On the Sense of Ownership of a Community Integration Project: Phenomenology as Praxis in the Transfer of Project Ownership from Third-Party Facilitators to a Community after Conflict Resolution

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Abstract

There are non-governmental organizations that operate transnationally and there are those that operate within the boundaries of a nation. A third use of non-governmental organizations is articulated. We may call this third category an instrumental use of non-governmental organizations to facilitate the transfer of the work of third-party conflict resolution practitioners to the two previously feuding parties. Representative accounts are provided in Part I of this paper.

In Part II, the instrumental use of the NGO to transfer knowledge from practitioners to the indigenous and previously feuding parties is depicted as a means to fill a practice gap in the field of conflict resolution, where many praxes do not examine the transfer of knowledge in an experiential and discovery-oriented way. An alternative is presented where the process of appropriation is suggested as an object of study.

In Part III, a conceptualization of how one may determine the phenomenology of a sense of ownership of the project by the previously feuding parties is provided. A phenomenological account of the journey from constituting subjectivity to a constituted objectivity is articulated to the point where we see a division of labour between Husserl's transcendental project, that seeks universal and broader essences, and psychology, which is highly contextualized.

Part IV constitutes the implementation of the praxis to answer the specific question, "What is the sense of ownership of the parties in conflict?" - and, derivatively, "What is the fate of the hitherto agonistic relation?" A conflict resolution model is consolidated or reconfigured using the lessons drawn from the results of the study and from a second look at the literature to see where changes in practice and reconceptualization may be required.

Foreword: Context of the Study

After the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the Centre for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction (CSMHI) of the University of Virginia facilitated the restoration of independence for Estonia. It took five years to complete the project - proceeding from the assessment phase, through psychopolitical dialogues between Estonians, Russian-speaking Estonians and Russians from the Federation of Russia, to the use of grassroots integration projects at three sites to foster the transfer of ownership of the project to Estonians themselves. These three sites had to have a population ratio of 50% native Estonians and 50% Russo-

Estonians. Details of these projects have already been published (see Apprey, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001; Volkan, 1997, 1999).

The overall Centre project began in 1994 and officially ended in 1999. Two years later, all three grassroots projects at Klooga, Mustamae and Mustve were thriving. Four years later, the Klooga project had folded. The other two at Mustamae and Mustve continue to thrive. What happened at Klooga? That is the subject of this study. However, this study has to encompass a more comprehensive view of NGOs as a means of handing over a project from facilitators such as CSMHI faculty to grassroots leaders at the project site who have constituted themselves as an NGO. The phenomenological study reported in this paper was designed to privilege the voice of the leaders of the NGO at Klooga, the site that folded in 2001. Those who are interested in a broader articulation of how a phenomenological researcher thinks from beginning to end should read the whole paper, while those who are simply interested in what happened at Klooga may go straight to Part IV of the paper.

Part I: An Instrumental Use of NGOs as Mode of Transfer from Third Party Facilitators to Parties in Conflict

Apprey (1996, 2001) and Volkan (1997) have given accounts of a process-driven conflict resolution practice model. It begins with assessments of hot spots in the environment where historical tensions are embedded, such as nuclear sites, concentration camps, cemeteries, and so on. Psychopolitical dialogues to transform the tensions follow. Joint projects by the previously feuding parties are undertaken *with the assistance* of the third party conflict resolution practitioners. Joint projects by the two parties *without the facilitation* of the third party conclude the series of tasks within this model. *The fourth and concluding stage is where the transfer of ownership of the project takes place. The involvement of non-governmental organizations run jointly by the previously feuding parties is the instrument used to facilitate the transfer. That transfer of ownership is the subject of this study.*

Before embarking on the study, let us look at the landscape to explore multiple and representative practices of NGOs. *There is a practice gap between the specific instrumental use of NGOs in the transfer of ownership of conflict resolution projects* and other ways of using NGOs, as determined by an extensive literature search and by examination of two decades of national and international conferences on interethnic conflict resolution. Nevertheless, elements of other NGO practices might be helpful in the appraisal of the sense of ownership by parties in conflict.

Let us begin with representative transnational NGO practices where the problems targeted cross sovereign states. This rubric of NGO practices has grown exponentially since the end of the Cold War and as a result of the increasing impulse towards globalization. Along with these changes has come an increase in ethnic violence and, in particular, "border" conflicts.

Clark (2001), focusing on "ethical globalization", has given an account of "the dilemmas and challenges of international civil society". In his account, economic globalization has completely changed the political climate, and attention to ethical issues that are associated with neo-liberal politics is needed. To his regret, policy responses to the ever-expanding interdependent world remain focused on immediate national interests. Although there is limited central government focus on global interdependence, citizen action has emerged as one response. Transnational NGOs, then, are following, according to Clark (2001), these pathways: addressing political issues that are not typically taken up by mainstream political authorities and parties; seeking to influence public policy and reform of institutions, as well as change in public attitudes. In addition, NGOs are pursuing transnational cross-constituency campaigns and are using mass media to demonstrate their strength and their fund of knowledge to advance their cause. Subserving global movements, NGOs are creating international networks and gaining legitimacy to promote the ethos of internationalism they need in order to gain influence at local, national and international levels. For Clark (2001), the time is ripe for a new phase of interdependence that he calls "ethical globalization in which moral underpinnings of citizens' networks are consolidated into a more systematically-articulated political philosophy that is genuinely international in character and in which movements expose their energies to more rigorous, ethical testing" (p. 22).

As well intended as NGO practices are, they are not without their pitfalls, dilemmas and tensions. Clark outlines five such dilemmas and tensions. Firstly, developing countries see a change from Western imperialism to cultural imperialism, where NGOs are considered to be insensitive to their country's unique sensibilities and stage of industrialization. Secondly, the call to action by NGOs can be inflammatory to policy-makers. Thirdly, NGOs that are single-issue oriented come into conflict with those competing interests that citizens see as complex and even paradoxical. Witness those situations where one problem is solved but yet another is created. Fourthly, there may be conflict between the clarion call to unifocal action and the multifaceted build-up of leadership in communities with complex histories,

experiences, styles of governance, and so on. Lastly, accountability issues remain unresolved. Who has the right to speak for another group is one of many issues of accountability that is yet to be determined.

Whereas John Clark (2001) addresses issues of ethical globalization, inter alia, Kenneth Rutherford (2000), coming from a constructivist approach, debunks the argument of neo-realists like John Mearshimer (1995) that states do not follow international norms that do not protect or serve their self-interests. Using the effort to ban antipersonnel landmines as the basis of his constructivist argument, Rutherford makes his point as follows: "state interest and identity formation on the landmine issue are due to the placement of the ban-landmine norm on the international political agenda, and NGOs are able to control and sustain the issue *independent of existing state power distributions*" (p. 108; emphasis added). Rutherford's constructivist approach enables him to see *the strategic use by NGOs to deracinate what may look like a local or national issue, place it on an international platform, and reconfigure the issue from a narrow political stage into a broader transnational ethical situation.*

After ethics and constructivism come specific manipulations of power, as outlined by Paul Wapner (2000) in his influential paper "The Global Environment in the Twenty-First Century: Prospects for International Cooperation". According to Wapner, "NGOs work to alleviate what they perceive to be hardships or misfortunes, or work to change the way people think and act with regard to public issues" (p. 89). How do they accomplish this feat? NGOs engage states and the state system by putting pressure on government officials to support their cause. Here, Wapner is specifically writing about environmental protection efforts. This kind of pressure, however, applies to other NGO efforts. "At the international level," to be precise, "this entails NGOs *inserting themselves into and manipulating the dynamics of public international regimes*" (p. 94; emphasis added). What are these international regimes? They are "rules, codes of conduct, principles, and so forth that inform inter-state behaviour; environmental regimes are those that guide state behaviour with regard to environmental issues" (p. 94). He concludes on a humorous but nonetheless apt note: "states create environmental regimes to address transboundary environmental problems, since air, water, shifting soils, and migratory animals, for example, care little for passports or border patrol guards" (p. 94). Accordingly, Wapner's position is that it would be most constructive to see NGOs play a significant role in every stage of regime formation, as well as regime continuity and modification.

Should NGOs *participate in all forms of regime formation, continuity and modification, they would shift the structures of power throughout the world.* What is the logic behind this? For Wapner, economic forces are forms of governance that shape and define the character of both individual and collective life. Economic activity, so construed, determines both how humans interact with the natural world and how humans tackle issues of environmental protection.

We have seen how Clark (2001) inscribes *ethics* into transnational and global efforts of NGO practices. We have seen how Rutherford's account of NGOs highlights *constructivist* approaches to the way in which NGOs *reconfigure* their cause. We have seen how Wapner conceives of the work of *NGOs as inscribing themselves into the mechanisms of state power in order to manipulate and transform on a global sphere.*

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) address the strategy of advocacy *networks* in international politics. Their account of non-governmental actors shows *where the practices of international NGOs intersect with those of domestic NGOs.* They argue that international human pressures modelled on the strategies of Amnesty International can lead to changes in human rights practices. These international pressures help to increase knowledge and to transform understandings about the nature of sovereign authority that a state has over its citizens. When a government, such as Argentina, makes its citizens disappear, Keck and Sikkink ask if foreign government pressure and domestic political pressure are sufficient to change human rights practices without the involvement of advocacy networks. They successfully argue that, in the human rights violations of both Argentina and Mexico, foreign governments could only effectively intervene after NGOs had identified and documented the human rights violations they had denounced.

At length, they conclude realistically that the existence of a network and its decision to target abuses of a particular country is a necessary but insufficient condition for changing human rights transgressions and practices. NGOs have had varying degrees of success along with their share of failures. "Network activists admit that they have been less effective against states that superpowers consider important such as Saudi Arabia, Israel, Turkey, China, and Pakistan. *The vulnerability of the target state is thus a key factor in network effectiveness*" (p. 117; emphasis added).

Juxtaposed to this reality of choosing to target a state for its human rights practices are the principled and unwavering ideas embedded in NGOs that drive

change and cooperation. For NGOs in these international networks, moral interests are just as real as material interests. *Human rights regimes depend on this moral interdependence.*

Let us now turn to representative practices of domestic NGOs. In a recent paper on NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bronwyn Evans-Kent and Roland Bleiker (2003) acknowledge the important role that NGOs have come to play in the delivery and implementation of services that central authorities or governments are unable or reluctant to provide. They want to examine the limits and potential of NGO contributions to processes of peace-building and to long-term stability. More particularly, they want to scrutinize NGO organizations within the context of post-conflict reconstruction in Bosnia. They suggest that lessons could be drawn from the Bosnia case. The positive lessons of NGO work include the ability of non-governmental actors to act outside the formal structures of central governmental authorities at national and international levels; their relative flexibility; and their capacity to furnish a community with technical skills and expert knowledge in particular areas. In addition, they generally enjoy a high level of credibility in communities they serve. Consequently, their credibility gives them "access to low- and medium-level leaders in the conflicting communities" (p. 104). Pertinently, *"these grassroots contacts, and the ensuing intimate knowledge of local circumstances, can be used to foster awareness of disputes or even to solve them. NGOs are thus seen as effective vehicles to engage parties in formal, low-key, non-threatening dialogue"* (p. 104; emphasis added). *It is precisely this flexibility, in conjunction with specialized knowledge, which allows NGOs the access and opportunities to offer services where states feel constrained.*

Evans-Kent and Bleiker (2003) suggest, however, that the contributions of non-governmental actors to the work of reconstruction of a war-torn society are subject to idealization. While NGOs appear to have flexibility, they are often constrained by the funding priorities and policies of their benefactors. In addition, NGOs are influenced directly or indirectly by Western values and agenda - notably, the privileging of Western views of civil society, and the employment of Western project leaders and English-speaking trainers, even though there are equally competent indigenous experts available.

There are, however, many passages in Evans-Kent and Bleiker (2003) that are contested. They reject the conventional view that the challenge of reconstructing Bosnia, and the role of NGOs in such a process, is inextricably linked to the process of coming to grips with Bosnia's traumatic memory of ethnic war and the resulting post-war conflict of identities. Citing Michael Ignatieff (1998), and concurring with him, they posit that "it would be false to the history of this part of the world to maintain that ethnic antagonisms were simply waiting, like the magma beneath a volcano, for a template to shift, a fissure to split open" (Ignatieff, 1998, p. 38; as cited in Evans-Kent and Bleiker, 2003, p. 105). In the view of Evans-Kent and Bleiker, "Violence emerged from a very deliberate and manipulative strategy to use identity in the pursuit of specific political goals" (p. 105). Evans-Kent and Bleiker assume that a traumatic past is independent of the violent deployment of leaders to serve new and contemporary purposes. This error causes them to go one step further in assigning blame to the Dayton accord for legitimizing the ethnic divisions that had been created by the war.

In a recent paper on "staging and transforming historical grievances" (Apprey, 2001b), an alternative view of history and its activation is presented. There, following Edmund Husserl (1929/1977), Lotman and Uspensky (1971/1986), Ernesto Laclau (1990) and Wolfgang Iser (1992), the view is put forward that (i) *deposits of traumatic history are in the first instance sedimented*; (ii) *they are reactivated as communal memory; and* (iii) *used by leaders during stressful times to serve new and contemporary purposes.* In other words, a change of function (Hartmann, 1958) occurs at the group level in the form of vicissitudes of shared memories which resurface to be deployed for those new and contemporary purposes. There is a three-tiered topography here of the politics of historical memory as discontinuous, although a thread runs through them, as it were. As a result, Evans-Kent and Bleiker's either/or thinking about history and memory as dichotomous is not consistent with my own work in conflict resolution.

They are nevertheless on solid ground when they articulate three major challenges to the work of NGOs in Bosnia and, by extension, other war-torn countries that are seeking to rebuild their nations. First, they cite the problem of inadequate funding to complete projects begun by NGOs. Secondly, they identify the potential divide between international and local organizations. Finally, they point to the problem of quality control and accountability in the growing NGO community.

Another noteworthy account of the work of NGOs done within one country is that of James Pfeiffer (2003) on international non-governmental actors and primary health care in Mozambique. He completes his account with a new model for collaboration between NGOs and their target populations.

It is his position that "the deluge of NGOs and their

expatriate workers over the last decade has fragmented the local health system, undermined local control of health programmes, and contributed to growing local social inequality" (p. 725). What has led to this observation? With the collapse of the Soviet bloc as an alternative source of funding and technical support, Pfeiffer declares, Western funding agencies have become prominent fixtures "across the neo-liberal socioeconomic landscape of the Third World" (p. 726). Pfeiffer wants to draw attention to the untoward consequences of aid for local health systems in Mozambique: consequences arising from the way current funding practices cause imbalance and inequity between the public sector and the private sectors. Pfeiffer's is not a lone voice here. Uvin, whose account is based on work done in Rwanda, declares that "foreign aid can contribute to local processes of 'exclusion' and 'humiliation' that undermine equity-oriented efforts in development" (Uvin, 1998; as cited in Pfeiffer, 2003, p. 727). On this issue, Uvin becomes even more strident:

> *The development aid system contributes to processes of structural violence in many ways. It does so directly, through its own behaviour…and indirectly by strengthening systems of exclusion and elite building through massive financial transfers, accompanied by self-imposed political and social blindness…The material advantages accorded to a small group of people and the lifestyles of the foreigners living in Rwanda contribute to greater economic inequality and the devaluation of the life of the majority.* (1998, p. 143; as cited in Pfeiffer, 2003, p. 727; emphasis added)

Similarly, in Pfeiffer's view, *a new model for collaboration between NGO expatriate workers, national providers and indigenous communities is badly needed to maintain or restore equity in health care delivery. The current NGO model, that puts a wedge between well-paid, externally-funded groups and poorly paid workers in the public health sector, undermines long-term professional relationships. Programmes fail when trust breaks down*. Pfeiffer's solution is to *"focus on the transfer and routinization of skills"* in order to *"build more sustainable programmes"* (p. 736; emphasis added). He advocates an international code of ethics to establish what constitutes appropriate NGO behaviour. In addition, the Ministries of Health in indigenous countries should determine priorities for technical assistance in the overall context of well-coordinated capacity building. Project cycles should be long enough to begin projects and to complete them, ensuring along the way the appropriate sense of continuity needed to work effectively to bring about the desired outcomes. In Pfeiffer's suggested model of collaboration, coordination between NGOs and local institutions should occupy a privileged position. Furthermore, NGO support of local projects must be such that per diem payouts, and other potential sources of corruption and derailment of trust, must be eliminated. A new model is needed that requires expatriate workers to be sensitive to their impact on the community, build rapport, understand local conditions, and establish and sustain trust.

Although there is no documented account, other than those of Apprey (1996, 2001) and Volkan (1997), of the use of NGOs to transfer ownership from third-party facilitators to indigenous feuding parties as part of a process-driven conflict resolution project, there are many lessons to be drawn from the practices of NGOs established to serve other purposes. I shall bracket them all and return to them at the end of the phenomenological study on the sense of ownership that emerged from the interviews conducted with indigenous NGO leaders. Having determined the results, I shall dialogue with the literature to see where revisions in the model, extensions or reconfigurations are called for. This return to the literature is built into the phenomenological praxis and is intended to preclude foreclosure or any other unintended prejudgment of the results of the study that is yet to be conducted.

Part II: Instrumental Use of NGOs to Effect Project Transfer Separated from Representative Conflict Resolution Practices

We have noted the increasing emergence of *citizen action* as one response to limited central government focus on global interdependence. Clark (2001) has called for a new phase of interdependence called "ethical globalization" to highlight the need for moral underpinnings of citizens' networks and the ethical testing of *global engagement*. Rutherford (2000) has advocated *contructivism* as an epistemological strategy for *reconfiguring* the political agenda as moral issues, thus shifting power relations from central government to forms of citizen action. Keck and Sikkink (1998) have, inter alia, addressed the work of NGOs and their relative facility in working with *grassroots contacts*, and considered how they can be used to effect *dialogue that is non-threatening to central government or central authority*. Evans-Kent and Bleiker (2003) have called for a more realistic appraisal of work done by NGOs in the *reconstruction of war-torn societies*.

Lastly, Pfeiffer (2003) suggests a solution to the potential breakdown of programmes. He advocates that the focus should be on *the transfer and routinization of skills* in order to build more

sustainable programmes. Furthermore, there must be *continuous coordination and collaboration* between NGOs and local institutions so that indigenous infrastructure is not undermined.

All these elements enter into the instrumental use of NGOs to effect project transfer. *Conflict resolution so connected with the work of NGOs is, indeed, constructivist and dialogue-oriented, engages citizens in the promotion of civil society from grassroots to high-level diplomats, and reconstructs war-torn societies.*

Termination of the work of conflict resolution that gradually ends with the formation of an NGO will have radically different features from other conflict resolution practices. With respect to differences, we are indebted to Ronald Fisher (1997) for his summary of the intervention sequence in multiple conflict resolution practices. These are all well known and easily recognizable in the field, but his summary will help us isolate the termination objectives structured in the process of project transfer. There is very little by way of project transfer as structured in the instrumental use of NGOs suggested above.

In any case, Azar (1990), Cohen et al. (1977), Fisher (1991), Kelman (1995), Kelman and Cohen (1977), Saunders (1995), and Volkan and Harris (1992) have *increased understanding* as their reported objective. Others have *returned to negotiation* (Burton, 1969), or *improved attitudes* (Doob, 1970; Fisher, 1980) as their objectives. Other representative scholar-practitioners have more concrete objectives. Among these are Azar (1990) who chose, for his outcome, *principles for a united Lebanon*, Fisher and Ury (1981) who *negotiated agreements*, Fisher (1992) who sought *concrete peace-building initiatives*, Cohen and Azar (1981) who looked for *post-conflict agreements*, and Fisher (1994) who wanted participants to craft *proposals for peace-building initiatives*. It may be the case that termination or post-termination reported outcomes are delineated to meet the empirical requirements of funding agencies - hence the penchant in conflict resolution circles to *count* how many people facilitators have trained.

An instrumental use of the NGO as a strategy for project transfer is thus a radically different means of studying the outcome of a conflict resolution project.

The *phenomenological practice* gap, so conceived, can be made explicit as follows: *When project transfer has taken place, how may we ascertain the sense of ownership of the previously feuding parties? How do we comprehend how they, in their experiential world, phenomenally grasp the transfer of agency that has taken place*? Correlatively, *what is the fate of the agonistic relation between the parties after the resolution of the situation of conflict that brought them together in the first place?*

In phenomenological psychological research, these intertwined questions are basically one: "How do these subjects situate themselves in the new 'world' that they have created?" Epistemologically, this is a question about how a constituting subjectivity becomes a constituted objectivity.

Part III: From Constituting Subjectivity to Constituted Objectivity: Schematizing the Basic Assumptions behind the Phenomenological Research Question

In order to address the basic assumptions behind the phenomenological question in this study, a brief and sketchy trajectory of Husserl's development as the founder of phenomenology is in order.

Phenomenology, to baldly state it, *is a philosophical movement that created a philosophical method for seeking essences through pure description and analysis of consciousness and that which is given to consciousness. It is a process of explicitation (sic) through which the implicit becomes explicit and through which philosophy becomes a stricter science.*

Husserl, however, took a few turns to get to the definition so summarized. First, and like his nineteenth century predecessors, he turned to the life world through description to arrive at a form of *naturalistic phenomenology* that amounted to *naïve psychologism*. Psychologism is now a pejorative philosophical label for positions that may be definable or reduced to concrete psychological acts where logic and mathematical concepts operate and originate. Amounting to a psychological falsification of logic, it is a claim that things like evidence, logic, reasoning, truth and verification are simply empirical activities of the psyche. We may call this first period in Husserl's work the era of *naturalistic phenomenology where his investigations were subserved by naïve psychologism*.

Finding naturalistic phenomenology woefully inadequate to serve his purposes, and wanting to break the shackles of naturalism with regard to the apprehension of the nature of mental acts, he turned to *phenomenological psychology*. Here, in his new turn, Husserl treated consciousness as having an absolute existence quite unlike the existence of things in nature, and as thus being endowed with tendencies to posit the world in multifarious ways: a mode of saturation that conceals the true nature of consciousness. In order to gain access to pure consciousness and to grasp its essential formations, a

new methodology was required - one which included *'suspension' of the natural attitude toward the world* (which process Husserl referred to as *"epoché"* or *bracketing*) in addition to *recovering the intentional acts of the subject(s)*. Phenomenology thus became *the science of origins*: primary objects that are their own origins; or, autochthonous presences; or, a search for prior latencies. Merleau-Ponty's celebrated definition of phenomenology depends on this *reductio* (sic), a return to beginnings, a *leading back to* prior latency. His definition, although long, deserves to be fully reproduced because, even though Husserl's method went beyond this period, Merleau-Ponty's definition is still very much in vogue.

In his *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945/1962), Merleau-Ponty asked, "What is phenomenology?" His feeling was that the question had not been fully answered by the notion that "phenomenology is the study of essences; and according to it, all problems amount to finding definitions of essences: the essence of perception, or the essence of consciousness, for example" (p. vii). Now he was to say something radically different.

> *But phenomenology is also a philosophy which puts essence back into existence*, and does not expect to arrive at an understanding of man and the world from any starting point other than that of their 'facticity'. It is a transcendental philosophy which places in abeyance the assertions arising out of the natural attitude, the better to understand them; but it is also a philosophy for which the world is always 'already there' before reflection begins – as an inalienable presence; and all its efforts are concentrated upon re-achieving a direct and primitive contact with the world, and endowing that contact with a philosophical status. (p. vii; emphasis added)

He invokes Husserl to complete his definition:

> It is a search for a philosophy which shall be a 'rigorous science', but it also offers an account of space, time and the world as we 'live' them. It tries to give a direct description of our experience as it is, without taking account of its psychological origin and the causal explanations which the scientist, historian, or the sociologist may be able to provide. (p. vii)

Husserl still saw this account of *phenomenological psychology, subserved by a transcendental psychologism*, as a Cartesian project, in so far as it was *grounding objectivity in subjectivity* in ways that sought *apodictio* (clear and distinct certainty). As such, the *reduction* or *the leading back to beginnings* inferred an upheaval, an emptying out of the transcendental ego, as it were. Where such abdication of the self occurs, even consciousness ceases to be human.

This unsettling finding caused Husserl to make a third turn - this time to a *transcendental phenomenology* where he criticizes his Cartesian origins. He rejects Descartes because, in so modelling himself, he bypassed the complex ways in which human subjects *constitute* themselves; to put it another way, Husserl bypassed the ways in which human subjectivity is already situated in the world, ready to be appropriated/constituted/apperceived. He called this method of *transcendental reduction* a *"genetic explication" leading to a transcendental phenomeno-logy* that is *subserved by a historical determinism*. The later Husserl that introduced the idea of constitution still felt, as he had done in the first two periods of naturalistic phenomenology and phenomenological psychology, that this notion of constitution needed to be extended but not given up.

Husserl would now come to speak of multiple essences, even psychical essences, although he preferred "intentional acts" to "psychical essences". Merleau-Ponty saw this shift to genetic explication, and further developments beyond that, as a contradiction. Rather, Husserl was beginning to see that his philosophical project, that once sought universal essences, needed to be further contextualized within and beyond philosophy. For example, the clinical sciences are highly contextualized, and therefore typologies need to be ascertained. It was this recognition by Husserl that led to the fourth turn: to *the division of labour between philosophy and psychology* - a transcendentally grounded psychology explicated in 1928 in *Ideas II*.

Where does a determination of our subjects' *sense of ownership* enter into this discussion? The first step in approaching the subject's sense of ownership is to turn to their subjective experiences. We do this by turning to *their* description and seeking a product that amounts to a situated structure of our subjects' experience. We do not want to seek a natural explanation, because to do so would take us back to a naïve psychologism that is dependent on such fixities as, for instance: They behave in this way because they are "Russian" or "Estonian". We want to avoid ways of viewing experience grounded in the causal context of nature.

We also want to avoid a second and eminently tempting situation: one in which we view in existential terms the subjects' behaviour in a conflict

situation as authentically expressive and uniquely fitting of their situation. Such an existential hermeneutic account would separate the parties in conflict from the rest of us who are not in their so-called unique situation.

The preferred way, which is consistent with this study, is to *capture the motivational horizon of the subjects in such a way that their account can both serve our understanding of their situation and provide an account of* a cross-section of how humans behave in a situation of conflict such as theirs. In short, *how do they constitute their sense of ownership* in a way that tells us something about how humans constitute sedimentations of history, whether passively or actively, and extend their grievances to serve new and contemporary purposes? This research question on ownership, then, implies historicity, active and passive genesis, although we are at this point oblivious to the content of the subjects' motivational horizon.

Now we are ready to bracket the phenomenological presence of our pre-judgments, doxic thesis, and any other predilections that could create bias in our study. The phenomenological study, then, of the sense of ownership of a conflict resolution project that changed hands from third-party facilitators to the parties hitherto in conflict, follows. The basic philosophical assumptions discussed above will now be operationalized into a research praxis which is informed by both Husserl's phenomenology and Merleau-Ponty's derivative account of it.

Giorgi's praxis (1979, 1985) is preferable to that of Graumann's (1988) phenomenological approach, which tries so hard to dialogue with the experimental method that it ends up committing a serious error in phenomenological research - that of failing to sacrifice presumption in order to promote presuppositionlessness. Graumann's error occurs when he prematurely suggests four rubrics as phenomenological categories for organizing one's study: (i) bodily nature of the subjects; (ii) materiality and spatiality of the intentional environment; (iii) temporality; and (iv) sociality and the language that communicates, constitutes and interprets our sense of communion. What if the results of a study do not fall within the domain of these categories?

This study is not an ethnographic study, because it emphasizes the *interior constitution* of a "world" as opposed to articulating structures of society, practices, and norms of kinship and so forth.

What have we done so far in terms of the overall study? In Part I, we classified the use of non-governmental organizations into three representative categories: *transnational*, *domestic,* and *instrumental* in their use as a vehicle for transferring ownership of a conflict resolution project. In Part II, we pointed to that which representative conflict resolution practitioners explicitly target as their end point. The practice gap here is therefore the lack of a fund of knowledge about the sense of ownership of the project after transfer. In Part III, we gave an account of the basic assumptions underpinning the phenomenological praxis that will shape how the research question will be answered. Part IV will be the account of the phenomenological study as a field work study that would yield the results in the form of the constituted structure of experience that will tell us about our subjects' sense of ownership and what local and generalisable implications dwell therein.

Part IV: What Happened in Klooga?
A Phenomenological Analysis of Field Notes on the Aftermath of a Conflict Resolution Project

This study manifestly asks a simple question: What happened in Klooga, Estonia, four years after the successful conclusion of a conflict resolution project begun by the Centre for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction? At one level, a factual question is being raised. At another level, it is a question about the positive impact of a project and its limits. At yet another level, it is a question about what happened in history when the Nazis buried their most recalcitrant Jewish prisoners in Klooga. At a final level, it is a question about what happened in Klooga when the Soviets were there and after they left. All these questions interact in an enigmatic way on a follow-up visit to Klooga.

The Follow-Up Study

Shortly after the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Centre for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction (CSMHI) of the University of Virginia, along with the Carter Presidential Centre, intervened in Estonia with a view to fostering co-existence between the Russian community and native Estonians. A significant amount of this work has been published (see Apprey, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001; Volkan, 1997).

On account of the original CSMHI project, Apprey (1996) organized the report of the work around four rubrics:

1. The collection of data, or, "What happened in history?"
2. The processing of data, or, "May I allow into my universe an enemy who may disturb it?"
3. The formulation of intervention plans, or, "What shall we do to overturn the cycle of conflict?"

4. The implementation of interventions, or, "We shall overturn the received history freely, spontaneously, and by our own hands."

In other words, in the peace-making process, the sedimentations of history have, in the first instance, to be determined, their reactivations grappled with and understood through dialogue, and transformations of historical grievances fostered by a number of projects (see Apprey, 1998, 1999, 2002; Volkan, 1997). Finally, third-party facilitators like CSMHI have to leave so that the previously feuding parties have to claim a sense of ownership of the work of integration independently. Accordingly, the formal involvement of the third-party facilitators (CSMHI) ended in 1999.

As indicated earlier, follow-up two years later (2001) confirmed that the three project sites that had been fostering the representative work of integration between Russo-Estonians and native Estonians were all thriving (see Apprey, 2002). In November 2003, a second follow-up visit was conducted. This time, two of the non-governmental organizations that had been formed to claim ownership of the project and to carry on the work of integration independently were continuing to do extraordinary things. However, the NGO at the Klooga site - one that had been the subject of a documentary by Allan King, a Canadian filmmaker - had surprisingly folded.

In order to capture their experience upon the departure of CSMHI, I am going to privilege the voice of the leaders of this NGO in the first instance, and then discuss the emergent experiential data with the native Estonian investigator who served as an interpreter during the interviews and as a cross-checker of my preliminary findings.

As previously indicated, one research methodology suitable for capturing the phenomenal world of subjects is the phenomenological method of Amedeo Giorgi (1979, 1985), which is informed by the epistemology expatiated above of the classical German phenomenologist Edmund Husserl (1928/1989). Other useful references in this regard are Lyotard (1991) and Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962). Giorgi (1985, p. 211) grounded and operationalized this philosophy in his research praxis in the following four steps:

1. The researcher reads the entire description straight through to get a sense of the whole.
2. Next, the researcher reads the same description more slowly and delineates each time that a transition in meaning is perceived in respect of the phenomenologically intentional discovering of the experience.

3. The researcher then eliminates redundancies and clarifies or elaborates the meaning of the units constituted by relating them to each other and to the sense of the whole.
4. The researcher reflects on the given units, still expressed essentially in the concrete language of the subject, and comes up with the essence of that situation for the subject with respect to the phenomenon under consideration. Each unit is systematically interrogated for what it reveals about the phenomenon as experienced by that subject. The researcher transforms each unit, when relevant, into the language of psychological science. Finally, the researcher synthesizes and integrates the insights achieved into a consistent description of the structure of the phenomenon.

To elaborate further, Step 1 requires that the experiential data collected by means of, for instance, an audio-recorded interview, is subsequently faithfully transcribed for the purpose of explication.

The interview begins with a prompt question posed by the researcher. The question is open-ended and allows the subject to address his or her situated position without intrusion. For example, in a study on the sense of ownership of the process of integration, the question may be formulated as follows: "Describe for me what has happened since the project begun by CSMHI ended." The subject is allowed freely to tap his or her phenomenal world, and any subsequent follow-up questions must directly arise from the material the subject has provided. The interview may take 20 minutes to an hour and a half, depending on the situation of the subject.

The number of subjects required typically ranges from 3 to 10, and the interviewing process stops when there is an optimal level of saturation, as indicated when the researcher begins to hear the same issues over and over again. In this follow-up study, we were focusing only on the leaders: two Native Estonian and two Russo-Estonian husband and wife pairs.

In Step 2, the researcher reads the transcribed naïve descriptions more slowly. Each time there is a change of thought, meaning or idea, the researcher draws a slash. By the end of the second reading we would now have separated the text into several units that would become the object of analysis in Step 3. Each meaning unit is numbered.

In Step 3, each meaning unit is individually interrogated and unpacked in order to arrive at the deeper meaning for the subject in very concretely expressed terms. In this step, each meaning may, when relevant, be expressed both in concrete terms

and in psychologically meaningful language.

In the final step, Step 4, all the separate meanings and essences are collapsed into a total structure of experience for the subject. We thus enter the phenomenological world of the subjects in order to see how they situate themselves in the world.

The individual structures of experience determined in Step 4 are now aggregated into a composite structure that becomes the basis for arriving at the intersubjective constitution of the phenomenon under study: in this instance, the sense of ownership after transfer of an NGO project from third-party facilitators to the community served.

Next, the aggregated structures in the intersubjective constitution are used to re-engage the literature review conducted prior to the study, and a further literature review, reflecting the new insights that emerged from the study, is embarked on in order to explicate specific knowledge or to further our fund of knowledge with new discoveries.

For detailed descriptions and examples of the use of Giorgi's method, one should consult both his 1979 and 1985 publications.

Estonia Project: Klooga Interviews (I)

Tape 1: Interview with Russo-Estonians (OK & AK)
        Interviewer: Maurice Apprey (MA)
        Interpreter: Endel Talvik

Steps 1 and 2: Unedited Naïve Descriptions and Meaning Units

MA: Could you tell us what has happened since we left?

1/O: She said that she's missing Mike (he's 13), they took him away and she's missing him. He was full of energy. He was also full of 'gunpowder' and didn't know how to use it.

2/O: She has the feeling that people know that if they compared to '97 things are different and although most of those people are younger than that in a *way they are quite depressed, they are not so open, they have a different way of dealing with problems, they are not very easy to heat up*.

MA: Tell me what you felt was necessary or needed to generate heat and activity in the community.

3/O: These living problems … they don't have enough money, for example; they are working, working, but they still have problems sometimes to pay for the rent for their apartments. So all the time they have to struggle with life.

4/A: We have lost our project, we have lost our house, and this is all because somebody put together a very clever and dangerous political agreement. And they got everything. This house belongs to the school. There is old furniture. Everything is dirty. Nothing is happening. Only sometimes they allow us to have some meetings, some people, but not very much.

[*Lots of untranslated interaction*]

MA: What is his theory about how he understands that dangerous and political plan?

5/A: The problem it was in the agreement that you cannot sublet it. You had to do everything by yourself and so on and this was put together by the county government; that order said that it is not in the agreement and the agreement was made by independent lawyers and the agreement was okay, but then the county government said that it is an agreement about the lease, not the sub-lease, so you cannot do it because otherwise you are breaking the agreement.

MA: So they are not able to sub-lease to make money for other things?

6/A: Exactly. It is so bad that people are not very sorry at the moment anymore about the project. At the beginning they were coming and asking and so on, but maybe it is just because they have some personal interest – they want to have a concert or disco or something, but they are not very eager to organize by themselves. They were just dutiful users. Ready to use everything …

MA: Free riders?

A: Yes, and so when the project was taken away from them, the house was taken away, nobody was ready to go to bat against the county government to make any protestations …

MA: That is interesting. That is a very different point of view because we have not heard that yet. There were free riders who were not able to launch collective action. Am I

hearing you say they did not have enough energy to bring in a new government to bring about a change?

A: They were not interested in these things. They were just users.

7/MA: So they saw the project had social benefits but not the benefit of integration for the community?

A: People who were pretty much just interested in the money. They would be at meetings that would give money.

8/MA: If we were to have this project again, what could be done to solve the problem of the free riders?

O: Don't give them money.

A: Most important thing is to arouse the interest in people. Because nothing is happening now, they are on the street. This is terrible what is happening. There are fights. It would be useful to collect them and get their interest and have them come together again.

MA: With an NGO what is the best way to get them involved?

A/O: It is so that at the beginning that some people will come. When they see that something interesting is happening. When the house was open, youngsters were coming and asking what will happen, what will happen. One woman came all the time. Old people come and take walks. One time there were six or seven persons sitting there and having tea and discussing something that was interesting to them and then organizing something like discos for the youngsters. They are yours. If someone smokes, someone drinks, they would lose their license so they were very cautious. If someone came drunk, they sent them away by themselves. Of course, there was some grown-up present, but usually they were sitting in their room and there was no need to go and control all the time. The children were doing it by themselves. They were responsible.

MA: Well, did the project give them a sense of ownership of the community and therefore the free ride became secondary?

A/O: Yes, it was, of course, a secondary problem.

But they just came to look at people and said oh, that's interesting. And the second time, they saw the equipment. And then she had her own key …

MA: So the sense of ownership gave them an ethical responsibility for the centre which in turn gave them the responsibility to take care of each other?

A/O: Maybe they don't fit the ownership but maybe they have a place where they can come and ask "Can I have here parties?" Wedding parties. Youngsters came …

MA: So they didn't have a sense of ownership. Did they have a sense of access?

A: Exactly.

9/O: People who came didn't say it was their house; they said it was *the project house* and people who were participating in that project they said *our house*.

MA: And nothing could be done to get the county government to see the value?

10/O: He doesn't believe that something will happen. She called a couple of weeks ago to the county government and asked what was discussed and asked for the new phone number of the [???]. What big boss people love is if they are asked for advice and asked for advice. There is small hope in her that something, maybe will happen.

[*End of tape*]

Step 3: Transformation into Eidetic Abstractions (Essences)

[S¹ is OK; S² is her husband AK]

1/   Subject 1 (S¹) speaks with grief about missing her dead son who was *lured away by grown men into death*. *She mourns the loss of her son's explosive energy that did not find transformation from its "gunpowder" quality*.

2/   S¹ implicitly contrasts the explosiveness of her son's gunpowder-like energy to the inertia of the members of the now defunct non-governmental organization: depressed, not open, not very easy *to heat up*. For S, *detonated* energy is a different and *unfamiliar* way of dealing with situations.

3/   S¹ explains that the feeling of being dejected and detonated in the community is caused by the problems of living with the inadequate resources needed to make ends meet: paying rent, having to cope with daily struggles.

4/   S² foregrounds his reading of the collapse of the non-governmental organization (NGO). In his view, a sinister, dangerous and political collusion was machinated by their adversaries to undermine the NGO. The result is that there is inactivity both in the "house" run by the NGO and inactivity in the community. Dirt has returned in ways that are suggestive of inactivity. For S², d*irt and inactivity are synonymous*.

5/   S² unpacks his cryptic reading of what he meant by "a dangerous agreement": The NGO thought at first that they could sub-lease parts of the building to finance their activities; local authority now says that it was not part of the agreement to sublet to others. The lease was given to the NGO and that was that. What is conspicuous by its absence is *when* the local authority chose to invoke the letter of the law. What is suggestive is that a sinister motivation was behind it.

6/   S² goes further in his account of what was behind the story of the end of the project beyond the cunning invocation of the law by the local authority to take back the NGO building: the NGO had free riders who were willing to use the facilities as long as they were available, but those *free riders* did not want to fight to keep the building from being reclaimed by the local authority.

7/   S¹ and S² are disgusted by the lack of organizational contribution of members who would only follow leadership but not muster it themselves; members who were keen to participate fully in all social activities but not organize them.

8/   S¹ and S² are in unison in putting forward their understanding that there are two sides to the free rider problem: free riders were those who did not take leadership in organizing activities but benefited from having *access* to the facilities. The sense of ownership of the NGO was in the hands of those who exercised leadership in running or keeping the organization alive.

9/   For S¹, more explicitly *non-leaders had a sense of ownership of the project*, whereas *the leaders of the NGO had a sense of ownership of and an ethic of responsibility for keeping the facility in the hands of the organization as well*.

10/   S¹ suggests that the project is over and the building gone. However, if the NGO were to change their strategy from confrontation to making the politicians feel needed, there might be a different response from them.

Step 4: Structure of Experience I

In the phenomenal world of Subject 1 and Subject 2, loss can come from multiple sources. A pubescent boy may die cruelly and prematurely, lured into death's trap by older men before he has had an opportunity to transform his *explosive instinctual eruptions* into some productive cause.

In such a world, detonated energy can lapse into lethargy: an unfamiliar lethargy that is synonymous with depression, inactivity and lack of productivity. *Thanks to inactivity, dirt returns. Detonated energy, unfamiliar lethargy, inactivity and dirt are horizonal in this world.*

Detonated energy and inactivity compromise leadership in a way that makes it difficult to combat the wiles of political leadership.

Equally importantly, detonated leadership and inactivity compromise the sense of ownership, ultimately leading to a bifurcation in this regard. On one side of the bifurcation lies the sense of ownership of the *followers*: they *have a sense of ownership of the projects*, even if some members of the NGO were free riders who did not have a great deal of initiative to launch activities on their own. On the other side lies the sense of ownership of the *leaders*: they *have a sense of ownership of the facilities that support the activities as well as of the projects hitherto supported by the building*.

Estonia Project: Klooga Interviews (II)

Tape 2: Interview with Native Estonians (AI & MI)
         Interviewer: Maurice Apprey (MA)
         Interpreter: Endel Talvik

Steps 1 and 2: Unedited Naïve Descriptions and Meaning Units

1/MA: I am very sorry to hear about your loss.

A: You mean O's.

A: This is what made that very big hit for everybody. It was two years this mid-summer day and O's son got killed just before that *mid-summer day*. They were not able to organize a happy *festival* after that.

A: It is so sad when something happens to someone so young: 13. It was a very big tragedy not just for his parents but also because he was very *animated* and *popular*.

2/MA: Tonight what I would like to do is hear what has been happening since we last met. So please continue.

A: It was so bad after that event - O's son - that we were not able to work happily on the mid-summer festival, and after that we were not able to get sponsors or funds for the electricity or heating for that library building.

A: And that county government demanded from them that they had to insure the house because they are owners and the house is full of big money, as the local government saw it, and yet they didn't have the money for the insurance.

A: And we were forced to give the house back to the county.

3/A: But what I am happy with is that the house - which was in ruins before, and which was almost destroyed by fire - this house is now functioning and for two years functioned as a schoolhouse. There wasn't enough room in the schoolhouse and so classes were held in the library of the NGO building.

A: After the military forces [Russian] went away and all the houses were robbed and taken down and ruined, it is the only house that stayed empty but is now in a good condition.

4/A: We had this house for the big events, for the elections and so on, and the classes have been held there and the county has used it.

A: County has held different classes there for cooking, art classes and so on, and so they took over and continued those different circles. So he is happy that the house stays and works. At the moment, this is a sad moment. There is no host for the house, nobody who is responsible for the house.

The house was connected to the school and the school is able to use it.

5/M: So the school has no resources to keep the house in order and the county decides what they will do?

A: Twice a week there is a police station in one end of the house. A police officer comes and people can speak with him. If there is a problem, people can go to him.

A: It is quite symbolic that, exactly when the police took over the house, three windows of the rooms they use were broken. Before that, when they owned the house, nothing was broken. And so for half a year the police station stayed closed.

[*Silence*]

6/MA: Does anyone want to add?

A: We have had a long silent period of two years, which have been quite silent and nothing had happened. But right now there are two building houses that were constructed in Klooga: right now a Swedish firm took them over and started to clean them up and make them hotels and restaurants. If their project is successful, maybe things will change again.

A: There is no connection that would help the village. It was said that at the beginning there was a plan that these houses would be destroyed and would be placed against the military range to block the noises from coming into the village. But now it looks like the Swedish company will buy the houses and so we don't know what will happen to the military range.

7/A: We started to speak about the military operations, and so two years ago I heard a lot of shooting from the military range, strong shooting, and went to look at what was happening there. There was a soldier who stopped him. He said he wanted to meet his boss, a higher official, and the soldier called and said there is a peaceful citizen who wants to speak with you and the officer said, "OK, after fifteen minutes you can send him here". And after fifteen minutes they [the soldiers] started to have supper and there was a military officer with two grenade/tank things on his shoulder and he asked, "What is the problem?" And so he asked, *"Why are*

you shooting here next to the houses? The range is 8 km. Why can't you go further into the middle of the range, because it is only 1 km [away from the houses]? And if you go 2 km away you can shoot there and nobody would be disturbed. Right now the children are hiding themselves under the bed. It is too noisy." And the officer said that "We cannot guarantee *our* safety if we go further away and someone will rob our car if we go deeper into the *forests*." So he said, "Excuse me, are you a military officer or a kindergarten teacher afraid to be robbed?" After that he was no longer considered a citizen of peace.

[*Much laughter*]

8/M: It is so good that after a long time of sadness someone is laughing here.

MA: From MI's point of view how have things changed since we (CSMHI) left?

M: Of course it is a home. At the beginning when we first came here we had the idea that we would move further away from here soon. And we would buy a house. But the more we are here, the more we feel we are in a home and want to stay. Of course there are several things that are not good yet; for example, how the house is renovated not very well. There is much to do and so on ...

9/MA: How would you describe what happened?

M: It was so bad before the NGO came but then the house was renovated after that. The NGO functioned more than a year. O organized festivals and so on. But when the house was given over to the county, at the beginning it was quite quiet. But then they found a woman and held classes there. Then she and another woman held projects with the women's society about culture; made different events and got money for the projects. They had several events for the kids. Also for the adults. Made excursions, usually one or two days. She has some pictures.

10/M: I don't want to say anything against our county, but I have the feeling that, when the county took over and nobody was very well accepted to make projects there, if you asked to make suggestions they were not well accepted. They made several suggestions and after they called enough, they didn't make suggestions anymore.

[*Pause*]

M: *The county organized some projects for themselves.* But felt them as *competitors.* And didn't want anyone else to make projects. There were many people who were active when we were active, and I had the feeling that the county supported only county projects and not NGO projects.

M: It is so bad it is difficult to imagine. Some people from the county they can cooperate with, but somebody who is not supported by the county government the government does not want to cooperate with at all.

11/A: In the day when the county government took over the house, they changed all the security systems and keys and said that you are not anymore welcomed here, and he put the feeling that *all these NGOs - including the women's society who had been active in politics -* were not welcomed here anymore. They suppressed all activities.

A: We wanted to take some kitchen equipment but the county said no, you have given the house over, keep away.

M: It was felt that they chose by the names [Russo-Estonian or native Estonian] who is suitable and who is not, and they have seen it done by several county governments.

MA: What names?

A/M: They don't want to give exact names because it is one way one time and another way another day. But by our county government [both Russo-Estonian and native Estonian] they were expelled, both A and O, and weren't able to do their projects.

M: It is about power now more than about nationality. They are afraid of anybody … [*inaudible*]

A/M: Last year and the year before, they organized a culinary project and didn't know that the same project was going on in the next house and they didn't know. Their own children were invited. They invited certain people and if anyone else came they were told no, no. A very small circle where others didn't know.

13/M: Maybe it was because there was not enough money.

A: Not a question of money but elections. They want to be sure.

A: It is so bad people do not have very much solidarity here. And in one case a county official once said that no one with my last name will ever have a job in the county. Personal problems. The problem was that the county official was working on a team with […] and […] fired her, so she would fight […] having a job.

A: It was said by a trusted person of the county government, so they know it happened because it was a trusted person. In the elections, some were asked: If you vote for me you will get a bottle of vodka. If you vote for me you will get a bottle of cognac. It was said if you don't go and vote for me we will fine you $500 for something, and so some were bought, some were intimidated, and that is how they got their votes. They never came to him, but he knows that is what others were promised. He knows someone promised potatoes. People were very happy with potatoes or vodka. *People have life like in the camps*. We are all shut down and don't communicate very often with each other any more. We are like we are a little afraid of something.

14/A: He has not been working in the county for six years. Before that he worked here in Klooga, dealing with heating problems, electricity. Then he was intimidated and was forced to make forgery with papers and passports. It is very hard to explain. They wanted him to make changes and he wouldn't do it. [*Very muffled, hard to hear*]

15/M: I have the feeling they have lost the ability to communicate in Klooga. There are no common events anymore. There are no events for the grown-ups. People are just living quietly and don't communicate. If the county government could help with money and have dances it would be good, but they don't want to do anything. It is the county government that should do something now, not the citizens.

M: I have the feeling Klooga is part of a bigger Estonia and that things are quite similar everywhere in Estonia.

A: He doesn't think that what is happening here is happening in Estonia, because we are not the same. We are completely different in our land from other parts of the country. This estrangement is at the county level here.

16/A: He knows that other CSMHI project centres are working and have projects, and thanks to the centre he knows about these other centres and is very satisfied that he was able to meet with them a couple of times. There are possibilities and maybe they will meet again. Who knows?

A/M: They don't want to say anything bad about the county government again, but they have to admit that they think the project and the problems with the county government were somehow connected. And that's why, when they cut the support for the NGO from outside, they felt it was interesting how they [the local government] came in very eagerly and went on very eagerly. Because of the project they have this house. Before that project, it was not possible to come together at all. And now there is the possibility that they could gather together. They have some cooperation with each other.

A/M: There is a life under the ashes. And the house is there. It is a symbol.

A: The rooms in the house are unused like there are no rooms. There is no state. Now they had a plan in the school to have a library there. If that school grows, some classes would be transferred there.

M: It can be continued again with the school because it is there. It is the people at the moment. And not all the people, just some of the people. *It was a cultural centre. Now it is a small addition to the school and a police station.*

[*End of tape*]

Step 3: Transformation into Eidetic Abstractions (Essences)

[S¹ is AI; S² is his wife, MI]

1/   S¹ provides a chronology of when progress toward ownership of the project was prematurely ended, so that we have two years of self-determination that ended with the premature and devastating death of the pubescent son of the Russo-Estonian head of the NGO; a death made so pointed because he was animated and popular in the

community and it occurred on the eve of a major festival. For S¹, then, this death shut down the mid-summer festival that the boy's mother, head of the NGO, had organized.

2/ S¹ declares that the festival was not the only thing that the premature death *shut down*. Also shut down was the *funding* they needed *to support* and maintain the *activities and utilities* of their building, *not to mention the* local government's *new demand that they pay insurance on the house*. For S¹ the aggregate of these needs and demands caused the project's building/centre to shut down.

3/ S¹ takes refuge in the fact that, after the Soviet army left Klooga in 1991, native Estonians looted, burned down or ruined houses once intact and used by the Russians. The NGO building was refurbished for the integration project. In addition it provided supplementary space for the school. It is the only building that has provided the community with substantial use both for the community and specifically for the project.

4/ S¹ recalls other uses of the building. They include use by the local government to conduct local elections, cooking classes and so on. Sadly, however, there is no host to continue to preside over the full functioning the project building had seen for two years.

5/ S¹ comments with cynical resignation that it is one thing for the school to continue using the building as supplementary space; it is quite another for the police department to use the remaining space twice weekly as a venue in which to hear about community problems citizens care to tell them about.

6/ S¹ surmises that, after two successful years of NGO activity and two unsuccessful years, there might yet be new activity by Swedes who have purchased houses once thought to be of potential use as buffers against the sound of gunshots coming from the military range to disturb the peace of the citizens.

7/ S¹ *is outraged by the heedlessness of an army officer to whom he had gone to complain about the noise of gunshots heard from close range and confront about the danger of gunshots coming from close range. These would endanger the citizens of both Russian and native Estonian descent. S¹ is particularly struck by the irony of a military officer, clad in military accoutrements and toting a grenade, speaking about his fear of being robbed by the citizens in the forest and the danger to his life in the forest of Klooga.*

8/ S² is pleased to hear and to see laughter after two years of sadness. For her, however, Klooga is still home, no matter how ill-furnished her private home might be, and no matter how unready her family is to move or purchase a new home.

9/ S² grieves that a county building, once dilapidated, but refurbished by the NGO and turned into an active community integration centre with multiple activities for all ages, should now be so lost, reclaimed by the local government in such an unceremonious way.

10/ S² remonstrates that the conflict between the NGO and the county became an *us versus them affair*, so that the county felt obliged to compete with the NGO by mounting its own activities and not supporting those of the NGO.

11/ *S² now unwittingly speaks with a forked tongue: she wants to admit that Russians are selected for suppression by the county government as other jurisdictions in Estonia have done; however, she claims that here in Klooga it is suppression of only the NGO that by design has membership of both native Russian and Estonian citizens. For S² it is difficult to admit that her fellow Estonians in power could suppress an NGO that has joint membership from both ethnic groups: it only happens elsewhere in Estonia, not in Klooga where she lives. For S² then, and quite plausibly, the issue is about power and not about ethnicity.*

12/ In the throes of an *us versus them* affair, S¹ and S² try to puzzle out between themselves and with their audience how much of the conflict is about power, whether scant money to go round accounts for not inviting non-NGO families to county government-sponsored functions, and how much was due to unresolved personal conflicts that have now surfaced to aggravate the tensions. Could S¹ be paying for his dismissal of a county government official when the latter worked for him?

13/ S² settles on the election as the most recent provocation and cause of the breakdown in solidarity between the NGO members and

their supporters, on the one hand, and the local authority, with its supporters, on the other. Such a provocation is, however, for S¹, linked to bribery and the purchase of electoral votes, as such causing *the already unpleasant rift in the community to deteriorate into life reminiscent of concentration camps, where suspicion and mistrust reigned.*

14/   S¹ tries to clarify with partial success why he has not been able to work in the county of Klooga for nearly six years, seemingly *unable or reluctant to link his being blackballed in the county to possible retaliation by the now county official he once dismissed when he was a manager of the local utility company*: yet another prior dismissal coming back to haunt them.

15/   S² grieves the lack of joint integration and community activities for the local citizens and now ponders how representative this loss is of what is happening in other parts of Estonia. This time, S² is willing to generalize while S¹ is not. For S¹, the estrangement remains a local issue.

16/   S¹ and S² derive some hope, however, that, because two other CSMHI sites in Estonia are successfully working and they enjoy connecting with those other NGOs from time to time, perhaps their local situation can be revived. For S², in particular, *"there is life under the ashes"*. For S¹, there is comfort in seeing school activity in the former NGO building that may yet house a library. For S², *what the NGO accomplished can change function from a cultural centre for community integration to a small addition to the school.*

Step 4: Structure of Experience II

In the phenomenal world of S¹and S², the untimely death of the pubertal son of the head of the NGO was decisive in shutting down first a mid-summer activity, and then funding for utilities, and as such causing a weakening of the ties between members of the community. Once weakened as a community, conflicts of the *us versus them* kind began to occur between the local government and the NGO.

However, in such a world, it is difficult to accept that one's own could inflict suffering on an organization intended to unite the community; difficult to admit that retaliation could be a cause of the rift between members of the community; difficult to decide if the

ethnic tensions now reactivated are a function of local politics or generalizable to the rest of the country. Whatever the cause, the weakening of community ties, for whatever reason, could cause mistrust between members of the community to degenerate to the regressive level of mutual suspicion once seen in concentration camps.

Uncannily, camps where people were once burned to death can be evoked and charged to bring hope in the form of life rising from beneath the ashes.

Juxtapositioning of Structures I and II

The *tragic* and *premature death* of an adolescent may not only *immobilize* a hitherto *active* group, but can also *trigger* off in uncanny ways *previous deaths* in the community. Accordingly, there are references to the *potential for life under the ashes* in a community where there was a *Jewish concentration camp* with *a mass burial site* as well as a subsequent Soviet military camp site where people were detained pending *expulsion to Siberia*.

The *energy* of an adolescent before he died is contrasted with the *depression* that hit the community after his death. His *"explosiveness"* is contrasted with the *lethargy* of the community. Their description of his explosiveness yet again evokes gunshots in the community - whether these gunshots came from Nazi soldiers, Soviet soldiers, or now from Estonian soldiers who use the same military camp site for Baltic/NATO exercises, is another matter.

Detonated energy lapsing into lethargy comes to represent the contrast between community members who are more like *free riders* who do not have a great deal of initiative to launch activities on their own, and community *leaders who carry more responsibility* to ensure that the NGO stays *active and alive*. There is division of an *us versus them* kind in the NGO. This split precedes a more heinous split, that of the NGO versus an emerging county authority that is gaining in strength as structures of political authority become consolidated in the second decade after restoration of Estonian independence. *Violent competition instead of vigorous collaboration* brings about *struggles in power relations between NGO and central authority*, and brings back personal recollections of *persecution, revenge, shame, and regressive levels of distrust* that cause subjects to evoke the kind of *mutual suspicion that was once seen in concentration camps*. Community members do not live in a concentration camp. In fact, some members of the community do not even consciously know that they live next to a former concentration camp. They know, however, that, during Soviet occupation, their town was a Soviet military site. Feeling disenfranchised by the

county authority, they thus speak a language so reminiscent and so evocative of "camp" life.

Cross-checking the Observations of the Phenomenological Investigator with a Native Estonian (Endel Talvik, a psychologist)

In his answer to my question as to what he thought caused the ending of the work of the NGO, the native investigator told me the following stories which came to his mind:

In the first, he paid a visit to an official of the national government to receive permission for the Canadian filmmaker Allan King to document the Klooga project in 1999. He said that this official was a former Catholic priest, now turned a high-ranking military officer. The military officer asked: "Who are members of this NGO?" He looked at the list. Although there were more native Estonian-born members, he counted the Russian-born Estonians with pejorative emphasis: "Russian! Russian! Russian! Russian!" Clearly, the few Russians were too many for him. Then he asked a second question: "Who funded the project?" "Americans" was the answer. "But *who* in America?" "PEW, among others" was the answer. "Aah! Jews!" Jews in his mind were now funding Russians to interfere with the governance of his country that had once been colonized by the Soviet Union.

In the next story told by Endel, a once-expelled police officer - an expulsion that he considered most rare - had become the County Manager. He micro-managed the Klooga NGO and its activities and eventually took back the building that housed their projects, a building once donated to the NGO and renovated from a dump into a thriving Cultural Centre for all of Klooga. Endel's surmise was that, having been expelled by the police force in an unceremonious fashion, the former police officer, turned County Manager, would transfer his personal humiliation into the active humiliating of the members of the NGO, depriving them and all of Klooga of a major community resource, and offering the building to the school and the newly-established local police force.

The third story told by Endel was of the fatal car accident of the son of the head of the NGO, one who was married to an equally active member of the NGO. Their 13-year-old son had mysteriously found himself in the company of alcoholics who were themselves too drunk to drive a car to purchase more alcohol in a neighbouring town. They put the 13-year-old at the wheel and, during heavy rainfall, the fatal accident occurred. The alcoholics escaped unscathed. The head of the NGO sank into a clinical depression from which she would recover only two and a half years later. With no energy to lead a resistance against internal and external disruptive forces within and outside the NGO, the NGO folded.

Endel's meeting with the Catholic priest turned military/government official and the interviews with the NGO leaders revealed multiple *layers of signification*. Closer to the surface were:

(i)   The NGO as competitor with the local government;
(ii)   Two counts of revenge by formerly-expelled persons now strategically located in Klooga to wreak havoc in retaliation on the NGO;
(iii) The unfortunate fatal accident of the 13-year-old son of the head of the NGO sinking her into depression and the group further into its demise;
(iv)   The most fascinating layer of meaning was the following: the soldiers, who were shooting in the name of national security and as part of NATO/Baltic military exercises, presumably know, at a conscious level, very little about the mass burial of Jews in Klooga. Yet they appear to have a related mission: *"Keep the Russians from using Jewish money from America to disturb our universe. Keep life under the ashes from rising again. Keep the phantoms in their rightful places!!"*

Uncannily, while these NGO members were being kept from waking the dead, the American ambassador to Estonia was being accused of a diplomatic *faux pas*. His faux pas? He had advocated that Estonia grant a day of remembrance for the Jews buried in Estonia. His fate? Outrage from the Estonian press. Their grievance? "We Estonians too have suffered." The anxiety about Jewish phantoms coming back to life symbolically or in any derivative form must turn the victims of Soviet aggression from entertaining any idea of awakening ghosts. After all, ghosts return. The French know this well, as their language reveals. Their word for "ghost" is *"revenant"*: meaning, *that which returns*.

My Estonian crosschecking investigator, agreeing with my surmise, wanted to emphasize *revenge, shame, and losses*. He was impressed by the existence of a strong motive of revenge by Estonians against Soviet occupation. The residue of this is to be seen in the antagonistic attitude of Estonia towards the Russian-born Estonian citizens.

He was also impressed that Estonians feared at a deeper level the revenge of the Jews, American Jews in particular, who could fund integration projects in Estonia that could be used by Russian-born Estonians to impede the advance of restoration and consolidation of Estonian independence.

He wanted me to elaborate the fear of the forest. Klooga was one of the "forests" that Hitler's Nazis used to bury Jews they considered most recalcitrant. So the picture of the Estonian military officer holding the grenade who said "We can be robbed in the forest", was very evocative for him. "The military officer", in my counterpart's view, "is like an occupier, not the host." As an Estonian military officer, "one would expect him to feel like the host, but he was, ironically, behaving like an occupier", not unlike Soviets, or Nazis, who "occupied" Klooga before. "That is why the occupier is afraid of local people, even if he is the one wielding a grenade. So, in a way, he feels more like a Russian soldier than an Estonian soldier."

There is Estonian shame in having had a concentration camp. "Now we are behaving as if we want to erase it from our minds and shoot it down. If we pretend it does not exist, it might go away."

In addition, he wanted to reiterate that there were two major losses that led to the demise of the NGO: (1) the loss of the home [that had been donated to the NGO by the local authorities]. "That is why the NGO felt badly, deceived and betrayed"; and (2) the loss of the NGO head's son. "The NGO head may feel guilty for the loss of the house *and* loss of the son," resulting in her feeling immobilized by a clinical depression.

Finally, he added a cryptic note: "Before we came to interview, I was pessimistic that we could revive the NGO. I think now that we can." With this I agreed.

Discussion: Dialoguing with the Literature

The short-lived existence of the NGO at Klooga readily brings to mind the warnings in some of the literature on NGOs. Two representative ones come to mind: Murphy and Bendell (2002), to which I have not previously referred, and Pfeiffer (2003), to which I have already made reference. Murphy and Bendell (2002) declare at the very outset of their paper that *"partnership is not the first word that comes to mind when one thinks about business/NGO relations. Over the past three decades, most relationships between the private sector and civil society have been founded upon conflict"* (p. 216; emphasis added). Although their emphasis is on the building of partnerships between private companies and NGOs, some of the preconditions that they suggest are conducive to sustainable development. As such, the interactive processes that emerge from those collaborations obtain, and are, indeed, transferable to, other forms of NGO partnerships. I shall highlight a few. Murphy and Bendell suggest that there should be a willingness and a capacity on the part of NGOs and their partners

to cope with diverse perspectives and/or paradoxical goals all the way through the joint enterprise. Secondly, there should be a commitment to shared responsibility and joint ownership, even to the point of "symbiosis" (p. 239). Thirdly, partners must articulate their expectations honestly and realistically. Fourthly, business partners and NGOs must commit to changing practices that cannot be sustained, and develop new and concrete actions that can support the partnership. In spite of the ongoing joint efforts to sustain a partnership even to the point of symbiosis, there must be instances of relative organizational independence and integrity. In the two CSMHI Estonia projects at Mustve and Mustamae (see Apprey, 2001, 2002; Volkan, 1997) that continue to function successfully, *the principles of the interactive processes outlined by Murphy and Bendell (2002) continue to be observable*. I shall return to the contrast with Klooga shortly.

The recommendations by Pfeiffer (2003) as to the need to be sensitive to indigenous needs, so that expatriate influences do not derail local efforts, must be heeded, as must his recommendations, among others, that funding agencies must support projects long enough for the transfer of ownership and routinization of agency to occur.

In the Mustamae and Mustve projects, the NGOs created by CSMHI worked collaboratively with their respective local authorities from the outset. Central government and county governments needed the NGOs to be successful. The success of the NGOs more or less amounted to the success of central government and county governments. For example, in order to join NATO and the European Union, Estonia needed to show that the country was making strides in its efforts to integrate its substantial Russian-speaking minority. Mustamae and Mustve Projects continue to be shining examples of Estonia's efforts in that direction. The UN has acknowledged this positive direction and has even urged Latvia, another Baltic nation, to follow Estonia's lead. Christopher Brown-Humes of the *Financial Times* (November 25th, 2003) elaborates in his article, "The Pros and Cons of Becoming a Latvian Citizen", as follows:

> Estonia, which also has a sizeable Russian minority, is generally felt to have been more generous in its treatment of non-citizens. It has given them the right to vote in municipal elections, for example. The UN Human Rights Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination recently suggested that Latvia consider following the Estonian example (p. 3).

The numerous psychopolitical dialogues and projects

fostered by CSMHI between Estonia and its Russian minority have incrementally facilitated Estonia's generous handling of its Russian-speaking minority, as now endorsed by an independent agency (UN) and articulated by an independent observer (*Financial Times*).

In Klooga, the town was run down. There was no infrastructure to run it. The county government was paralysed. The NGO brought back the spirit of the community. The county government gradually gained in strength and, eventually, when it was up and functioning, there was just too much historical baggage for the two partners to successfully work hand in hand.

Results of the Phenomenological Study on the Sense of Ownership of a Community Integration Project after Transfer of Ownership from Third-Party Facilitators

The conflict that originally brought CSMHI to Klooga is now virtually under control. The antagonism between the native Estonians and the Russian-speaking citizens is no longer an issue for local citizens. However, that conflict has shifted to one between the NGO and the local authority. Members of the NGO were the original parties in conflict. When they resolved to work together to rebuild their community, they succeeded for two years. Now the local authority, that gave them its blessing to help build the community and gave them a building to use for that purpose, has taken back the building and given it to the Police and the School. The Police Department and the School share the two ends of the building. When CSMHI began to work with the NGO, a police force did not even exist in Klooga and crime was rampant. Now there is a considerable lack of tension between members of the community in Klooga; all the police force does is to come into the building twice a week to listen to the citizens to determine if they need any kind of help. "POLICE" is nevertheless visibly posted on the building.

What, then, is the sense of ownership after project transfer? I shall use the allocation of the rundown building to the NGO by the county government, and its later confiscation after the NGO and CSMHI had repaired it, as a representative metaphor.

Accordingly, the NGO had a lease, so to speak. The lease ran out and they were without a home. The sense of ownership at the phenomenal and experiential level was short-lived. *The "ghosts" of Estonia returned to a now hospitable place, but they brought with them the old conflicts that preceded the new inhabitants of Klooga*. This is how the return of the repressed took place: *The sedimentations of history that had faded away were reactivated. When they were, they changed function from Nazi concentration camp atrocities to Soviet occupation. The latter changed function and became the disturbance of peace by Baltic/NATO exercises. Now the tragic and premature death of the head of the NGO's son had reactivated stories of ashes and hopes of life under the ashes. In short, when ghosts (les revenants) return - even to a restored place - they bring the havoc wreaked upon them in history, and the new inhabitants are unable to fully reinvent themselves. The new inhabitants can go so far; but they reach their limit when one tragic and premature death creates associative links between the present and the past. We may never know if the NGO would have found ways to work with the county government if the head of the NGO had not lost her son and become immobilized by clinical depression. Returned ghosts notwithstanding, the fate of the hitherto antagonistic relation between the native Estonians and their fellow Russian-speaking citizens is that they can now live a life of co-existence. However, they have to reconfigure their relationship with the county government in a way that could conceivably ensure the integrity of both NGO and county government.*

The communal memory that intercepted the continued sense of ownership was *transgenerational*. Given the massive trauma that accompanied the Nazi atrocities and its intertwining with the equally brutal Soviet occupation, we can now evoke Volkan's notion of "chosen trauma" (Volkan, 1997), that mode of mentalizing affectively charged and pooled events of destructive aggression and transforming them into a new and vengeful present situation of conflict. The ideas of Husserl, Freud, Hartmann, Volkan, and Iser can now coalesce to give this notion of transferring the events of history into a sense of history a powerful convergence. From Husserl, we get a praxis for determining the intentional acts of subjects and how they transfer the events of history into a phenomenal sense of history. From Freud, we get the uncanny and how it operates outside of our consciousness. From Hartmann, we get the notion of "change of function", appropriated from Reich, more fully elaborated. From Volkan, the notion of "chosen trauma" gives an account of mentalization at the group level. From Iser, we get the topography of this coalition of ideas, separating sedimentation from reactivation, and reactivation from extension or supplementation, to serve new and contemporary purposes. As a researcher, I have shown that Husserl and Freud, two students of Franz Brentano who taught them both intentionality, inter alia, must continue to be brought together to potentiate our access to prior latencies: those historical passions deeply embedded in our historical psyches that continue to simultaneously shape and disturb our universe.

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