thank you for agreeing to hold the interview with me. Before we proceed, do you have any questions?

Answer the informant's questions

Topic 1
Key informant general information
Name
Name of the government department
Job title
Duties and responsibilities

Topic 2
General information about the government department
Can you describe what your department in Makoni?

Note that this question will allow one to cover the following.
• Vision
• Mission
• Activities
• Area of focus

Topic 3
Relations with Non governmental organisations (NGOs) in Makoni district

- Describe your interaction at District level with various non governmental organisations working in the area of HIV and AIDS in Makoni district *(Note that it is important for the Government staff to articulate the names of the organisation on their own, without the interviewer mentioning it. This helps in establishing the psychological distance between these people)*
  - Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT)
  - Farm Orphan Support Trust (FOST)
  - Catholic Diocese Community Care Program (DOMCCP)
  - Africare
  - ZimAhead

For each NGO they mention, ask
- How often do you interact
- On what matters do you consult this NGO / does the NGO consult your department?
- Why do you interact? *Establish whether this is by choice or the situation forces their interaction.*
- How do you interact? Probe the methods that are used to establish and maintain these linkages.

(Ask the informant to draw a Venn diagram (chapatti) to depict the nature of relationship and degree of interaction with each government department they have mentioned).

When you look at the relationship between your department and NGOs, what do you see?
Probe: do you see your department and NGOs complementing/ cooperating?
        Probe how?

Can you cite any events that you remember more for the cooperation between you and a government department/ departments?
- When was that?
- What was the nature of the issue involved?
- Was it resolved?
- How was this issue resolved? Probe what mechanisms were used to resolve this issue.
- What were the results?
- Was the community affected? Probe how was the community affected?

Can you cite any incidents between your department and a non governmental organisation/ non governmental organisations which you remember more for the conflict/ tension/ competition?
- When was that?

- What issue was involved?
- Was this resolved?
- How was this resolved? Probe what mechanisms were used to resolve the issue.
- What were the results?
- Was the community affected? Probe how the community was affected (impact).

Topic 4

Determinants of the NGO-State relations

What are the instruments that are used to guide the relationship between you and the government departments?
- Legal instruments?
- Meetings
- Contracts?
- Verbal agreements?

On a scale of 1-4, how would you rank the effectiveness of each method/ instrument that you have talked about?

What, in your opinion are the factors that affect the relationship between NGOs and the government?

Ask them to cite specific examples, or to use pseudonyms for confidentiality

Topic 5
Perceived developments in the NGO-State relations

In sum, how do you perceive the development of NGO-State relations in Makoni in the last five years?
- Have you observed any changes?
- Describe the nature of such changes. Probe: How do you perceive such changes (negatively or positively)?
- What in your opinion are some of the reasons for such changes?
- Have these changes affected your work? Probe how, ask them to cite examples.
- How have such changes affected the community?(impact)

Topic 6
Recommendations

Can you suggest recommendations for better (sustainable and peaceful) linkages between NGOs and government departments in Makoni District?

Conclusion

Thank you very much for the time and information that you have given me. I hope this information will be of help to all the stakeholders in Makoni District.

Notify the informant that you might come back with feedback for the information that you have collected, or to fill in gaps that might come up.