



NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE CODE: PCR 812

COURSE TITLE: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PEACE BUILDING

COURSE GUIDE

**PCR 812
THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
PEACE BUILDING**

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National Open University of Nigeria 2006

First Printed 2006

ISBN: 978-058-326-2

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Printed by

For

National Open University of Nigeria

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Introduction

Welcome to PCR 812: The Political Economy of Peacebuilding. It is a one semester course and is available for all students to take towards the core module of the Master of Arts in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution. This course is suitable for post graduate students seeking to understand the various dimensions of peacebuilding especially the intricacies of the peace process, and the political economy of peacebuilding.

This course consists of 21 units, it examines in detail various dimensions of the peace building process such as the theories of conflict, causes of conflict and the political economy of conflicts, it discusses the various theories of reconciliation and the issue of justice, mercy, and peace as factors of reconciliation of parties to a conflict.

It also examines the concept of peace itself and the approaches to building peace, while presenting the integrated framework for peace building, as well as the necessity for coordination of efforts in peace building.

There are compulsory prerequisites for this course. The course guide tells you briefly what the course is all about, what you are expected to know in each unit, what course materials you need to use and how you can work your way through these materials. It also emphasizes the necessity for tutor-marked assignments. There are also periodic tutorial classes that are linked to this course.

What you will learn in this course

The overall objective of **PCR 812 The Political Economy of Peacebuilding** is to expose you to the array of elements involved in the process of building peace in post conflict situations and even during peace time. Emphasis is also laid on being able to understand the linkages between the nature of particular conflicts, the funding of the conflicts and the economic implications of a conflict.

Your understanding of this course will serve to expose you to a very important part of peace studies that have to do with the very important perspective of consciously building peace in societies in order to prevent wars.

Course Aims

The basic aim of this course is to critically examine the underlying causes of conflicts and to give a structured and evaluative insight into

reconciliation and peacebuilding in divided or troubled societies. It also aims to explore the political economy of peacebuilding through examining the socio-political and economic environment of the peace building process.

Course Objectives

Several objectives can be delineated from this course. In addition, each unit has specific objectives. The unit objectives can be found at the beginning of a unit. You may want to refer to them during your study of the particular unit to check on the progress you are making.

You should always look at the unit objectives after completing a unit. In this way, you can be sure that you have covered what is required of you in that unit.

On successful completion of the course, you should be able to:

1. Analyse and Determine the underlying causes of a conflict in any particular instance
2. Be conversant with the theories of reconciliation
3. Appreciate the importance of truth in reconciliation
4. Discuss justice as a factor of reconciliation
5. Define mercy and its importance in reconciliation
6. Discuss peace as an important component of reconciliation
7. Discuss peace in relation to the economies of war
8. Define peace and its various dimensions
9. Understand the process of peacebuilding
10. Discuss the necessity for coordination during peacebuilding
11. Understand the challenges that exist in designing and implementing peace accords
12. Analyse strategic coordination as an operational challenge for peace missions
13. Discuss the challenges of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration
14. Discuss the criminalization of economic life in the economic impact of intervention
15. Understand the process of conflict prevention and impact of donor aid
16. Be conversant with the case study of Sierra Leone
17. Define diplomacy and its components and its relationship to peacebuilding
18. Appreciate the importance of gender in peacebuilding
19. Discuss the correlation between democratization and peace building
20. Be conversant with the notion of coexistence during and after conflict
21. Assess the sustainability of peacebuilding

Working through this course

To complete this course you are required to read the study units, read recommended books and read other materials provided by the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN). Most of the units contain self-assessment exercises, and at points in the course, you are required to submit assignments for assessment purposes. At the end of this course is a final examination. Stated below are the components of the course and what you are expected to do.

Course Materials

1. Course Guide
2. Study Units
3. Textbooks and other Reference Sources
4. Assignment File
5. Presentation

In addition, you must obtain the text materials. They are provided by the NOUN. You may also be able to purchase the materials from the bookshops. Please, contact your tutor if you have problems in obtaining the text materials.

Study Units

There are twenty-one study units in this course, as follows:

Module 1

- Unit 1 The Political Economy of Peace and Conflict
- Unit 2 Theory of Reconciliation
- Unit 3 Components of Reconciliation
- Unit 4 Justice as a Factor of Reconciliation

Module 2

- Unit 1 Mercy in Reconciliation
- Unit 2 Peace as a Component of Reconciliation
- Unit 3 The Concept of Peace
- Unit 4 Approaches to Peacebuilding

Module 3

- Unit 1 Integrated Framework to Peacebuilding
- Unit 2 Coordination of Points of Contacts for Peacebuilding

Unit 3 Challenges for Designing and Implementing Peace Accords

Module 4

- Unit 1 Operational Challenges for Peace Missions: Strategic Coordination
- Unit 2 Operational Challenges for Peace Missions: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
- Unit 3 Operational Challenges for Peace Missions: Intervention and Peacebuilding
- Unit 4 Operational Challenges for Peace Missions: Conflict Prevention and Donor Aid
- Unit 5 Case Study: Sierra Leone

Module 5

- Unit 1 Diplomacy and Peacebuilding
- Unit 2 Gender and Peacebuilding
- Unit 3 Democratization and Peacebuilding
- Unit 4 Coexistence and Conflict
- Unit 5 Sustainability of Peacebuilding

Each unit contains a number of self-tests. In general, these self-tests question you on the materials you have just covered or require you to apply it in some way and, thereby, assist you gauge your progress as well as reinforcing your understanding of the material. Together with tutor-marked assignments, these exercises will assist you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units and of the Course.

Textbooks and References

These books are recommended for further reading:

Lederach, J.P. (1997). Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

Mockaitis, T. R. (1999). *Peace Operations and Intrastate Conflict: The Sword or the Oliver Branch?* Westport: Praeger.

Jinadu, L. A. (ed.), (2000) The Political Economy of Peace and Security in Africa, Harare, AAPS Books.

Albert, I. O. (2005), Perspectives on Peace and Conflict in Africa, University of Ibadan, Peace and Conflict Studies Programme

Assignment File

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. In this file, you will find all the details of the work you must submit to your tutor for marking. The marks you obtain for these assignments will count towards the final mark you obtain for this course. Further information on assignment will be found in the Assignment File itself, and later in this Course Guide in the section on assessment.

There are many assignments for this course, with each unit having at least one assignment. These assignments are basically meant to assist you to understand the course.

Assessment

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. First, are the tutor-marked assignments; Second, is a written examination.

In tackling these assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The assignments must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the Assignment File. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will account for 30 per cent of your total course mark.

At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final examination of three hours duration. This examination will account for the other 70 per cent of your total course mark.

Tutor-Marked Assignments

There are 24 tutor-marked assignments in this course. You need to attempt and submit all the assignments. The best three (i.e. the highest four of the 24 marks) will be counted. Each assignment counts for 20 marks but on the average when the best three assignments are put together, then each assignment will count 10 % towards your total course mark. This implies that the total marks for the best three (3) assignments which would have been 100 marks will now be 30% of your total course mark.

The Assignments for the units in this course are contained in the Assignment File. You will be able to complete your assignments from the information and materials contained in your set books, reading and study units. However, it is always desirable at this level of your education to research more widely, and demonstrate that you have a very broad and in-depth knowledge of the subject matter.

When each assignment is completed, send it together with a TMA (tutor-marked assignment) form to your tutor. Ensure that each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline given in the Assignment File. If, for any reason you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor before the assignment is due to discuss the possibility of an extension. Extensions will not be granted after the due date unless there are exceptional circumstances warranting such.

Final Examination and Grading

The final examination for **PCR 812 The Political Economy of Peacebuilding** will be of three hours' duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions which reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed.

Use the time between the completion of the last unit and sitting for the examination to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments and comment on them before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

Course Marking Scheme

Table 1: *Course marking Scheme*

ASSESSMENT	MARKS
Assignments	Best three marks of the Assignments @10% each (on the average) = 30% of course marks
Final examination	70% of overall course marks
Total	100% of course marks

How to get the most from this course

In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecturer. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units tell you when to read, and which are your text materials or set books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise.

Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course.

The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your set books or from a Reading section.

The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

Read this Course Guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.

Organise a Study Schedule. Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the Course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.

Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late for help.

Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.

Assemble the study materials. You will need your set books and the unit you are studying at any point in time.

Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.

Well before the relevant due dates (about 4 weeks before due dates), start working on your tutor made assignment. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been

designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.

Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.

When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.

When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule. When the Assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor-marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.

After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).

Tutors and Tutorials

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor, as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group.

Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must mail your tutor-marked assignments to your tutor well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible.

Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone, e-mail, or discussion board. The following might be circumstances in which you will find help necessary. Contact your tutor if:

You do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings.

You have difficulties within the exercises.

You have a question or problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face to face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefits from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn quite a lot from participating in the discussions.

Summary

Political Economy of Peace Building is a course that is indispensable in a world endemic of conflict and the persistent search for peace. It equips with you with the necessary tools to analyse the underlying causes of conflicts in a given society, and to come up with a structured and evaluative insight as to how to achieve reconciliation and peacebuilding. It also enables you to explore the political economy of peacebuilding through examining the socio-political and economic environment of the peace building process.

We wish you success in the programme.

**MAIN
COURSE**

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National Open University of Nigeria 2006

First Printed 2006

ISBN: 978-058-326-2

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MODULE 1

- Unit 1 The Political Economy of Peace and Conflict
- Unit 2 Theory of Reconciliation
- Unit 3 Components of Reconciliation
- Unit 4 Justice as a Factor of Reconciliation

UNIT 1 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT**CONTENT**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 The Political Economy of Peace and Conflict
 - 3.2 Theories of Conflict
 - 3.3 Intractable conflict
 - 3.4 Characteristics of Divided Societies
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The causes of conflict within state and/or regions cannot be attributed directly to one issue or factor. However research has shown that there exist various causes or factors that give rise to conflict. Anthropology suggests that conflict arise as a result of ethnocentrism, the feeling that one's group has a mode of living, values and patterns of adaptation that is superior to those of other groups. It is coupled with a generalized contempt for members of other groups.

Ethnocentrism may manifest itself in attitudes of superiority or sometimes hostility. Violence, discrimination, proselytizing and verbal aggressiveness are other means whereby ethnocentrism may be expressed. Whereas sociological theories suggest that multiculturalism, which often contributes to ethnocentrism, seeks to overcome racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination by making the widest range of human difference acceptable to the largest number of people.

Anthropologists and sociologists' assumption argue that, more often than not conflict can arise when people of varying values, traditions and

perception are bound by one law and live in the constraints of one territory; hence there is bound to be conflict and inevitably a divided society which inevitably spread to other territories and regions.

Thus, it is our aim to critically examine the underlying reasons for conflict and to give a structured and evaluative insight on reconciliation and peace building in divided societies.

Structural factors set limitations within which individuals and groups can affect the course of a conflict. These can include, for instance, the stage of economic development, cultural molds, and decision-making establishments. These factors influence self-conceptions and identities, how objections are interpreted and settled, goal formulation, and the methods used to attain them.

There is a vast amount of literature about characteristics of societies that make them liable to engage in conflict, and by expansion these characteristics would increase the likelihood of intractable conflicts. These literatures concern, for example, to the type or structure of government, the incidence of antagonistic personalities, the lack of education promoting peacefulness, and the eminence of a military-industrial complex.

Conflicts are not autonomous of their context. Their course is exaggerated by external factors, of varying range and impact. A main external factor is the set of other conflicts that are placed over or encroached upon any particular conflict. For instance, the Cold War had massive effect on many other conflicts, often worsening their intractability.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the political economy framework;
- ii) Discuss theories of conflict;
- iii) Discuss underlying causes of conflicts;
- iv) Explain the term ethnocentrism;
- v) Highlight the characteristics of divided societies; and
- vi) Be conversant with the concept of ethnicity

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 The Political Economy of Peace and Conflict

This is a framework that captures in a holistic and dialectical manner, the origin, causes and nature of the forces shaping the dynamics of conflict and the ability to resolve conflicts and build peace. This is an integrated approach which takes cognizance of peace and conflict as involving contradictions and complexities thrown up by structure and institutions and their underlying principles and presuppositions, as human artifacts, created or crafted to mediate social relations.

The prospects for peace and security are, necessarily constrained by the competing antinomies of conflict and cooperation, harmony and discord, unity and diversity, within the constraining context of hegemonic rivalry for dominance and the emergent dominant allocative and distributive rules and principles in any given society or community. Therefore, the problems of peace and conflict cannot and should not be divorced from the dialectics of domination and subjection, in other words, from considerations of super ordinate and subordinate relations at the community, national and global levels.

These relations of inequality and exploitation, which frequently lead to conflicts, are more often than not linked to issues of production and distributive politics. The social relations of production and distribution, if not properly managed create the conditions for the emergence of conflicts. As a holistic concept, political economy could therefore be used to analyse the social and political relations of any society at community, national and international levels. Just as at the national level, it could also be used to analyze the relations of production at the international level, in terms of who really are the owners and distributors of factors of productions, and who make the rules and regulations. Those who control the production process, therefore make the rules, which could be detrimental to the interests of those states that are weak in the international system. This becomes a source of conflict. Therefore, class relations within states and between states are germane to a comprehensive analysis of the causes of conflict, and possibilities of building peace in any society.

It is also important for us to note that the historical element is very important in the use of political economy as an instrument of analysis. For example, for Africa, the role of colonialism, slave trade and the disarticulation of its evolving economics relegated the continent to a subordinate position in the global economy. Internally, the scarcities arising from this resulted into internecine struggles among the political class and ethnic nationalities for access to state resources. In essence,

the political economy approach is a most potent instrument for the analysis of social, economic and political problems. Indeed, it is unarguable that it is yet to be rivaled by any others explanatory framework.

3.2 Theories of Conflict

Peace is a state of tranquility, a state of non-violence in which the contradictions in society, have been effectively mediated in the interest of all. On the other hand, conflict is a situation of interaction involving two or more parties in which actions in pursuit of incompatible objectives or interests result in varying degrees of discord. In some scholarly writings, it is an argument of intellectual and empirical importance that conflict is the normal state of human interaction. This correlates to the idea of Max Weber that "... peace is nothing more than a change in the form of conflict or in the antagonists or in the objects of the conflict, or finally, in the chances of selection". Conflict could be violent or non-violent, and spans a wide spectrum of situations between peace and war.

The concept of conflict is multidimensional, manifesting in various forms. One of those manifestations is violence, while it could also present as political conflict. The structural theory of violence, for instance analyses violence from abnormalities in the structures of political institutions.

From the perspective of power relations, political conflict resides or is situated in the structure of power and the various attitudes or social behaviours that spell or dictate access to it. Politics is seen as nothing more than the exercise of power. This exercise of power entails a relationship between groups and institutions, which has the potentiality of conflict. Such conflicts are national when they assume a dimension beyond states or regions. They not only have an impact on the exercise of power, but are also generated as a result of fundamental contradicting in the very structure of power.

The adequate understanding of conflict is the basis for proffering any conflict resolution mechanism. To this extent, it is important for us to understand conflicts. However, since conflicts come in different shades, under different conditions, it is difficult to use any one theory to describe or explain what conflict is. However, Paul Wehr articulated 'seven-man approaches' as central propositions:

that conflict is innate in social animals;
that it is generated by the nature of societies as the way they are structured;

- that it is dysfunctional in social systems and symptom of pathological strain;
- that it is functional in social systems and necessary for social development;
- that it is an inevitable feature of competing state interests in conditions of international anarchy;
- that it is a result of misperception, miscalculation and poor communication;
- that it is a natural process common to all societies (Hugh Miall et al, 1999).

Let us take Edward Azar's theory of protracted social conflict' for instance. The theory shows that in many conflicts currently active in the underdeveloped parts of the world, there is a blurred demarcation between internal and external sources of the conflict and actors involved. It maintains that the fact is that there are multiple causal factors and dynamics, reflected in changing goals, actors and targets, and that these conflicts do not necessarily show starting and terminating points. The theory propounds that the sources of such conflicts lay predominantly within rather than between states, with four clusters of variables identified as preconditions for their transformation to high levels of intensity. These variables are the command content, deprivation of human needs, governance as the role of the state and international political-economic relations of dependency.

3.3 Intractable Conflict

Intractable conflicts are ones that stay unsettled for long periods of time and then become wedged at a high level of power and destructiveness. They typically involve many parties and concern a complex set of historical, religious, cultural, political, and economic issues.

This sort of conflicts often involves interests or values that the disputants regard as vital to their survival. These underlying causes include the moral values, identities, and fundamental human needs of the parties'. Because conflicts grounded in these issues involve the basic patterns for thought and action within given communities and culture, they are usually not resolvable by negotiation or compromise

The desire for justice is one that people tend to be unwilling to cooperate; assertions of injustice often lead to intractable conflicts as well. An individual's sense of justice is connected to the norms, rights, and entitlements that are thought to underlie decent human treatment. If there exists an apparent disagreement between what a person obtains, what they, and what they believe is their entitlement, they may come to

believe they are being deprived of such benefits that is deserving of them.

Conflicts that center on issues of justice tend to be intractable in part because reaching an accord about what qualifies as injustice is often extremely difficult. Those who benefit from injustice often affect it, often without being fully aware that they are causal to injustice. That which seems fair to one person may not seem fair to another, and these opinions are often affected by self-interest. However, parties often speak about justice in absolute terms, as some free and objective standard of fairness that can be used to determine who is right.

Identity and a quest for self-determination is one of the many fundamental human needs that underlie many intractable conflicts. Such conflicts arise when group members feel that their sense of self is in jeopardy or denied legality and respect. Because identity is essential to one's self-esteem and how one construes the rest of the world, any danger to identity is likely to produce a strong response. In general this response is both belligerent and defensive, and can rise quickly into an intractable conflict. Because threats to identity are not easily put aside, such conflicts tend to persist.

Conflicts surrounding resource allocation also be inclined to be intractable. The items to be circulated include material resources such as money, land, or better jobs, as well as intangible resources such as social status. If resources abundant and available, then everyone simply take what they need and no conflict arises. However, when there is scarcity of a given resource to satisfy everyone's needs, and no more can be found or created, the conflict becomes a "win-lose" situation. The more one party gets, the less the other party gets (or the more he or she "loses"). When the item in question is very important or valuable, these conflicts tend to become very intractable.

3.4 Characteristics of Divided Societies

Firstly divided societies arise from regions that consist of groups who differ amongst themselves in areas of ethnicity, religious beliefs and practices and language to mention a few. Neither the growth in western civilization nor the coming of the age of enlightenment brought about a dearth in the parochial elements of societies, rather it gave it more reason to survive and flourish contrary to the theory asserted by many social scientists and philosophers during the years of societal transformation that societies will in no time develop particular traits whereby universalism will replace parochialism and logic will replace faith and tradition.

Divided societies are further characterized by fundamentalist expressions of religious and traditional beliefs, primitive loyalties and ethnic segregation. Inevitably, political parties become platforms for expressing the interest of particular communities and groups, rather than a platform for spreading secular ideologies that define their stance. They become ethnically defined and less secular.

Intractable conflicts are often maintained by the development of polarized collective identities among group members. Group memberships form along the lines of nationality, ethnicity, race, religion, or whatever other categories are relevant to the conflict. Individuals identify with those in their own group and begin to organize against those in the opposing group. While collective identities may initially form around issues such as opposing unfair social structures or staking claims to territory, they eventually take on meaning and value of their own. As the conflict escalates, the opposing groups become progressively more polarized and develop antagonism towards those in the out-group. A high level of in-group identification, together with a high degree of perceived threat from the other group, leads to a basic impulse to preserve oneself and destroy the opponent.

Also, divided societies are composed of groups with unequal resources. Some groups are larger than other groups and have more economic resources, while some groups are more informed than others are. These divisions are more lasting than they first appear thus economic mobility within these societies much reduced than needed to make a difference.

Self Assessment Exercise 1.1

What are the various views on the likely causes of conflict in society?
What is ethnocentrism? Distinguish between ethnocentrism and ethnicity as they relate to conflict.

4.0 CONCLUSION

There are usually many reasons why a conflict may arise. So far as human beings interact with one another at the individual, group and state levels, contradictions are bound to arise.

However, the trigger points inherent in deeply divided societies thus leading to intractable conflicts have exacerbated these differences. Indeed, the literature indicates that sometimes, conflict may be necessary to effect changes in society as indicated by some sociological theories. However, the usual desire is that such conflicts do not get to a stage where it will be difficult to either curtail or manage.

5.0 SUMMARY

We have examined the nature of conflicts and the possible causes of conflict in society. In addition, we also examined the characteristics of divided societies.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. "Conflict is inherent in vibrant societies". Discuss.
2. Distinguish between ethnocentrism and ethnicity as they relate to conflict?
3. What do you understand by Political Economy? How could this approach be used to analyse peace and conflict situation?
4. Identify two theories of conflict, and discuss their propositions.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Hugh Miall et al, Contemporary Resolution, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1999.

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UNIT 2 THEORY OF RECONCILIATION

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 The Notion of Reconciliation at the State/ Regional levels
 - 3.2 Truth Commissions
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Reconciliation is a word that implies bringing people back together after a separation, usually due to conflict. The assumption is that there was a relationship, but that the relationship has been broken and is in need of repair. The process of becoming close again is reconciliation.

Reconciliation is the crucial objective of peace building. It arises when disputants develop a new relationship based on apology, forgiveness, and newly established trust. John Paul Lederach describes reconciliation as "a meeting ground where trust and mercy have met, and where justice and peace have kissed." Thus, reconciliation involves all four processes. It brings people together, allowing them to develop beyond the past to restore stable, peaceful, and trusting relationship in the present.

Clearly, a difficult and slow process, Lederach points out that it usually takes just as long to get out of a conflict as it takes to get into one. Hence, conflicts that have been going on for a long period of time, reconciliation cannot take place in a given time frame. It will take many years, perhaps decades or centuries, to get things normalized. Nonetheless, development can be made, and can have beneficial effects.

The theory of reconciliation purports reconciliation as a method applied or a process to dispel the fears of the conquered rivals and to some large extent appease the losers. It is a process that aims to build new and perhaps stable relationships that acknowledge the basic interests of the defeated and seek for their steady amalgamation into the eco-political system. Reconciliation refers to the re-establishment of broken relationships, but at a higher political level rather than the interpersonal level. Thus, it involves reconciling peoples that have been separated by fierce conflict.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Define reconciliation;
- ii) Discuss reconciliation at the state/regional levels;
- iii) Explain the various theories of reconciliation; and
- iv) Explain the importance of reconciliation in conflict resolution.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 The Notion of Reconciliation at the State/Regional Levels

The notion of reconciliation with reference to state and regional political relationships come in various versions. Firstly as a natural organic unity, whereby any form of disorientation in its normal working would be as a result of introducing alien system or process into it. Reconciliation in this instance will come through identifying the alien element and expelling it from the political entity so as to restore it to its status quo and introducing protective measures to restrain its reoccurrence.

A second version of the theory of reconciliation asserts that peace and unity of the political entity is set-up by winning the will of all its members in a process of decision-making. The purpose is to make evident a general will. Such version of reconciliation believes that, populist or participatory democracy would curb the conflicts from turning into violence even when such democracy is set up by a revolution that may have involved violence.

Collective decision-making is applied to issues of social and interpersonal conflict as well. The concord of the entity is set up through recurring exercises of will in dealing with disagreements. In this version of reconciliation, as different from that of reinstating a natural pre-existing political body, the source of tribulations comes from within. The aforementioned two theories of reconciliation focus on retaining the unity of the political entity.

Reconciliation dates back to the theory of the fundamental rights, which asserts that reconciliation cannot be attained except through the acceptance of political democracy as a new political structure to rebuild the initiative and principles of political and social ideals of the people within that given entity. In the subsequent years after the Nigerian civil war, a new federalist system was put in place to enable states to possess some degree of power in order to deal with matters affecting the welfare of the people.

So many ideas that exist relate reconciliation with various components; J.P. Lederach identified truth, justice, mercy and peace as these components (Lederach, J.P. (1997) *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace)

The importance or need for reconciliation in conflict resolution can be seen in the Israel/Palestine case where the armed standoff was being used to substitute a proper agenda or process of resolution. The result was the tragic second conflict; the absence of stable peace and reconciliatory processes brought a second round of bloodshed and violence.

Reconciliation, therefore, is a social space where individuals, states and society at large come together to express to another the ordeal of loss and the grief that accompanies the pain and memory of injustice experienced. Thus it involves the recognition and acknowledgment of what happened (i.e. truth), an effort to right the wrongs that occurred (i.e., justice) and forgiveness for the perpetrators (mercy). The end result is not only reconciliation, but also peace.

Reconciliation is not pursued by seeking groundbreaking ways to extricate or minimize the conflicting groups' affiliations, but instead is built on mechanisms that engage the sides of the conflict with each other as human, in relation to each other. Reconciliation must find ways to address the past without getting locked into the vicious cycle of mutual exclusiveness in the past. Reconciliation as proposed by J.P. Lederach is promoted by providing space and opportunity for encounters at various levels, bringing together people from opposing sides and encouraging them to articulate their pain and to envision an interdependent future.

Reconciliation programs take many forms. Analytical problem solving workshops or dialogue processes can help build trust and a sense of forgiveness and mercy. If they lead to wider structural or behavioral changes they can also contribute to the re-establishment of justice and peace. So can processes such as the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, which have formalized the process of apology and forgiveness. Most efforts at citizen diplomacy and grassroots peace building - which brings "ordinary" citizens into a process of trust building and cooperation with former enemies-- contribute to reconciliation over the long term.

3.2 Truth Commissions

The truth commission has been a changeable organ, not only in the many institutional forms it has assumed, but also in its varying

membership, as an official organ they are generally but not always staffed by citizens. The contemporary surge of truth commissions began in Argentina after the country's defeat in the Falklands Islands war and the military's related withdrawal from political power. Other instances of truth commissions that have completed their work include Chile and El Salvador. Countries such as Uganda have been unable to complete their mission and submit a report due to the laxity in political will and the unavailability of funds.

Truth commissions serve as a generic term or label of a type of governmental machinery that is projected to construct a record of this tragic history, and that has been called different titles in the various countries and regions. These commissions are designed to offer a path to reconciliation by offering one or many ways of responding to years of barbarism and human rights violations that occurred in countries while they were enveloped by racial, ethnic and ideological conflict over power.

The realization of or an aspiration towards some fundamental change appears to be to some extent a companion to the use of truth commissions. Secondly, the rules and principles drawn on by commissions in shaping what is germane evidence, in reaching agreements and conclusions about criminal conduct.

Truth commissions function on three levels; the first involves catharsis, the second level entails the process of moral reconstruction, that is to say that the society must pass judgment on what has been heard and confirmed. The third level a brink on the political that is what is to be done with the truth telling process, thus it questions if society should forget or ignore the truth. Any assessment of truth commissions must involve evaluation between them and other approaches toward dealing with a tragic period of conflict within national history.

Self Assessment Exercise 2.1

What are the various theories of reconciliation?

4.0 CONCLUSION

We conclude by observing that there are maybe various views as to how reconciliation may be attained, this notwithstanding, there are however certain basic components that cannot be ignored, namely, the opportunity to present your case, truth, justice and mercy.

These are the ingredients necessary for ensuring a long lasting peace. However, for the peace process to move forward, it must be noted that

truth commissions have been seen as an instrument in promoting reconciliation.

5.0 SUMMARY

We examined the various theories of reconciliation and the characteristics of reconciliation.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

- 1a. Outline the theories and features of reconciliation.
- 1b. To what extent can a Truth Commission be instrumental to the reconciliation process?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 3 COMPONENTS OF RECONCILIATION

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Truth as a component of reconciliation
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked-Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall begin our examination of the various components of reconciliation. Special attention shall be given to the place or role of truth as a key component of reconciliation. We will subsequently examine its link to mercy and justice in this process.

According to Lederach (1997) - "Truth and Mercy have met together. Justice and Peace have kissed". Lederach uses these words as themes to guide one in better understanding the components that aid long lasting reconciliation. He concluded in his finding during his workshop in the Peace Commissions in Nicaragua thus:

"Without the person of truth, conflict will never be resolved. Yet, truth alone leaves us naked, vulnerable and unworthy." On Mercy, images emerged of compassion, forgiveness, acceptance and a new start. Without the person of mercy, healthy relationships would not be possible. Without compassion and forgiveness, healing and restoration, would not be possible. Yet, mercy alone is superficial because it covers up too quickly.

Reconciliation is a procedure that moves us away from hatred and prejudice of the past towards building structures and procedures for establishing durable peace with adversaries once groups have entered a post-settlement phase (Ackerman, 1994). It is a process that restores broken relationships of those who have been estranged from one another by conflict to create a community again. Reconciliation begins with the restitution between the injured and the injurer, and reciprocity is essential.

There are a number of essential components to reconciliation as a political concept, including equality, trust, acceptance, partnership, friendship, and the development of mutual interests (Feldman, 1991).

Yet for these components to be manifest among former enemies, a significant transformation is necessary. According to Frost (1991, p. 200), Arendt suggests that there are two primary requirements for this transformation to take place:

...the ability of people to make agreements to live reciprocally in new ways which contrast to the ways of the past; and the freedom to enter into these agreements with integrity, setting aside, not the memory, but the continuing hostility and need for retribution associated with the memory of the painful past.

Justice raised images of making things right, creating equal opportunity, rectifying wrong and restitution. "Without justice, the brokenness continues and festers," said one person. With peace, participants imagined harmony, unity, wellbeing, feelings of respect and security. However, if peace is preserved only for the benefit of some, and not others, it represents a farce. When Lederach asked the participants what they should call the place where truth, mercy, justice and peace meet, one said immediately, "That place is reconciliation" (Lederach, 1997: 29).

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the various components of reconciliation;
- ii) Discuss the importance of truth in reconciliation; and
- iii) Explain the relationship between truth and mercy, justice and peace.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Truth as a Component of Reconciliation

"For this I was born, and for this I came into the world, to testify to the truth. Everyone who belongs to the truth listens to my voice." Pilate asked him, "What is truth?" — John 18:37-38 (NRSV).

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, truth is the character of being true to a person, a principle or a cause; faithfulness, fidelity, loyalty, constancy, steadfast allegiance. It goes on to define it as conformity with fact, agreement with reality, accuracy, and correctness of statement or thought. Truth is stating the actual state of the case, the matter or circumstance as it really is.

During the last twenty years newly rising democracies have been using Truth and Reconciliation Commissions to work at reconciliation issues. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission is the best known, but many other countries have made efforts in this direction. The South African law required that those requesting reprieve should tell the whole truth about their actions.

Daan Bronkhorst (1995) summarizes the findings from his research on this trend in a book for Amnesty International thus:

“Clearly, the most important conclusion is that apparently there exists no model for the reconciliation process which would apply to all, or most countries ... There are too many differences in the character of the genesis and transformation phases ... there are certain minimum requirements ... The first requirement, an essential component of reconciliation – is establishment of the truth...” (Bronkhorst, Dan (1995) Truth and Reconciliation: Obstacles and Opportunities for Human Rights. Amsterdam: Amnesty International Dutch Section, pp.150-151)

In a book by Priscilla Hayner (1996) called *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, she argues that truth commissions are indebted to execute the direction that they are given in the written mandate, or "terms of reference," upon which they are founded. These are usually fashioned by a presidential decree, national legislation, or as part of a peace agreement to end a civil war, identify the commission's powers and limits, strengthen (or limit) its exploratory reach and initiate the timetable, subject matter and geographic scope of any such commission's investigation. Thus these mandates describe the truth that would be acknowledged.

The relationship between truth and reconciliation goes beyond a commission, it is the sequence of fact-finding, truth telling, retributive justice, forgiveness and restorative justice that lead to reconciliation- which is precisely about bringing different versions or perceptions of the truth into some kind of harmony.

Accepting the truth of past events is a fundamental factor in reconciliation. In war there are victims and perpetrators, people who suffered and those who caused the suffering.

Truth concerns the recognition by the perpetrators of the damage they inflicted on victims. Truth, as understood here, does not essentially have to be underpinned by the formation of commissions or any other type of

official structure. Yet painful memories are part of the collective memory and cannot be worked out individually.

The first step in reconciliation, assuming some modicum of forgiveness, is overcoming distrust and animosity. Groups and states that were intimately linked by armed conflict now must build a mutually shared future based on trust and respect. Yet given the historical memory of animosity and suffering, it is difficult for people transcend the past, even if they have forgiven their enemies for old transgressions.

Truth suggests honesty and revelation. Without truth, conflicts cannot be resolved and differences cannot be reconciled. Revealing the truth plays a critical role in reconciliation, victims can be recognized, and have their humanity and civil dignities transformed in the process. That, in turn, enables groups and states to be in a position to be ready to forgive. It is this search for truth that can create the moral climate in which reconciliation and peace will flourish.

Truth is comparative, especially for spoilers with different political or ideological nature. If truth is an important first step toward achieving higher order reconciliation, an acceptance of peacekeepers as arbiters of the truth is important; yet as the experience of UN arms inspectors in Iraq reveals, there is no guarantee that UN personnel will be fully accepted in such roles.

Most important is a public acknowledgment of the suffering caused by the war translated into a public apology to the population, and for those involved to sit together to talk about past events, about what divided them and caused such conflict. It is important, most of all, to reach an agreement on how to manage these differences in the future.

Self Assessment Exercise 3.1

What do you understand by truth?

4.0 CONCLUSION

What is important for us at this stage in the course is to appreciate the fact that reconciliation is possible, though it may take time for the wounds of conflict to heal. Without doubt, an essential ingredient for this reconciliation is truth, a factor that requires that parties to conflicts become transparent, by stating accurately what happened, before reconciliation can take place.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have examined the various components of reconciliation, and paid particular attention to truth as an important starting point for this reconciliation.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss truth as a key component of reconciliation.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Dan Bronkhorst, *Truth and Reconciliation: Obstacles and Opportunities for Human Rights*, Amsterdam, Amnesty International Dutch Section, 1995.

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UNIT 4 JUSTICE AS A FACTOR OF RECONCILIATION

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Types of Justice
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will examine justice and its various interpretations. You are therefore urged to be familiar with the various theories of justice. What is Justice? Justice is a complex concept, which has substantive and symbolic, social and economic, legal and psychological meaning. Philosophers in defining justice have covered the various schools of thought on justice by devising terms to identify these variations in what justice is.

The classic philosopher Aristotle preferred to restrict the terms reference to a particular virtue, differentiating for instance, between justice and equality of between justice and charity. The beginning of recorded ethical and legal thought understood justice to comprise the whole of virtue and complete conformity with the approved pattern of moral conduct.

Justice, like truth, is another significant aspect of the reconciliation process. Most people use the term “justice” in a much tapered sense of trial and punishment of individual perpetrators through the formal justice system. In understanding what forgiveness is, one will begin to see justice in terms of the connotation of forgiveness. Pope John Paul II (Encyclical no. XIV) emphasized this when he said:

“The command to forgive does not precede the objective demands of justice, but justice in the correct sense of the word is actually the ultimate aim of forgiveness.” (Quoted in Bronkhorst, 1995, p. 41)

Justice is not penalty or chastisement but restitution, not necessarily to bring things back to the way they were, but to the way they should be. It is about restoring people’s lives, restoring peace and harmony.

Justice that seems to take into account not only the victims, but also the persons responsible for the crimes, may appear to exhibit a lack of justice for the victim. In a reconciliation procedure, however, justice not only functions at the more individual level, but also at the level of social order. There may be a very dear price for those individuals and families who are asked to make yet further sacrifices.

This price does not necessarily completely exclude justice. Sacrifices by the few may be necessary for the sake of many. Some may sacrifice the formal trappings of justice for an even higher good to close the chapter of the past and to avoid confrontation (Hansard, 1995). This is the line of defense that the current Minister of Justice of South Africa employed in response to the question of victims' compensation for injustices during the apartheid era:

We have a nation of victims, and if we are unable to provide complete justice on an individual basis – and we need to try and achieve maximum justice within the framework of reconciliation – it is possible for us to ensure that there is historical and collective justice for the people of our country. If we achieve that, if we achieve social justice and move in that direction, then those who today feel aggrieved that individual justice has not been done will at least be able to say that our society has achieved what the victims fought for during their lifetimes. And that therefore at that level, one will be able to say that justice has been done. (Omar in Rwelamira and Werle, 1996, p. xii)

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Discuss justice as a factor of reconciliation;
- ii) Identify and discuss the various types of justice; and
- iii) Explain the relationship between justice and peace.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Types of Justice

Retaliatory justice - It is a retroactive approach that justifies punishment as a response to past injustice or wrongdoing. The central idea is that the offender has gained unfair advantages through his or her behavior, and that punishment will set this imbalance straight. In other words, those who do not play by the rules should be brought to justice

and deserve to suffer penalties for their transgressions. In the idiomatic sense this form of justice is one which echoes "Do unto others what they have done unto you or more" and its notion espouses vengeance but to this may be added a variation in:

Punitive Justice - Which draws back from total retribution, here the retaliator is of the belief that no wrong, once discovered, should allow the perpetrator escape without punishment.

Distributive Justice – However, invokes the claim that there are goods to be divided among people. Some may merit more than others, but all are worthy of some, for all have claim on some of the produce. It applies to the allotment of honor wealth, and other social goods and should be equal to civic merit. Also termed economic justice, it is concerned with giving all members of society a "fair share" of the benefits and resources available. However, while everyone might agree that wealth should be distributed fairly, there is much discrepancy about what is regarded as "fair share." Some possible decisive factors of distribution are equity, equality, and need. (Equity means that one's rewards should be equal to one's contributions to a society, while "equality" means that everyone gets the same amount, regardless of their input.

Allocation on the basis of need means that people who need more, will get more, while people who need less will get less. Fair allocation of resources, or distributive justice, is crucial to the stability of a society and the wellbeing of its members. Thus "to each his/her own," with regard to the principle that suggests how the allocation should be done, one would suggest

Contributive Justice - That is, to all according to their contribution. Those in favor of a market economy take preference to this type of justice. Opponents of market economies are quick to entrust:

Compensatory Justice - This advocate's response to a historical, empirical phenomenon: Given the disparity in economic and political power, some people get more than they contribute, and some get less. It asserts that those who lose out in a contest for benefits deserve some protection against disaster. This crosses a boundary to another version of justice that is termed:

Restorative Justice - Simply put, it states that as we damage each other, it is elementary justice that such damages should be repaired. Restorative justice focuses on violations as crimes against individuals. It is concerned with healing victims' wounds, restoring offenders to law-abiding lives, and repairing harm done to interpersonal relationships and the community. Victims take an active role in directing the exchange

that takes place, as well as defining the responsibilities and obligations of offenders. Offenders are encouraged to understand the harm they have caused their victims and take responsibility for it. Restorative justice aims to strengthen the community and prevent similar harms from happening in the future. At the national level, such processes are often carried out through victim-offender mediation programs, while at the international level restorative justice is often a matter of instituting truth and conflict commissions.

However, in a rather ironic concept, Thrasymachus, a philosopher of repute reiterates the role of the stronger individual in determining who gets justice. In Thrasymachus' account in order to show the activities associated with the genesis of the tyrant from the society the stronger individual, in seeking the life of injustice, naturally detaches from the many and aspires to develop into the perfectly unjust tyrant. He understood "justice as nothing but what is in the interest of the stronger". This implies that there is a relational part of interrogating justice as a concept in which the parties concerned may not necessarily be of equal status.

For countries emerging from conflict, balancing the compromises of peace settlements with the pursuit of justice and long-term reconciliation is a significant challenge. Processes of justice and reconciliation are influenced by numerous factors including the impact of the conflict, parameters of the settlement, resources available, the degree of political will and consensus, institutional capacity, cultural norms etc.

For instance, the demand for truth and justice, and the desire to achieve reconciliation began in East Timor as soon as the multinational peacekeeping troops arrived in September 1999. The Timorese people had suffered human rights violations for decades and after the ballot the desire for truth about these crimes was intense.

Justice and reconciliation are often presented as being at odds. Frequently justice is forfeited on the altar of peace, because justice is portrayed not to end the cycle of violence, but on the contrary serve to restart another cycle. In some instances this is true, however, only if justice has not been fair, but has been a victor's justice or vengeance.

If the justice instrument applied is seen to be lawful and fair by the international community and local civil society then this form of justice will rarely incite continued violence. It is the argument thus that unless there is some form of justice then the chances of continued peace is limited. Justice in this context does not only refer to broader issues of social or economic justice, but also as action taken in a court of law,

tribunal or as part of a traditional mechanism to ascertain the guilt or innocence of the accused.

Justice, according to Lederach, involves "the pursuit of restoration, of rectifying wrongs, of creating right relationships based on equity and fairness. Pursuing justice involves advocacy for those harmed, for open acknowledgement of the wrongs committed, and for making things right. The challenge, according to J.P. Lederach is "to pursue justice in ways that respect people, and (at the same time) to achieve restoration of relationships based on recognizing and amending injustices."

Self Assessment Exercise 4.1

What is justice? What are the various types of justice?

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this unit, we have examined the various types of justice and the relationship of these to achieving reconciliation. Justice is many faceted, and requires a lot of the truth element in bringing about the type of justice that will be acceptable to all involved. This is because if justice is not seen to be done, even the efforts at reconciliation will trigger further conflict.

5.0 SUMMARY

Here, we have examined justice as a factor of reconciliation. We also examine the various views on justice as a concept.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss Justice as a factor in Reconciliation.

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

J.P Lederach, Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies, Washigton D.C, United States Institute of Peace, 1997.

MODULE 2

- Unit 1 Mercy in Reconciliation
- Unit 2 Peace as a Component of Reconciliation
- Unit 3 The Concept of Peace
- Unit 4 Approaches to Peace building

UNIT 1 MERCY IN RECONCILIATION

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 The Meaning of Mercy
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines in detail the factor of mercy in reconciliation. It seeks understand what mercy is and its relationship to political forgiveness. Though, generally understood from the individual level of action as a personal and spiritual act, mercy conceived as political forgiveness is also imperative for reconciliation after conflict.

Defining mercy is almost as difficult as shaping its role in reconciliation. The idea of mercy was for a long time almost completely connected with the language of religion. It occupied a major part in the early knowledge of the New Testament as a powerful social and personal action, but John Bowker emphasized that almost every religion has its own view and explanation of suffering and compensation. Each can be seen as setting the stage for some form of forgiveness.

The Islamic approach tends to seek justice as a way of addressing peace, forgiveness, and reconciliation. Buddhists begin from a sense of self that wishes to be free from suffering and deemed worthy of experiencing happiness. Followers identify the causes of both suffering and happiness, and actively pursue the ones leading to happiness as a way to avoid "suffering and mental afflictions".

A more politically focused understanding of forgiveness depicts forgiveness and hope as a means of launching a new beginning by rebuilding social, political and economic structures on a national level. It has been described as a "communal turning from the past that neither ignores past evil nor excuses it." Mercy neither ignores justice nor reduces justice to revenge, Acknowledgement of a transgression, or "remembering not forgetting", abandonment of revenge, and the intent to seek genuine renewal of human relationships are its most important principles. Donald Shriver argues that "precisely because it attends at once to moral truth, history, and the human benefits that flow from the conquest of enmity, *forgiveness* is a word for a multidimensional process that is eminently political".

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Define justice and understand its importance in reconciliation;
- ii) Discuss the different levels in the understanding of mercy; and
- iii) Discuss the link between mercy and political forgiveness

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 The Meaning of Mercy

Mercy involves compassion, forgiveness, and a new start. Mercy is oriented toward supporting persons who have committed injustices, encouraging them to change and move on. Lederach argues that reconciliation involves the identification and acknowledgment of what happened (i.e. truth), an effort to right the wrongs that occurred (i.e., justice) and forgiveness for the perpetrators (mercy). The end result is not only reconciliation, but also peace.

Although there are a number of fairly serious objections to theorizing about mercy in politics, a notion of mercy could be preoccupied from various characteristics of the practices of forgiving financial debts and pardoning criminals, the underlying assumption being that pardoning is a form of political forgiveness. Even though the resulting conception is somewhat distinctive, it coheres with a perception of politics that highlights the importance of action over response and the idea of a citizenry that is jealous of its rights and willing to hold public institutions accountable for their actions.

Mercy is forgiveness, and forgiveness, in his study of universal values, refers to a "willingness to pardon others" and classifies it as a 'self-transcendence' value (transcending one's own selfish interests to

promote the welfare of others), in contrast to self-enhancement values (which involve pursuit of self interest).

Across many definitions of forgiveness found in the literature, it is commonly perceived as the release of anger, and giving up the right to revenge following hurt. In common parlance, mercy is something wholly undeserved proffered to a wrongdoer. It reflects the magnanimity of the one in power rather than any merit on the part of the wrongdoer.

Many scholars have connected the concept of forgiveness with the idea of mercy and have defined forgiveness as the “willingness to abandon one’s right to resentment, negative judgment, and indifferent behavior toward one who unjustly injured us, while fostering the undeserved qualities of compassion, generosity, and even love toward him or her”. Mercy is generally regarded as an element of personal principles, not an aspect of political ethics.

Historically, legal and political philosophers have ignored the political dimensions of mercy. They have done so in the belief that the major moral purpose of the state is justice, conceived in terms of the protection of individual rights.

Moreover, political thinkers have also neglected mercy because they have viewed it as a private, spiritual ethic. For them mercy is an aspect of personal morality to be applied among individuals in their private relationships, but it is not part of political morality. Accordingly, although individual victims can forgive, institutions cannot. Their chief task is the pursuit of justice.

Mercy is a prerequisite for reconciliation. Reconciliation enhances the process of forgiveness by structuring it into the web of the societies once in conflict. Forgiveness at a transformational level helps break through personal barriers and lift the veil of delusions that may blind individuals, groups, and states to the potential for cooperation. When disputants are able to embrace the suffering of our enemy, then a reconciliation process can begin.

Mercy and reconciliation requires community and participation; they cannot be accomplished in isolation. Peacekeepers provide a stable environment under which these processes can occur, but equally important they can assist in the processes themselves. This may be through new roles such as arms control verification, the investigation of past human rights abuses, or the supervision of democratic elections.

Thus, the international community cannot merely be satisfied with stopping the violence, but must also take positive action to build positive

peace between long term enemies, be they countries or internal ethnic or religious groups. Nevertheless, peacekeepers, if used properly and in a timely fashion, have made and can continue to make important supplementary contributions.

First, genuine forgiveness requires truth telling. José Zalaquette, a leading Chilean human rights scholar and member of Chile's truth commission, has observed that truth must be an "absolute value" in healing the past (José Zalaquette, "Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation: Lessons for the International Community," in Cynthia J. Arnson, ed., *Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 348).

It has been suggested that political forgiveness or mercy can promote both the *process* and the *state* of reconciliation. It can donate to the process of reconciliation by encouraging the restoration of relationships between transgressors and debtors and by fostering trust and understanding among antagonists. And it can promote reconciliation by creating a framework that, to use Digeser's formulation, "settles the past and opens possibilities for the future." (E. Digeser, *Political Forgiveness* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

Self Assessment Exercise 1.1

What do you understand by mercy in human relationship?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Mercy is another important component in the quest for reconciliation of parties in conflict. It is problematic in the sense, that many conceive it as a personal, individual or spiritual act, which logically should be in conflict with the institutional necessity of enforcing justice and punishing offenders who break the law. This notwithstanding, in the pursuit of peace through reconciliation, mercy is an important element to consider.

Mercy has a simplicity component--an overarching attitude of forgiveness and a thoroughness component--a process of interaction. The simple attitude covers the countless occasions of irritation and offense that do not rise to a level that calls for any process to deal with them. No serious, deliberate wrongdoing has occurred. When you are goodheartedly and vigorously striding through life, you hardly notice a host of minor injuries of this sort. The simple attitude of forgiveness also motivates the process when the time comes to take steps for reconciliation. A process is needed, since trying to just "forgive and

forget" when serious wrongdoing has occurred does no justice to the situation or to its marvelous potentials for rehabilitating relationships.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has focused on the factor of mercy in reconciliation, arguing that the concept was for a long time almost completely connected with the language of religion; mercy, it was explained was the concern of every religion. Quite understandably legal and political philosophers did not see the relationship between politics and mercy, where the latter was viewed as a private aid spiritual ethic.

The discussion dovetailed into the relationship between mercy and reconciliation with the theme that reconciliation enhances the process of forgiveness by structuring in into the web of the societies once in conflict. The unit also highlighted the fact that mercy and reconciliation requires community and participation and that genuine forgiveness requires truth telling. This is a possible way to promote both the process and the state of reconciliation.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss mercy as a component of reconciliation in divided societies?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 2 PEACE AS A COMPONENT OF RECONCILIATION

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Peace and the Economics of War
 - 3.2 The process of Peace in reconciliation
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Peace is a continuing practice it therefore requires that conflicts be addressed in relation to specific situations that exist in a society. In this respect, although immediate conflicts arising in society require a fast response, it needs long-term vision to respond effectively to conflicts and to be able to transform it. Response to conflict therefore requires thoughtful actions. It is a mutual process. Peace is a major component of this process. Here, we will examine peace as a component of reconciliation.

3.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Discuss peace as a component of reconciliation;
- ii) Discuss the economics of war as it relates to peace; and
- iii) Explain the importance of peace in relation to reconciliation.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Peace and the Economics of War

In terms of the economies of wars, though war continues to be one mode of accumulation (Kaplan Robert, *The Ends of the Earth: A Journey to the Dawn of the 21st Century*. New York: Random House, 1996) countries engulfed by domestic violence cannot hope to offer themselves as attractive sites for foreign loans, production, and investment; indeed, although such places provide ready markets for surplus light military equipment such as AK-47s and "technical

assistance," they are of little interest to defense corporations or major military suppliers such as the United States, and they can also absorb vast sums of money without showing any return on investment. If "the rising tide is to lift all ships," as the old capitalist saw it, the reliability of contracts and market stability must be established to provide assurance to capital. Funds will be allocated only if the production of goods and services on which a profit can be earned is possible. Such arrangements are plausible only if the conflicting parties can agree to fundamental rules of state governance.

Recent peace settlements have been aimed largely toward this end. The negotiations and agreements that have so captured media attention are motivated more by the benefits that parties see arising from the opportunity to tap into global integration and capital than by the desire for a just peace this was rather clearly evident in the Oslo agreements, with its on-again, off-again implementation. War pays, but peace some seem to hope, pays more.

Movement toward such a peace is not, however, the same as a socially just peace that addresses fundamental structural causes of war or one based on reconciliation indeed, the two are quite different. Rules of governance can be put into place, elections can be held, currencies and markets established, and economies revived.

However, memories are difficult to erase. Even if the founding myths of communitarian conflict can be shown to be demonstrably false - as, for example, in the case of "ancient hatreds" between Serbs and Croats- one cannot simply write off the dead, injured, and dispossessed victims of the most recent cycle of violence.

Self Assessment Exercise 2.1

To what degree is peace a function of reconciliation?

3.2 The Process of Peace in Reconciliation

Like the word "peace," the term "peace process" can be defined in many different ways. Former Track I and Track II, diplomat Harold Saunders, defines peace processes as "a political process in which conflicts are reconciled by peaceful means." They are a "mixture of politics, negotiation, changing relationships, compromise, mediation, and dialogue in both official and non-official arenas."

Saunders says that peace processes operate concurrently in four arenas:

The Executive Arena: This is the arena of official "track I" diplomats who ascertain personal relationships with their

complements on the other side, confer provisional and final agreements, and work to recover relationships between governments.

The Semi-Executive Arena: This is the arena that Susan Allen Nan in her essay on Track I-Track II Coordination calls track one-and-a-half. The people involved are outside of government, but have close ties to government and trade information back and forth.

Civic Peace Processes: This is the arena of continued discourse between non-officials, who try to tackle the "human" (as divergent to governmental) causes of conflict: opinions, stereotypes, distrust, and sense of hopelessness.

Civil Society: This is the arena in which civilians live and work. It is comprised of networks of relationships, often between disputing groups. In intractable conflicts, these relationships break down, causing tears in the framework of civil society which must be rebuilt in any peace process.

Another definition is given by scholar Tim Sisk, and he defines peace processes as "step-by-step reciprocal moves to build confidence, resolution issues such as disarmament, and carefully define the future through the design of new political institutions. In other terms, a peace process is a complicated set of steps - by third-party mediators - among parties in conflict that help to gradually exchange war for peace."

This same definition could apply to non-violent conflicts as well. For example, the conflict between the tribes the various African countries is seldom violent, yet it would be well to construct confidence between the tribes and perhaps even build new political institutions or redistribute the old ones so they are more comprehensive.

Nicole Ball divides peace processes into two stages and each of these into two phases. The first stage of a peace process is termination of violent conflict. This she breaks up into two phases: negotiation and cessation of hostilities. The second stage is Peace building, which moves from an alteration phase to a consolidation phase.

Peacemaking

The term "peacemaking" is used in two ways. First, peacemaking is sometimes used to refer to a stage of conflict, which occurs during an extended conflict after tactful intervention has failed and before peacekeeping forces have had a chance to intervene. In this context peacemaking is an intervention during armed combat.

The second way the term is used is to mean simply "making peace." The idea of making peace implies a certain commitment towards that goal. Peacemaking is necessary and important in cases of prolonged violence that do not seem to burn themselves out and in cases where war crimes and other human desolation demand the attention of outside forces. In both cases, peacemaking always implies the threat of violent intervention as an act of last resort. In the second case it may demand violent interference sooner rather than later. We will portray peacemaking in this context.

Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping will be understood as the second phase of the peace process that is different from long-term Peace building. This reflects the United Nations' view that peacekeeping is an effort to "monitor and observe peace processes that emerge in post-conflict situations and assist ex-combatants to execute the peace agreements they have signed." This includes the use of peacekeeping forces, collective security arrangements, and enforcement of ceasefire agreements. The so-called third phase of peacekeeping described above on the other hand, is commonly regarded by the UN as part of Peace building.

Peace according to these criteria is the short-term absence of violence with the promise that this absence of violence might be lasting. Most research in the field agrees that peacekeeping forces are quite effective at accomplishing the first criteria, but have more trouble with the second. Thus we can say that the introduction of a PKO into a conflict is very effective at ending violence and establishing short-term peace, but less successful at maintaining that peace after they have left.

In the context of intractable conflict this may not be as damning as it seems: it is a question of degrees. After all, a stagnant partial peace is preferable to continued violence. Though building a stable and peaceful state may be preferable to maintaining peace through the continued presence of peacekeeping forces, the maintenance of peace in any form is preferable to continued violence. In these limited circumstances Peacekeeping can present an important answer to brutal obdurate conflicts.

Peace according to these criteria is the short-term deficiency of violence with the guarantee that this deficiency of violence might be lasting. After all, an inert partial peace is preferable to continued violence. Though building a stable and peaceful state may be preferable to maintaining peace through the continued presence of peacekeeping forces, the preservation of peace in any form is preferable to continued

violence. In these limited circumstances Peacekeeping operations can offer a valuable solution to violent intractable conflicts.

4.0 CONCLUSION

There is little doubt that peace is a major component of reconciliation. Without peace there will be no basis or opportunity to discuss and negotiate and therefore plan for the future. Though war produces its own contradictions or even benefits and may often benefit the military-industrial complex, in the end, long-term peace is the better option in ensuring the prosperity of all.

5.0 SUMMARY

We have examined the place of peace as an important component of reconciliation and also, the link between the lack of peace and economies of war.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss peace in relation to the economies of war.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

L. Gunnar Johnson, *Conflicting Concepts of Peace in Contemporary Peace Studies*, Sage Professional Paper in International Studies, Vol. 4, No. 02-046, Beverly Hills, Ca., Sage Publications, 1976.

T.R Mockaitis, *Peace Operations and Interstate Conflict: The Sword or the Olive Branch?* Westport, Praeger, 1997.

UNIT 3 THE CONCEPT OF PEACE

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 What is peace?
 - 3.2 Peace building as a Process
- 4.0 Conclusion.
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall examine the concept of peace as it relates to conflict and the state. The various ideas about the nature of peace will be presented and discussed, and the relationship of this to the idea of the state and the maintenance of peace and harmony will be addressed.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain and define what is meant by peace;
- ii) Discuss the various dimensions of peace;
- iii) Explain the relationship between peace and the idea of social harmony; and
- iv) Explain the relationship of peace to the idea of social contract.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 What Is Peace?

In the mind of one desiring peace the problem of peace is such that it is located at any one of five levels; the isolated individual, the level of human groups, the level of human societies or nation, the level of international system of nations, and the emerging level of world state (D.W. Bowett, 1972, The Search for Peace, London and Boston, Routledge and Kegan Paul).

Peace in the world is defined, for this course, not merely as an absence of war – or destructive, violent conflict between nations, communities or individuals - but as a presence, or fostering of positive, harmonious, co-

operative, nurturing social relations; and building societies where conflict is resolved nonviolently.

Peace is conceived of as a state of calmness, quietness, and living in harmony with oneself and one's neighbours.

Peace means freedom from fear, conflict, violence, war, and civic disorder. Also, peace means non-violent resolution of conflict and respect for collective basic values such as life, human rights, liberty, basic freedoms, equity and social justice.

The need and objective for conflict prevention, management, and resolution is, therefore, to attain peace and harmony. Several strategies are used to prevent, manage, and resolve conflict with a view to attain and maintain peace. These strategies include mediation, negotiation, adjudication, and reconciliation and sometimes force, hence, the occasional use of the UN Peace-Keeping Force.

The most popular contemporary meaning of peace is an absence of some kind of antagonistic conflict. For example; this is the key definition of peace given in the authoritative *Oxford English Dictionary*. Among the various senses of peace, primary in each case is "Freedom from, or cessation of war or hostilities...Freedom from civil commotion and disorder...Freedom from disturbance or perturbation...Freedom from quarrels or dissension between individuals." Negative peace means the "absence of personal violence," not necessarily a bad peace. "Negative peace" has three features. First, it is an empirical concept articulated within a structural theory of violence. Second, within this theory it is paired to "positive peace," which is a construct meaning social justice. Third, although denotatively neutral, the adjective "negative" inherently opposes this peace, if not by definition then by affect, to peace as social justice. Johan Galtung meant this to be the case, as is clear from his observation that the "negative peace" conception leads, "very easily, to acceptance of 'law and order' societies," or to "rationalize extremism to the right." "Negative peace" should therefore be used with care that unwanted meaning is not thereby communicated.

Peace within the conflict twirl is a wide idea, subsuming a number of ways of looking at peace, such as a civil government or a balance of powers. This is not to say that the view is identical to these, but rather that the conception includes them. For example, peace may expand out of a balancing of powers, is based on the resulting equilibrium, and may break down into violence or war if a large gap develops between the balance and the associated structure of expectations. In this way a balance of powers is an ingredient of peace as a social contract.

As another example, civil government as a force for peace and security is also subsumed, since a civil government (the state) as an institution, is usually a direct (historically imposed by conquest)- overarching social contract, accepted consciously or unconsciously by successive generations. Moreover, a number of conceptions view peace as a mental or spiritual state, especially one of harmony, tranquility, and serenity. These conceive peace independently of a social contract. However, the concomitant mental state may not be harmonious, certainly not if a party agrees under pressure. Similarly, a social contract may not define an external state of harmony between the parties, as in an agreement between antagonists for narrow purposes. This is true of particular social contracts, but in the long run if a conflict helix winds through its course without an essential change in the conditions of a relationship, then it should eventually achieve a greater social harmony and peace of mind.

Since the end of the Cold War, the international community has been bedeviled by a growing number of intra-state or regional conflicts that produce long-term cycles of violence. Of the 96-armed conflicts that happened between 1989 and 1996, 91 were intra-state conflicts, nearly all in developing countries. These conflicts deplete already scarce resources, infrastructure, institutions of governance, and undermine often-fragile ethnic and social structures.

The 1997 OECD DAC Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation recognize good governance and the strengthening of civil society as the foundations for peace building and emphasize specific equipped precedence for post-conflict recovery (such as demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants).

They stress the importance of international and in-country management, as well as the need for regional conflict prevention and peace building mechanisms. Peace building has been given new prominence in the United Nations in the Secretary-General's reform package. The Department of Political Affairs will now be responsible for coordinating the peace building work of the development, peace and security arms of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the World Bank.

Self Assessment Exercise 3.1

Comprehensively discuss peace as a concept and in practice.

3.2 Peace Building as a Process

Peace building requires that all concerned eventually address the root causes of conflict. The meaningful resolution of conflict and the consolidation of a lasting peace depend on it. By viewing peace building

as a process that progressively enables societies to manage conflict successfully without violence in light of its root causes requires a new framework of analysis and activity that integrates development/humanitarian and security/regulation approaches.

It can be gradual or rapid depending on the nature of the conflict and the personalities of the parties. Reconciliation is at the heart of peace building. Peace building is about repairing broken human relationships. It includes empowering victims to work for the healing of their trauma, increasing the awareness of the perpetrators to take responsibility for their actions and facilitating communication amongst the two sectors that will restore both their humanity and relationships.

Peace building may involve conflict prevention, conflict resolution, as well as various kinds of post-conflict activities. It focuses on the political and socio-economic context of conflict, rather than on the military or humanitarian aspects. It seeks to address this challenge by finding means to institutionalize the peaceful resolution of conflicts. External support for peace building should supplement, not substitute, local efforts to achieve a sustainable peace.

At all stages of conflict, peace building is needed and this reiterates its role as a process not an event. In the early stages of conflict, peace building addresses the underlying causes of societal stress and aids the avoidance of the outbreak of conflict. It allows for economic, social and political issues that can generate conflict to be addressed, and their factors such as distribution and use of economic assets and political power.

When conflict breaks out, peace building supported through programs to reduce destructive attitudes, and build up trust include measures to improve the confidence and commitment of the warring factions and combatants to the peace process and during the peace-making process, peace-building through the organized addition of activities will help ensure the consolidation of the negotiated peace program.

Beyond this, peace-building involves supporting and implementing a range of activities to restore political, social, economic life this includes reconstruction of destroyed infrastructure and institutions (Bosnia), treatment of victims or armed conflicts (Uganda), demobilization and re-integration of the fighting forces (Mozambique) and the strengthening of a culture of tolerance through education.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Peace is not a very easy concept to understand, however, many have identified negative peace as opposed to positive peace, which is more proactive. Understanding peace can also be appreciated at different levels of analysis, namely, at the individual, local and state levels and international. Note however, that it is important that peace is discussed in relation to conflict, but is a desire state of harmony necessary for human progress.

5.0 SUMMARY

We have comprehensively discussed the various facets of the concept of peace, and its linkage to the Social Contract. We also examined peace in relation to conflict and the peace building process.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. Discuss negative peace as opposed to positive peace.
2. Discuss peace in relation to international peace and security.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Bowett, D.W 1972. The Search for Peace, London and Boston, Routledge and Paul.

Johnson, L. Gunner, 1976. Conflicting Concepts of Peace in Contemporary Peace Studies, Vol.4, No.02-046, Beverly Hills, Ca., Sage Professional Paper in International Studies, Sage Publications.

UNIT 4 APPROACHES TO PEACE BUILDING

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 The Notion of Peace building
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor Marked Assignments
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit we will examine the different approaches to peace building. Peace building as a concept is difficult to define, and even more difficult to achieve in practice. Peace building or post conflict reconstruction is a process that encourages the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the reoccurrence of conflict by dealing with the root causes and effect of such conflict through reconciliation, institutional and eco-political transformation or rebuilding. It involves a whole repertoire of ways of trying to build peace in the society. We will examine these ways here.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the process of peace building;
- ii) Explain the link between peace building and the notion of Human Security;
- iii) Discuss peace building at all levels of the society; and
- iv) Explain the importance of information and education in building peace.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 The Notion of Peace building

Peace building as a process involves “approaches planned to advance a protected and firm lasting peace in which the basic human needs of the people are met and violent conflicts do not recur”. It is a complex and the impact become visible only in the medium and long term. A great number of agents engage in a wide variety of reconstruction efforts.

Agents

Peace building aims at all stages of society and all aspects of its structure, thus it is only necessary that a wide variety of different agents engage in the implementation of Peace building.

International organizations: get involved at the legislative or governmental level on the appeal of the country involved. Such intervention carries the legality of the international community, thus they possess the capacity and authority to alter existing structures.

Donor and Regional Institutions: are international organizations that provide the necessary funding for Peace building projects and may possess a regional mandate to implement such Peace building strategies. This may also constitute of NGOs who carry out small scale projects to strengthen the grass-level of affected countries.

Specialists: comprise of people in the academia, professionals and religious networks. Their various expertise play an important role for the reconstruction of the state and transformation of the society. The rebuilding of moral ethics and the provision of important insight for practitioners through research and theories are consequent thereof.

Peace building creates the room, develops relationships and persists despite some cynicism in a peace process. It involves being smart enough to respond to budding opportunities, however small they may be. It is rooted in building trust and relationship where events are fluid, and many are experiencing violence and destruction, opinion and delusion have accumulated over a long period of time.

The outcome of peace building becomes a process of understanding and learning. The main principles of peace building are promoting peace through exposing the community to conflict analysis and resolution skills and to peace making suggestions and experiences. It is sensitising and training in peace with emphasis on activity and empirical learning. Peace building is an integral part of community life and should address all dimensions of society.

Dimensions

Functional Structures: Establishing institutions that provide procedures for channeling conflict into acceptable solution mechanism.

Emotional and social stability: For the restoration of peaceful interactions among groups, the attitudes that lead to conflict must be mitigated by understanding the social psychology of conflict, its consequences, the various needs, and cultural idiosyncrasies of the affected groups.

Rule of law: The re-establishing of the rule of law allows for the growth of favorable social norms and ethic in the population.

The concept of peace building involves minimizing the possibility of the outbreak of conflict, preventing conflict that has occurred from increasing and rectifying damage occurring from conflict; it is a process linked to sustainable development in the relevant region. Peace building is the attempt to strengthen the forecast for internal peace and ebb the probability of violent conflict. The overarching goal of peace building is to enhance the indigenous capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence.

Ultimately, peace building aims at building human security, a concept that includes democratic governance, human rights, rule of law, sustainable development, equitable access to resources, and environmental security. Peace building may involve conflict prevention, conflict resolution, as well as various kinds of post-conflict activities.

It focuses on the political and socio-economic context of conflict, rather than on the military or humanitarian aspects. It seeks to address this challenge by finding means to institutionalize the peaceful resolution of conflicts. External support for peace building should supplement, not substitute, local efforts to achieve a sustainable peace.

The approach to sustainable peace must be evident at all levels of the society, that is, from the grass-root leadership to the top leadership. Thus all involved in the process of peacemaking should be willing and ready to perform the tasks complementary to the process of peace building.

Tasks

Create an environment conducive to durable peace: Firstly by establishing mechanisms to handle issues of justice, this would require the setting up of institutions that aim to avoid impunity of crimes that were committed during the conflict, such as war crime tribunals. Secondly, direct efforts towards transformation of the conditions that caused the conflict have to be addressed for the establishment of durable peace.

Prevent conflict from reemerging: Mechanisms that will enhance cooperation and dialogue among different identity groups in order to manage conflict of interests with peaceful means would need to be established; hence civil society will have to be integrated in all efforts.

At the top leadership, which consists of military, political, religious leaders with high visibility; the approach to building peace then becomes a focus on high-level negotiations, which emphasize ceasefire. In such a situation it is led by highly visible personalities who work as the mediators.

Middle range leaders such as academics and humanitarian leaders and respected leaders in various sectors represent the middle leadership and their approach is more informative which would involve problem solving workshops and training in conflict resolution; the establishment of peace commissions and insiders-partial teams serves as a middle leadership approach to peace building.

At the grassroots level, local leaders and leaders of indigenous NGOs as well as community developers, local health officials and refugee camp leaders are put through training for local peace commissions, it would require a reduction in prejudice so as to allow psycho-social work in post war trauma.

J.P. Lederach has described the importance of mid-level leaders in developing a climate for peace. Without some moderate leaders among the parties to the conflict, peace building has no basis. They must be prepared to deal honestly with both international agents and their counterparts in the opposing camp.

Visionary statesmen like Nelson Mandela make the process easier, but even Mandela had to rely on a lot of pragmatic community leaders prepared to compromise for the next generation to help return life to normal and give adolescent males hope for useful lives in the present day South Africa.

Self Assessment Exercise 4.1

1. Define Peace building as a concept.
2. Discuss the process of peace building.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In this era of conflicts, but especially of Intra-state conflicts, it is very important that societies embrace ways of ensuring long-term harmony in the society especially during post-conflict reconciliation, and even during periods of peace. Peace is a process as well as an end in itself, and it requires to be constantly nurtured to ensure its presence. In recent times, human security has become an important part of building peace. It suffices to observe that the approach to building peace must involve all levels in the society, including the leadership, middle-range leaders and the grassroots.

5.0 SUMMARY

We have discussed peace building as a concept and in practice. It is a mode of achieving sustainable peace in society by paying attention to the necessity to build and nurture peace in order to benefit from its dividends. We also examined the various approaches and levels of intervention in peace building.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

- A. What is peace building? Describe the various approaches to peace building.
- B. Human Security is an important component of peace building. Discuss.

7.0 REFERENCE / FURTHER READING

Lederach, J.P 1997. Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies, Washington D.C, United States Institute of Peace.

MODULE 3

- Unit 1 Integrated Framework to Peace building
- Unit 2 Coordination of Points of Contacts for Peace building
- Unit 3 Challenges for Designing and Implementing Peace Accords

UNIT 1 INTEGRATED FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE BUILDING**CONTENT**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Peace building Strategy
 - 3.2 Capacity Building in Peace building
 - 3.3 Elements of Capacity Building
 - 3.4 The Idea of State Building
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

We intend to examine what one may refer to as integrated framework for peace building in this unit. In addition, we will also examine the role capacity building could play in enhancing the peace building process. Certain elements of capacity building are identified.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Discuss integrated framework in relation to country-specific intervention;
- ii) Identify key actors in the peace building process;
- iii) Explain the need for capacity building in peace building; and
- iv) Identify elements of capacity building.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Peace building Strategy

Many a time a peace building strategy is not written down, it is in the heads of key actors – desk officers, officials on the ground, some of the lead Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and International Government Organization (IGO) professionals. In fast changing situations, it may be that an implied strategy among capable and well informed people is better than a strategy statement because the informal strategy is more likely to be flexible and receptive to changes. An informal strategy, however, risks being interpreted in radically different ways by key actors. Newly arrived staff may have trouble even finding out what it is. Some project evaluations comment on strategic misunderstanding between key project actors. In formal terms, this is the problem of a lack of internal transparency.

Between a donor country's general peace building strategy and a peace building strategy for a specific country or region in conflict: the former should give guidance for the latter. While the general peace building strategy should indeed be general, the specific peace building strategy must likewise be specific.

3.2 Capacity Building in Peace building

Building national capacity to administer diversity and regulate conflict is an integral component of good governance and sustainable development and essential to promoting social unity and facilitating the work of government. It builds State and non-State conflict resolution capacity by developing and/or strengthening skills, mechanisms and institutions to promote mediation and alternative forms of peaceful dispute resolution and to reduce bias and discrimination.

Capacity-building needs to be infused into national development strategies in an anticipatory manner in pre-conflict environments, as well as in post-conflict situations, in order to develop an enabling environment for non-violent resolution of disputes, collaborative problem-solving and tolerance-building and ending the spiral of conflict.

While the international community has recognized the need for broader, universal conflict prevention and management, the current direction is often still limited to "early" warning, conventional negotiation, emergency operations and peace-keeping, all of which are usually too reactive, rather than proactive. A developmental concept of preventive action would originate and execute practical preventive strategies for communities at risk of violent conflict.

The extent that national actors have the capacity to participate and facilitate the peace building process has major implications on bridging the gap in the context of reintegration. Capacity building is a prerequisite for local ownership of programmes, a necessity to ensure that the reintegration process is sustained.

Regarding local and national institutions and actors, capacity building must take place through a rights-based approach, with human rights as a core element in the peace building process, which requires a sustainable and safe environment. Building capacity that does not follow this course could lead to tremendous damage later on, should local or national institutions operate in a manner contrary to the rights-based approach.

Self Assessment Exercise 1.1

Discuss the role of the civil society, especially the Non-governmental Organizations (NGOS) in the peace building process.

3.3 Elements of Capacity Building

Capacity building is a gradual process with many dimensions. It involves government and civil society, including NGOs, grassroots organizations, and the media.

Gender mainstreaming is an important part of capacity building. During transition situation, an attempt may be made to move forward and improve the situation of women, rather than return to the pre-war situation.

Wherever possible, reintegration programmes should try to include qualified returning nationals and national experts in the development and implementation of the reintegration programmes.

Special attempts should be made to locate returning nationals with particular skills, and Country Teams could conduct surveys of refugee camps to determine what skills exist.

In addition to capacity building in humanitarian assistance and reintegration programmes, systems of justice should also be strengthened.

Specific capacity building efforts during the reintegration process may encourage donor support.

3.4 The Idea of State Building

Examining the Concept: The idea of state building has many definitions and uses. Thus the concept will need to be disentangled so as to gain a better understanding of the purposes that state-building serves, officially

and unofficially; this would include consideration of the contradictions in past state-building efforts.

Implications of State Building for Civil-Military Relations: Recent state building operations have hazed traditional boundaries between military and non-military actors and functions. The activities of national militaries, international organizations, private corporations and NGOs have become increasingly disheveled in these missions. Even the “embedding” of journalists breaks down traditional separations.

Addressing Root Causes: focusing on the social conditions that foster violent conflict. Many note that stable peace must be built on social, economic, and political foundations that serve the needs of the populace. In many cases, crises arise out of systemic roots. If these social problems are not addressed, there can be no lasting peace.

The promotion of substantive and procedural justice: through structural means typically involves institution building and the strengthening of civil society. Avenues of political and economic transformation include social structural change to remedy political or economic injustice, restoration programs designed to help communities ravaged by conflict revive their economies, and the institution of effective and legitimate restorative justice systems. Peace building initiatives aim to promote nonviolent mechanisms and essential services to its citizens; a state needs strong executive, legislative, and judicial institutions.

Economic Peace building targets both the micro- and macro-level and aims to create economic opportunities and ensure that the basic needs of the population are met. On the microeconomic level, societies can set up micro-credit institutions to increase economic activity and investment at the local level, promote inter-communal trade and an equitable distribution of land, and increase school enrollment and job training. On the macroeconomic level, the post-conflict government should be assisted in its efforts to secure the economic foundations and infrastructure necessary for a change to peace.

Another way for the parties to build a future together is to follow joint projects that are unrelated to the conflict's core issues and center on shared interests. This can benefit the parties' relationship. Leaders who project a clear and hopeful vision of the future and the ways and means to get there can play a crucial role here.

But in addition to looking towards the future, parties must deal with their painful past. Reconciliation not only envisions a common, connected future, but also recognizes the need to redress past

wrongdoing. If the parties are to renew their relationship and build a co-dependent future, all incidents must be exposed and then forgiven.

Indeed, a crucial part of Peace building is addressing past wrongdoing while at the same time promoting healing and rule of law. Part of repairing damaged relationships is responding to past human rights violations and genocide through the establishment of truth commissions, fact-finding missions, and war crimes tribunals. These processes attempt to deal with the multifaceted legal and emotional issues associated with human rights abuses and ensure that justice is served. It is commonly thought that past injustice must be recognized, and the perpetrators punished if parties wish to achieve reconciliation.

However, retributive justice advanced by Western legal systems often ignores the needs of victims and exacerbates wounds. Central to restorative justice is its future-orientation and its emphasis on the relationship between victims and offenders. It seeks to engage both victims and offenders in dialogue and make things right by identifying their needs and obligations. Having community-based restorative justice processes in place can help to build a sustainable peace.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Having an integrated framework borrowed from experience from other conflict situations is essential to the peace building process. However, it is equally important that this is not imposed on a particular conflict situation. Rather, the approach should be flexible enough putting the country - specific requirements into consideration. It is equally important that the indigenous national capacity be developed, not only to be able to implement the peace process, but also to be able to sustain it.

5.0SUMMARY

We have addressed the integrated and country-specific approaches to peace building. We also examined capacity building in peace building, as well as the various elements of peace building.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

- A. How can national capacity be developed to enhance the peace process in a post-conflict environment?
- B. Comprehensively discuss the various elements of capacity building?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Lederach, J.P. 1997. Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies, Washington DC, United States Institute of Peace.

Mockaitis, T.R 1999. Peace Operations and Intrastate Conflict: The Sword or the Olive Branch? Westport, Praeger.

UNIT 2 COORDINATION OF POINTS OF CONTACTS FOR PEACE BUILDING

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Vertical and Horizontal Coordination
 - 3.2 Peace building Agents
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Generally, it is recognized that peace building is a complex operation which requires as much as is possible the coordination of activities of the various actors, individuals, state institutions, local and international NGOS etc. towards attaining the objectives of the process. Therefore, being able to coordinate the points of contact for peace building is a necessity for efficiency in operations and attaining the set objectives.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the need for proper coordination during peace building;
- ii) Explain vertical and horizontal coordination of efforts;
- iii) Discuss the role of information and regular briefings in this effort; and
- iv) Explain the need for prioritization of objectives.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Vertical and Horizontal Coordination

Given the limited pledge and resources from various external organizations, any successful mission for peace building benefits from operational effectiveness. Co-ordination and teamwork are essential for maximisation of the effects of each component's operation. Peace building programs require both vertical and horizontal co-ordination among a large number of organizations, which have diverse responsibilities. In a multi- functional mission, with geographical

diffusion, there is always a danger of miscommunication if each component reports only to its central headquarters without tangential contact at every level. Since various components of peace building missions often work in the same theatre of operation in remoteness and against each other, horizontal co-ordination is critical for promoting the alliance of actions among organizations.

At the same time, vertical co-ordination is also necessary for policy implementation across levels. 'The co-ordination of activities within a mission presupposes a certain unity of command to ensure that a coherent strategy is consistently carried out' (Mockaitis, 1999).

Through vertical communication, the local wealth of knowledge (which is necessary for strategic decision making) is passed up to higher-level agencies. Operation through vertical co-ordination is made through communication lines among various types of agencies at international, regional and local offices. Due to the limitations of major international organizations to reach local communities, NGOs fill in the gaps between decision-making agencies at the centre and local communities.

Co-ordination issues become complex because many organizations tend to go beyond competence in particular areas of expertise with the development of dual mandates in other areas. For instance, UNDP and UNICEF have long-term social and economic development goals, but they have recently been involved in short-term humanitarian emergencies. At the same time, development agencies begin to pay more attention to fostering human rights with a focus on long-term social needs.

Sometimes, economic and social reconstruction cannot be co-ordinated through a clear chain of command, which is common in war zones. Since co-ordination has to be based on consensus, leadership lies in the capacity to devise an articulate response around common objectives and set up priorities. In the absence of an effective coordinating entity, the elementary exchange of information can be achieved through regular briefing sessions.

The compatibility of field activities can be promoted by the cooperation of inter-agency frameworks for action with the establishment of task teams on specific issues. Clear structures for co-ordination among key agencies emerge from the division of labor among actors.

Self Assessment Exercise 2.1

Coordination is essential for peace building. Discuss.

3.2 Peace building Agents

Peace building procedures must incorporate civil society in all efforts and include all levels of society in the post-conflict strategy. All society members, from those in best leadership positions, to religious leaders, to those at the working class level, have a role to play in building a lasting peace. John Paul Lederach model of hierarchical involvement levels has been used to make sense of the various levels at which Peace building efforts occur.

Because peace building measures involve all levels of society and target all aspects of the state structure, they require a wide variety of agents which serve as coordination of points of contact for their execution. These agents advance peace-building efforts by addressing functional and emotional dimensions in specified target areas, including civil society and legal institutions.

Nevertheless, outside parties usually play a vital role in advancing such Peace building efforts. Few Peace building plans work unless regional neighbors and other significant international actors support peace through economic development aid and humanitarian relief.

Various institutions provide the necessary funding for Peace building projects. While international institutions are the largest donors, private foundations contribute a great deal through project-based financing. Additionally, regional organizations often help to both fund and implement Peace building strategies. Finally, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) often carry out small-scale projects to strengthen countries at the grassroots level.

Not only traditional NGOs but also the business and academic community and various grassroots organizations work to further these peace-building efforts. All of the groups help to address "the limits imposed on governmental action by limited resources, lack of consensus, or insufficient political will."

In addition, external actors must think through the broader ramifications of their programs. They must guarantee that funds are used to precede genuine Peace building initiatives rather than be swallowed up by corrupt leaders or channeled into armed conflict.

Higher-order peace, connected to improving local capacities, is not possible simply through third-party intervention. And while top-down approaches are important, peace must also be built from the bottom up. Many top-down agreements collapse because the ground below has not

been prepared. Top-down approaches must therefore be buttressed, and relationships built.

Effective Peace building also requires public-private partnerships in addressing conflict and greater harmonization among the various actors. International governmental organizations, national governments, bilateral donors, and international and local NGOs need to coordinate to ensure that every dollar invested in Peace building is spent wisely. To accomplish this, advanced planning and intervention coordination is needed.

There are various ways to attempt to coordinate peace building efforts. One way is to develop a peace inventory to keep track of which agents are doing various peace-building activities.

A second is to develop clearer channels of communication and more points of contact between the elite and middle ranges. In addition, a coordination committee should be instituted so that agreements reached at the top level are actually capable of being implemented.

Another way to better coordinate peace building efforts is to create peace-donor conferences that bring together representatives from humanitarian organizations, NGOs, and the concerned governments. It is often noted that "Peace building would greatly benefit from cross-fertilization of ideas and expertise and the bringing together of people working in relief, development, conflict resolution, arms control, diplomacy, and peacekeeping."

Lastly, there should be efforts to link internal and external actors. Any external initiatives must also enhance the capacity of internal resources to build peace-enhancing structures that support reconciliation efforts throughout a society. [70] In other words, the international role must be designed to fit each case.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Sometimes Peace building involves a substantial number of actors, both local and international, requiring an appreciable mixture of the repertoire of peace building strategies. At this point, peace building becomes a complex operation where it is now necessary for the coordination of points of contact to achieve the set objectives. Usually, horizontal and vertical coordination of efforts become essential.

5.0 SUMMARY

We have discussed the necessity for coordination of points of contact in peace building, which to all intents and purposes is a complex project.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss horizontal and vertical coordination of points of contact in multilateral peace building.

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

Mockaitis, T.R. 1999. *Peace Operations and Intrastate Conflict: the sword or Olive Branch?* Praeger.

UNIT 3 CHALLENGES FOR DESIGNING AND IMPLEMENTING PEACE ACCORDS

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Spoilers in Peace building
 - 3.2 Dealing with Spoilers
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

When internal conflicts appear to linger on, there are a number of economic factors that pose as a challenge to the implementation of peace. These challenges are induced by the competition for the limited resources available; in the already destabilized conflict zone, the rebel and government forces compete on gaining command and control of these resources thus creating trade-offs between brokering peace and providing justice, as was the case in Sierra Leone.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit you would be able to:

- i) Explain the various challenges that occur in implementing peace accords;
- ii) Define and critically assess spoilers and their characteristics;
- iii) Identify what gives rise to spoilers in a peace process; and
- iv) Discuss the economic factors that challenge the elimination of spoilers from the peace accord.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Spoilers in Peace building

The opportunities for self-enrichment over the period of conflict make it such that combatants of peace have a vested interest in effecting conflict. These opponents of peace have come to be known as

“spoilers.” Spoilers are actors either internal or external who use violence to oppose the implementation of peace and its components. Rebel groups for starters are weaker than the government and will likely resort to violent to get their cause out in public or to get compensation for whatever their bone of contention be; parties and third party mediators who use violence to undermine a peace process can be seen as spoilers. Thus any group of persons or party that threatens the sanctity of the state is illegitimate and should be viewed as spoilers. However it has been argued that state-centric or patriotic ideology can often shape and influence the design of such parties.

Conflict Profiteers

War often bestows benefits that give various people a stake in the extension of conflict. Those who gain from war range from single persons to whole companies and nations. Conflict profiteers include political leaders, who gain their reputation and power from being "tough" and standing up to the other side, and military leaders whose reputation has been (or is being) earned by battle victories. In addition, young, uneducated men who have no other way of making a living may benefit from gaining employment as low-level military personnel. Another group that profits substantially from war consists of all the companies selling weapons and military technology. Others include illegal arms dealers and those who profit from illegal trade. War creates opportunities to plunder and to carry out illegal production and trade in drugs, diamonds, timber, and other commodities.

One can differentiate passive war profiteers from active war profiteers. Passive war profiteers make profits from war; they do not control the duration and outcome of a war or the way it is waged. Active war profiteers, on the other hand, are in a position to start and extend a war in order to increase their own profits. The idea that private incentive plays an important role in prolonging conflict is supported by the cases of Sudan, Sierra Leone, and Liberia.

Extremists

Most interest groups have supporters who take an extreme view of the conflict and tend to favor extreme and often cruel strategy. These individuals who are more radical than those of most of the people involved in a conflict can be called "extremists" or "hardliners", although those who are sympathetic to this extreme view may refer to the same people in more positive ways, such as "freedom fighters." In some cases hardliners are also “conflict profiteers”.

Others are those who hold intense religious or nationalistic beliefs to the result that their group is better and that their opponent is morally inferior or even sub-human in their pursuit of complete victory, extremists often remain fixed on radical ideas and positions. Often they advocate more extreme confrontation strategies than those adopted by others involved in the dispute. Because extremists often believe that their opponent is deserving of extinction, they may look to violent tactics such as genocide and terrorism to achieve their goals.

In many cases, extremists are those who have lived in poverty and have inadequate access to access to healthcare, nutrition, education, and employment. Persistent experiences of oppression, insecurity, or humiliation may lead individuals and groups to adopt conflict strategies that seem appropriate in their dire circumstances.

In other instances, political leaders capitalize on these adverse conditions and reward extremism in order to gain power for themselves. For example, they may offer monetary awards to families or emphasize the benefits to "martyrs" in the afterlife in order to legitimize militant behavior and draw attention to their cause.

There are also instances where extremist actions are an effective strategy for gaining and maintaining power in a hierarchical environment where resources are scarce and there is an ongoing struggle for power. In short, individuals adopt extreme positions because extremism is effective. It can call attention to one's cause, damage one's opponent, and unite one's group against a common enemy.

However, because the extremists and other hardliners usually gain the most media coverage, it is easy to come to the conclusion that everyone on the other side feels that way. Even if only a minority of the group commits the violent acts, these acts may be attributed to the group as a whole. This leads opponents to conclude that they must respond with extreme tactics of their own and causes the conflict to escalate quickly, even when most of the people on both sides of the conflict are far more moderate in their views.

The provoking actions of extremists can also threaten broadly supported efforts to de-escalate conflicts. In fact, some extremists desire this sort of response. Spoilers often use extreme tactics in the hopes of disrupting peace processes that they believe will harm their cause. Examples are the many violent acts in the Middle East that were meant to derail the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Such acts increase hostility, generate additional issues that require resolution, and make parties less willing to compromise.

Also, prevailing groups sometimes characterize the actions of marginalized groups as "extremist" in an attempt to maintain power and resist demands for change. In these cases, the term is used to discount potentially reasonable claims of the less powerful. These considerations suggest that we should be cautious about describing individuals and groups as extremists. In many cases, less stigmatizing terms may be more productive.

Self Assessment Exercise 3.1

When can a person or group be regarded as a combatant or spoiler of the peace process?

3.2 Dealing with Spoilers

There are a variety of approaches used to address spoilers in general, which fall on a range from total riddance of extremists to total engagement. The option of such strategies is usually determined by the viewpoint taken on the primary sources of extremism (from individual pathologies to social, political and economic conditions) as well as the level of representation of the larger population's legitimate interests that the extremists are able to secure. Some of the strategies aimed at addressing extremism include:

Elimination: Simply the use of information, the law, and force to identify, locate, and apprehend (or destroy) extremists or key leaders of extremist groups. Sometimes this involves using legal exercises to tie up economic resources, thereby crippling the ability of such groups to organize and function. Although elimination may work to remove key individuals and groups, it fails to address the underlying causes of extremism. These strategies are also often viewed as unjust by some, and can generate increased incidents of resistance and extremism from sympathizers; there is also an inclination to want to forfeit certain civil liberties and rights when working to directly eliminate extremism.

Divide and conquer: When one group is able to penetrate the opposing side's extremist groups, or establish relationships with hesitant members of those groups, they can begin to create a wedge between members. Such divisions can fester and be the undoing of groups, particularly when compliance and solidity is prized and betrayal is punished by extreme measures. Such strategies can go wrong and lead to increased group unity, and can be "flipped"; used by the extremist groups to gain information and resources from their opponents. As above, this is a somewhat shallow or temporary approach to addressing extremism.

Isolation: This strategy entails everything from a public distancing of the main group from extreme members and a condemnation of their actions to a more private withdrawal of support and backing from moderates. However, such strategies can intensify the intra group conflict (between moderates and extremists) and undermine the group. Such a state of vulnerability might also be seen as an opportunity to be seized by hardliners in the inter-group conflict.

Inter-group cooperation against extremism: Essentially, both groups agree to frame extremism and terrorism as a mutual problem to be solved jointly by the parties thus it entails cooperation between the parties involved in the inter-group conflict. This can be particularly effective on the heels of a peace agreement between the parties, where they attempt to expect and publicly label extremist responses to the agreement, thereby heading off the "spoiler" effects of destructive reactions. Such strategies are built on trust and assurances; trust which tends to be fragile at such an early stage of peace processes, if it fails can jeopardize the entire peace agreement.

Peace building: aimed at addressing the underlying conditions, which foster extremism and requires activities to work toward a reduction of inequity and oppression and the protection of human rights. Secondly, is the weakening of extremist ideologies and a reduction of militarism, racism, and sexism. Thirdly is the need for democratization and participatory governance and the strengthening of civil society

4.0 CONCLUSION

In implementing the peace process it is important that the intentions and views of the parties are scrutinized to ascertain that it is in line with the state standards and does not infringe on its legitimacy and sanctity. Spoilers within the peace process are more concerned with what can be gained from the conflict zone and how much control they can gain.

5.0 SUMMARY

We identified the challenges that exist during the peace process and defined spoilers as combatants of the implementation of peace as well examined ways in which the problem of spoilers can be addressed. Also the factors that give rise to spoilers and extremists was identified and assessed.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

What are the contributing factors to the emergence of spoilers in the implementation of peace accords?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Abdallah, Ahmedou Ould. 2001 "Stakeholders and Owners." In *Peacebuilding: A Field Guide*, Thania Paffenholz, Luc Reyckler, Eds. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner Publishers,

Stedman, Stephen John. 1997. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes." In *International Security*, Volume: 22 Issue: 2.

MODULE 4

- Unit 1 Operational Challenges for Peace Missions: Strategic Coordination
- Unit 2 Operational Challenges for Peace Missions: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
- Unit 3 Operational Challenges for Peace Missions: Intervention and Peace building
- Unit 4 Operational Challenges for Peace Missions: Conflict Prevention and Donor Aid
- Unit 5 Case Study: Sierra Leone

**UNIT 1 OPERATIONAL CHALLENGES FOR PEACE
MISSIONS: STRATEGIC COORDINATION**

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 The function of “Friends Groups”
 - 3.2 Strategic Coordination
 - 3.3 The Importance of Strategic Coordination
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Strategic coordination is particularly vexing for peace implementation and for post-conflict Peace building because many more actors are engaged in implementation than in negotiation and the international policy process takes on much greater complexity. Several past cases - including Guatemala, El Salvador, and Mozambique - demonstrate that the challenge of strategic coordination can be overcome by the use of coordination mechanisms such as “Friends Groups” or by major powers taking a lead role in conflict management.

Two aspects of these cases, however, powerfully limit their applicability elsewhere. First, in each case of effective coordination, no more than a handful of actors were directly involved in political dialogue, and even in the assistance aspects of peace accomplishment, the number of international and regional organizations was relatively small. Second, two necessary conditions for effective coordination were in place: a high degree of international commitment and a rough correspondence of interests of the major powers.

Recent efforts structures for strategic coordination on the ground, both within the UN and beyond, have been frustrated by the sheer numbers of actors involved, the limited extent to which these actors accept the coordinating authority of the UN, or analogous body, and the absence of policy-coordination structures at headquarters level.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to

- i) Highlight challenges of peace missions;
- ii) Explain how peace missions is co-ordinated; and
- iii) Explain the importance of strategic co-ordination.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 The Function of “Friends Groups”

One of the striking commonalities among cases of successful implementation is the use of a “Friends Groups,” or the creation of a deliberate process of bringing together key governments, to guarantee a degree of focus and harmony of approaches to the peace process. This machinery emerges as an imperative source of strategic coordination among bilateral actors and a means by which lead mediators and implementers can strengthen their authority, influence, and coordinating powers vis-à-vis the parties and the implementing agencies.

The Friends mechanism has been less frequently used in the African context, perhaps reflecting the lower levels of western commitment to peace processes on that continent. A similar mechanism was used in Rwanda, in the form of the “Five Musketeers,” a group of the five most influential Ambassadors in the country. Rwanda’s fate, however, cautions that the use of some sort of a bilateral coordination mechanism is no guarantee of success.

However, one of the distinctions between a Friends mechanism and a core group is that a formal Friends Group usually exists and meets not

only in country but also at the level of capitals and at the UN in New York. This signals a higher level of obligation to the peace process on the part of the respective members than is typically evidenced by alliance amongst in-country Ambassadors. This higher level of commitment typically results in higher levels of financial resources provided for the Peace building process.

The relationship between a Friends mechanism and a successful strategy of accomplishment depends on preexisting levels of commitment. Certainly, it is the case that strategic coordination cannot generate political commitments or resources. While donors often have at times argued that a lack of effective coordination is the source of their unwillingness to commit funds to peace execution processes, the fundamental relationship is more likely the reverse.

Although, it is not clear that there is a linear relationship between pre-existing commitment and the level of strategic coordination. In context where a range of states are providing resources, coordination of their strategies for peace implementation may be a critical asset.

3.2 Strategic Coordination

Strategic coordination” is a crucial constituent of any successful peace operation. It refers to efforts to manage several challenges often faced by third-party actors implementing peace accords: first, lack of coherence between settlement and implementation; second, conflicting approaches during these stages; and third, incoherent, if not contradictory, efforts to employ a given strategy.

Efforts at strategic coordination must mirror not only the complexities intrinsic in the conflict, but also resources, objectives, and interests of the United Nations, donors, and other actors. The presence of loot-able commodities, the prospect of spoilers, and the position taken by neighboring states, the number of combatants, and the comparative strength of the peace agreement provide a fairly dependable set of criteria by which to determine the likely obstacles to successful implementation. Given these challenges, it is particularly important that, when dealing with “new wars,” the UN consider factors such as the transparency and complementarity of mandates, available financial and material resources, and the apparatus for coordination with other actors.

Often, however, the goals of various international actors implementing a peace agreement are conflicting. Consequently, political and operational suitability may come at the cost of the peace operation as a whole.

As different from tactical coordination of programs – strategic coordination entails the reformation of policy interests of the external actors. In the governance field, a growing consensus among the major actors on what constitutes principles of good governance has lessened the challenge of strategic coordination. Divisions nevertheless remain.

In Rwanda, donors were deeply divided over how far it could morally pressure the post-genocide government on any governance issue; in Afghanistan, donors are divided on how far to promote human rights and democracy if it endangers permanence; and in the Balkans, Cambodia and Afghanistan important external actors have diverging interests and priorities.

The ‘war on terror’ has further divided US and European actors on matters of when and how to introduce governance measures in the only two post-9/11 cases so far, i.e. Afghanistan and Iraq. Not only coordination of external actors is required, however. Three levels of coordination can be considered of importance: donor-donor (external); donor-government; and inter-ministerial (Renner 2004). There has been increasing acknowledgment of the attitude that the host government must be assisted to take on major coordination responsibilities. It has even been suggested that UNDP should only support in country, government-led development forums and not Round Tables and Consultative Groups. Only rarely is there insufficient local capacity to build on.

Not only coordination of external actors is required, however. Three levels of coordination can be considered of importance: donor-donor (external); donor-government; and inter-ministerial. There has been increasing recognition of the principle that the host government must be assisted to take on major coordination responsibilities. It has even been suggested that UNDP should only support in country, government-led development forums and not Round Tables and Consultative Groups. Only rarely is there insufficient local capacity to build on.

The system of departmentally based consultative groups to coordinate activities in the various program areas has functioned unevenly. Much depends upon the leadership of individual consultative groups. Some donors, moreover, do not observe the rules established by the Ministry of Finance to declare their activities in the relevant program areas, and to concentrate on a certain number of program areas.

Self Assessment Exercise 1.1

To what extent can strategic coordination be an operational challenge for peace missions?

3.3 The Importance of Strategic Coordination

Coordination can strengthen peace processes, and a lack of coordination can weaken peace processes. Considering the complexity of inter-group conflict today, it is clear that complex responses are needed to address the relationship, substantive, and practical issues involved, and to address them at all levels of society. No single intervener can address each of these aspects of complex conflicts. A comprehensive range of responses by a varied set of actors is essential for successful Peace building. Given the necessity of many conflict resolution interveners in any major peace process, intervention coordination, too, is necessary for effective Peace building. Intervention coordination helps us make the most of the resources we direct at conflict resolution.

When interveners share information, the most common form of coordination, they may discover ways to improve their interventions. At the most basic level, information sharing allows interveners to learn more about the conflict and conflict resolution process, and thus to plan better. This planning might involve shifts in previous plans.

For example, two organizations planning conflict resolution workshops with overlapping participants might adjust their planned workshop dates so as not to conflict with each other. Shared analysis of the conflict and conflict resolution needs can lead to better strategies.

In-depth communication about plans and needs can also lead to areas where shared resources can maximize the impacts of separate initiatives, as when one intervener carries messages or materials for another into a hard to reach conflict zone, or when UN convoys transport NGO-based personnel. Thus, even when full-scale two-way initiatives do not make sense, coordination can lead to more efficient and effective Peace building.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Uncoordinated interventions may have unplanned negative consequences. For example, a party to a conflict might go round-table shopping, engaging with a series of would-be mediators in an effort to find the best deal for themselves. Since mediators will be most successful when they work long-term and with the confidence of both parties, forum shopping is counter-productive to effective peacemaking. Other unintended negative consequences of uncoordinated interventions include: overloading the adversaries' attentiveness; conveying competing expectations; intermediaries acting to undercut one another's policies; and intermediaries pursuing incompatible policies.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have identified the importance and role of friends group in the strategic coordination of Peace building. Also strategic coordination as an operational notion and challenge has been examined and its necessity visited.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

How effective can friends groups be in the strategic coordination of peace missions?

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

Jones, Bruce D. 2002. "The Challenges of Strategic Coordination." In *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, Elizabeth M. Cousens et al Eds. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

UNIT 2 OPERATIONAL CHALLENGES FOR PEACE MISSIONS: DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILIZATION AND REINTEGRATION (DDR)

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Participants and actors
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In November 1999, the President of the Security Council (SC) made a statement on behalf of the Council (S/PRST)/1999/34) under the item “Maintenance of Peace and Security and post-conflict peace-building” requesting the Secretary General (SG) to submit a report containing analysis, observations and recommendations regarding DDR.

The SG submitted his report (S/2000/101) “The Role of UN Peacekeeping in DDR.” in February 2000. This exhaustive report included chapters on: Definitions of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; Supporting DDR in a Peacekeeping environment, including planning phase, demobilization, disarmament and reintegration and; ensuring an effective response. DDR is defined as follow:

“Disarmament is the collection of small arms and light and heavy weapons within a conflict zone. It frequently entails the assembly and cantonment of combatants; it should also comprise the development of arms management programmes, including their safe storage and their final disposition, which may entail their destruction.

Demobilization refers to the process by which parties to a conflict begin to disband their military structures and combatants begin the transformation into civilian life. It generally entails registration of former combatants; some kind of assistance to enable them to meet their

immediate basic needs; discharge, and transportation to their home communities. It may be followed by recruitment into a new, unified military force.

Reintegration refers to the process that allows ex-combatants and their families to adapt, economically and socially, to productive civilian life. It generally entails the provision of a package of cash or in-kind compensation, training, and job- and income-generating projects. These measures frequently depend for their effectiveness upon other, broader undertakings, such as assistance to returning refugees and internally displaced persons; economic development at the community and national level; infrastructure rehabilitation; truth and reconciliation efforts; and institutional reform. Enhancement of local capacity is often crucial for the long-term success of reintegration.”

While disarmament and demobilization have been studied at length and are fairly well comprehended as military processes (though less examined as social and economic processes), reintegration has received less consideration in terms of examination and resources, from the international community. It is apparent that unless former fighters become performance and prolific members of society, long-term peace will not be possible. There are reasons why reintegration has received somewhat little attention.

Firstly, the triumphant reintegration of former combatants needs a long-term and ongoing commitment.

Secondly, reintegration proposals do not result in easily proven results – there is no correspondent to hoards of weapons that can be locked or destroyed openly. Thirdly, disarmament and demobilization are generally included in peacekeeping directives and thus funded through peacekeeping operations; reintegration is often left to a host of actors ranging from UNDP and the World Bank to civil society organizations and international NGOs.

Fourthly, and most importantly, the reintegration of former combatants covers both the advance and security fields and presents more multifarious challenges than either disarmament or demobilization. These challenges are multidimensional and encompass the establishment of income-generating projects, the provision of education and training programs, the preparation of host communities for the return of ex-combatants, and the needs of special groups such as child soldiers and women and girls who have been abused during the war. Unlike disarmament and demobilization, which are time-bound, reintegration is a process.

Per se, it essentially involves many variables that are beyond the control of donors or the international community, including the compliance of ex-combatants to reintegrate and of communities to accept them. Political will is vital; unless the population and the government are committed to peace and combatants are ready to return to civilian life, DDR programs are unlikely to succeed.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the concepts of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration;
- ii) Distinguish between disarmament and reintegration; and
- iii) Identify various actors involved.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Participants and Actors

Actors concerned in DDR programs vary from national and local government authorities, communities, UN agencies, the international financial institutions, bilateral donors, and international NGOs to local NGOs, grassroots organizations, and of course combatants, ex-combatants, and their dependents.

The appropriate role of the national government and rebel groups in the planning and execution of DDR programs is a vital issue as national ownership of the process is crucial for its success. While this means that the national government must regularly be the principal actor in developing and implementing DDR policies, national ownership should not be equated with government ownership. There is a bona fide danger that the government could use this prospect to amalgamate its power to the disadvantage of civil society and groups that were in armed conflict, thus sowing new seeds of grievance. Corrupt leaders could, for example, use resources allocated to DDR programs to further their own political ambitions (including buying support, rewarding past allegiances, discrediting opposition parties, or favoring particular constituencies such as ethnic or religious groups).

However, the importance of government authority for overall steadiness cannot be underestimated. Governance programs emphasizing transparency and accountability can help to mitigate the risk of government overreach and corruption. In addition, government control and responsibilities should be defined in the peace agreement, which

also needs to provide for the equal treatment of all groups - including ex-combatants - regardless of their pre-peace allegiances.

In Mozambique, the peace agreement projected this need by creating a committee on reintegration chaired by the UN with government participation. A sense of ownership of the process can prevent ex-combatants from turning into spoilers of the peace. All relevant parties and rebel groups should therefore be included in the larger peace process as early as possible. There was consensus at the workshop on the need for an equally broad-based commission in planning and overseeing DDR programs.

Such bodies are most successful when they are specific and have an inadequate authorization and life span. One currently exists in Sierra Leone and, as mentioned above, a similar commission functioned in Mozambique; both were considered to be extremely important in strengthening national unity. A non-inclusive DDR process can strengthen existing inequalities while a well-conceived program can actually go some way to addressing existing social structures and stratifications. Involving ex-combatants in the design of reintegration programs can further strengthen their sense of ownership of the process and enhance the probability of its success. Their participation can also help to guarantee the formulation of practical and appropriate programs since ex-combatants, as well as other local actors, often have a better understanding of the social issues, networks, and structures that have developed during a conflict.

Involving ex-combatants in the design of reintegration programs can further strengthen their sense of ownership of the process and enhance the probability of its success. Their involvement can also help to ensure the formulation of feasible and appropriate programs since ex-combatants, as well as other local actors, often have a better understanding of the social issues, networks, and structures that have developed during a conflict.

The character, or self-conception, of ex-combatants, is of great concern. There is some threat that if ex-combatants are treated as a separate group, separate from the rest of society, they will continue to identify themselves as such, demanding special benefits and targeted financial opportunities over the long-term. Perhaps more importantly, ex-combatants who recognize of themselves as belonging to a group apart from the rest of society may have trouble reintegrating socially and psychologically.

Alternatively, it may simply be the case that most ex-combatants, marked by their war experience, are likely to continue to identify

themselves with this experience regardless of the framing of a DDR program. The alternative practical view, highlighting solidity rather than equality, maintains that since idle ex-combatants pose a serious threat to peace and security, they must indeed receive special attention. In Sierra Leone for example, dealing with large groups of disaffected and unemployed youth, many of whom are ex-combatants, is an issue of vital significance to the country's long-term recovery.

Even though the success of DDR programs is reliant on economic recovery, well-made reintegration programs can actually add, indirectly, to the growth of the economy. The constant lack of infrastructure and intense underdevelopment that exemplify countries emerging from conflict hinders economic recovery. Ex-combatants offer a ready source of labor for infrastructure projects and employing them in this fashion may, when DDR programs are financed by outside donors, lessen the burden on national governments. This can be particularly important, as spending cuts imposed by international financial institutions often make it very difficult for post conflict governments to free up money to generate economic opportunities and run job-creation programs.

Exercise 2.1

Who are the participants and actors in the DDR process and how can they aid Peace building?

4.0 CONCLUSION

The successful disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants are crucial to achieving a lasting peace. While there has been a good deal of international focus of disarmament and demobilization, more analysis and resources are needed in reintegration. DDR programs should be part of an overall integrated recovery strategy that encompasses economic development, security sector reform, the integration of refugees and internally displaced persons, and justice and reconciliation. An effective strategy must take the regional dimensions of the conflict into consideration.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit we have looked at the impact and importance of DDR in Peace building as well as its operational challenge for peace missions. The participants and actors of the process of DDR and their role were also identified.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

To what extent does the re-integration of ex-combatants into the society aid the economic growth of the given country?

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

Woodward, Susan L. 2002 “Economic Priorities for Successful Peace Implementation” in Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild and Elizabeth M. Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner: pp. 183-214, 201-203.

UNIT 3 OPERATIONAL CHALLENGES FOR PEACE MISSIONS: INTERVENTION AND PEACE BUILDING

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 The challenge to Economic Sanctity
 - 3.2 Intervention Coordination
 - 3.3 Economic Effect of Intervention
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Intervention takes the form of a grant by a third party to one of the combatants this could be either military or non-military. It is assumed that the grant is considered as a pure transfer. The third party is not directly involved in the conflict.

Under non-military intervention, one of the combatants, one of the combatants will necessarily be successful which enables him to appropriate some of the country's resources. In contrast, military intervention requires the direct participation of the third party in the conflict, where he fights both warring factions. An advantage of military intervention is that when the third party is successful in the conflict, then neither group is able to appropriate the country's resources.

Just as political reconstruction has to take into account specific country conditions and the nature of the civil war, economic reconstruction must start from the basic conditions of the economy in question. They include:

Level of development, which has implications for e.g. capacity to absorb large aid funds (including vulnerabilities to distortions).

Level and type of war damage, which require proper needs assessments.

The economy of war and alternative opportunities. To reverse beneficial war economies has proven very difficult, especially if employment generation and alternative opportunities in the regular economy are few and slow to develop.

The capacity of the state apparatus. Poor post-war countries may have limited public sector capacity to handle major reconstruction programmes and an influx of foreign aid.

Special needs of the peace process. Some peace processes may require special economic measures to address the underlying causes of the conflict.

When the third-party cares similarly about the warring groups and the rest of the population, then he will not intervene. If the third-party cares more about the warring factions, then he might intervene and will help the stronger faction unless he places an adequately higher burden on the benefit of the weaker faction. The stronger faction is able to correct more resources from the rest of the population.

However, the stronger faction might make the rest of the population better off, since this reduces the collective price of conflict. We also find that the third party is likely to intervene if success in the conflict is particularly responsive to effort. In the case of military intervention, the third-party is likely to intercede if he cares adequately about the rest of the population or cares about the net resources that will be left after the war. We present examples where the third-party chooses military intervention over non-military intervention and vice-versa. The weaker faction may lay down his arms, if the third-party intervenes militarily.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain concept of intervention as a necessity for peace missions; and
- ii) Identify the economic effect of intervention.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 The Challenge to Economic Sanctity

The invasive criminalization of economic life prior to, during and after conflict is eminent. As legal establishments and social standards collapse, room is opened up for new economic opportunities, including crime. Additionally to illegal activities, armed groups and criminal organizations may gain control over major portions of formal economic sectors. This rise of black and informal markets during conflict is comprehended as neither an exit from “progress” nor as an evolving mayhem, but relatively as the formation of new systems of profit, power and protection in a highly loose environment.

Criminality poses a latent problem for conflict resolution and Peace building. The prosperity of unlawful activities during conflict may provide an impetus for continued conflict, thus encouraging the emergence of spoilers. In practice, however, it can be difficult to make a useful peculiarity between “legal” and “illegal” trade, as both types of activity use the same networks and may have similar impacts upon war. In many war-torn countries, informal markets and undercover trade may gratify fundamental economic needs, such as reacting to deficiencies of basic goods and services – notwithstanding often beside other, more “criminal” activities.

Bureaucratic corruption, which often escorts and facilitates persistent criminality, may also weaken efforts to establish peace, especially if economic assistance guaranteed for post-conflict rebuilding and other programs is redirected. This may result not only in a dearth of funds for serious programs, but also in the unwillingness of donors to provide future aid. Rebuilding the capacity of domestic institutions and promoting good governance is a long-term task. While earlier attention to issues of criminal behavior is certainly an improvement, criminalization may be in part structural.

3.2 Intervention Coordination

Intervention coordination is any attempt to carry out pieces of a peace process for utmost combined impact. When conflict resolution professionals take on a peace process, they are intervening. There are many interventions by international and local governmental and non governmental organizations in every peace process. When these professionals seek to inform their own and others' interventions so that they build a stronger overall peace process together, that is intervention coordination. This admittedly wide definition allows for a series from the loosest to the closest forms of coordination and includes some activities that might be labeled teamwork.

Intervention coordination between separate organizations is usually controlled. Peacemakers choose to coordinate with each other in order to

support their shared goal of resolving a particular conflict. In some circumstances, coordination is mandated, such as within the UN system where the Office of Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has an unambiguous mandate to coordinate international efforts to meet humanitarian needs. In other circumstances, diverse groups come together to share information, share resources, jointly analyze development, direct next steps, and even develop and implement joint programs together.

Although intervention coordination takes time and money, conflict resolution professionals may choose to organize because coordinated responses are most effective over the long term in progressing towards a shared goal of conflict resolution.

In other circumstances, conflict resolution professionals will coordinate simultaneous interventions. Intervention coordination can strengthen the work of the most diverse group of interveners. Groups that address the structural, political, and social aspects of conflict find that their work combines to build toward a shared goal.

Development and Peace building initiatives are integrally related in post-conflict zones. In addition to aiding groups working on different aspects of a peace process, coordination can also be useful when interveners' initiatives are very closely related. Thus, intervention coordination spans a range of activities that may be appropriate across the breadth of interactions surrounding peace processes.

3.3 Economic Effect of Intervention

Humanitarian assistance has been increasingly targeted by combatants as part of the wider movement of predation upon civilian populations is no news. Although it remains complex to measure the economic impact of peace operations, it has become increasingly apparent that they can have various challenging, if not negative effects. These include the crowding-out of the aptitude of local organizations (which may have long term implications), aggravating social and economic differences, assisting the growth of crime, and creating brain drain and high foreign investments into the country.

The first step towards diminishing the negative impact of peace operations is to consider factors such as the pattern of international aid, the types of goods and services that can be acquired in the country, the prevailing socio-economic conditions, and the effect of interventions on these factors. For instance, employing the services of local suppliers may encourage the economy and speed economic recovery, depending upon who the recipients of this support are.

Aid may strengthen power structures, which emerged through conflict, providing authority to these actors, while possibly also emphasizing corruption. Less evident are the fundamental practical rationales for how local actors may recognize the agencies involved in peace operations: as providers of resources for political action, as actors in the modification of economic structures, or as decision-makers who may affect the circulation of aid or become hindrances to its reallocation by others.

An alternative, or at least harmonizing, approach for extenuating conflict would be to focus on reducing the demand for illicit goods, as well as their (often unintentional) supply of arms, financial services and other goods and services to combatants.

Self Assessment Exercise 1.1

What are the possible economic effects of intervention during conflict?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Most intractable conflicts require outside intervention in order to be constructively transformed or resolved. This can take many forms. The most popular form of intervention is third party intervention, in which a neutral body, individual, a panel, an organization, or country will try to assist the disputing parties sort out their differences in a reciprocally tolerable way. However, this does not mean they have power to compel a resolution. Instead they facilitate the parties to elucidate their interests and needs, and their alternatives, in an attempt to find a solution. For this reason, the success of intervention in conflict and in the facilitation of Peace building is a noteworthy challenge.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, the meaning of intervention has been highlighted and the need for not only intervention, but also coordinated intervention has been examined. We have also addressed the likely economic effects that come out of intervention. Also the threat of intervention on the economic sanctity of the conflicting state was highlighted giving thought to the possible criminalization of economic life in the given state.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

“Intervention as a means of facilitating Peace building is an opportunity to renewed conflict.” Discuss.

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

Prendergast, John. 1997, "Actors and Approaches to Peacebuilding: The Case of Sudan." In *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

UNIT 4 OPERATIONAL CHALLENGES FOR PEACE MISSION: DONOR AND DEVELOPMENT AID IN THE PREVENTION OF CONFLICT

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 The Need for Donor and Development Assistance
 - 3.2 Challenges in the Provision of Aid and Development Assistance
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The usefulness of intervention - whether positive in the form of aid or negative in the form of sanctions - usually differs throughout the course of a conflict. Generally, using remote economic measures as either incentives or disincentives to influence the course of violence is complex.

Conflicts negatively affect civilians both directly, and indirectly, through the resulting "complex emergencies" that extended conflicts create. In the immediate area of conflict, the primary aim is preventing human casualties and ensuring access to the basics for survival: water, sanitation, food, shelter, and health care. Away from the main fighting, the priority is to assist people who have been displaced, prevent the spread of conflict, support relief work, and prepare for remedy.

Parties may not be able to identify their own economic self-interest in moving toward peace or they may simply have other, more pressing imperatives. On the other hand, there are opportunities for the international community to avoid violent conflict through dealing with the root causes of conflict, such as economic decline, inequality, and exclusion.

Donors in enhanced programs of economic aid and civil society capacity building might achieve this through an extensive investment. During the hard evolution from conflict to peace, effective post-conflict Peace building requires reform of both the priorities and the timing of aid as currently practiced by donors.

Priorities should include establishing a protected environment, creating trust among the parties, and nurturing a sense of social inclusion - including through early action to create expanded opportunities for employment. Short and medium term macro-economic considerations should therefore be subordinate to the immediate needs of socio-political confidence building. Economic development is an important component of successful post-conflict Peace building. According to the World Bank, targeting aid in the fourth through seventh year after conflict is most favorable for promoting development and sustaining peace.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Discuss Donor participation in peace mission
- ii) Identify why they are needed
- iii) Highlight the effects of Donor actions on development

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 The Need for Donor and Development Assistance

External development assistance, to reconstruct a country's infrastructure, institutions, and economy, is often a key part of the peace accord in the aftermath of war. This assistance ensures that the country can expand, instead of sliding back into conflict. The key requirements include:

Restoration of property and infrastructure: to assist return of the displaced security, governance, transport of food and supplies, and rebuilding of the economy.

Transition to usual security conditions: disarmament, demobilization, reintegration of ex-combatants and an adequate police force.

A functioning judiciary to enforce the rule of law and government services with a representative government to moderate conflict.

Economic development and a stable macroeconomic environment to promote political stability and facilitate a solid financial base for government and local capacity building: because once the donors leave, the country needs to function independently of aid.

The link between underdevelopment and tendency to conflict makes development assistance vital also in the prevention of conflict. The structural factors contributing to conflict include political, economic, and social inequalities; extreme poverty; economic stagnation; poor government services; high unemployment and individual (economic) incentives to fight. Development assistance must attempt to reduce inequalities between groups, and reduce economic incentives to fight, by controlling illicit trade.

Perhaps the most important principle of development assistance is the use of conditionalities to promote economic and political practices that strengthen Peace building. Donor assistance is often conditional on acceptance of a peace settlement by all sides, and continued commitment to implementing and consolidating peace.

The actors in humanitarian aid and development assistance are primarily:

International (IOs) and Regional Organizations (ROs) (or Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs)): The most significant actor in the stipulation of aid and development assistance is the United Nations (U.N.) and its various agencies, funded by member states. The World Bank and regional development banks also fund development projects.

Unilateral assistance: As well as multilateral assistance, many countries also direct aid unilaterally through their own foreign-aid and development agencies. In addition to a sense of ethical responsibility, aid can be part of foreign policy.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs): NGOs increasingly cooperate in providing aid and development assistance, both directly and as partners to U.N. agencies. They often have advantages over foreign governments. For example, they are less limited by political restraints and their assortment and independence allows them to work in very difficult places.

The Military: The military acts primarily to ensure a secure environment in which relief agencies can function. In some circumstances, the military may also provide aid directly, usually when these organizations find themselves unable to deal with

security problems. The military can be used to administer and manage the overall humanitarian response and to deal with technically and physically demanding needs, such as restoring communications and supply routes.

3.2 Challenges in the Provision of Aid and Development Assistance

An effective and timely humanitarian relief operation has the capacity to save thousands of lives. It is also, however, an extremely difficult undertaking. Potential beneficiaries may be located within a zone of conflict or in areas with poor infrastructure, making it difficult and dangerous for humanitarian agencies to deliver assistance. As a result, help may reach only the most accessible areas, with other potential beneficiaries being neglected.

The ever-increasing number of agencies on the ground, the difficulty of obtaining accurate intelligence, and the unpredictability of humanitarian crises make effective management and coordination extremely difficult. Solving this problem requires improved intelligence gathering and sharing, as well as tight management and coordination.

Aid that ensures that non-combatants are fed, sheltered, and healthy, but does not alleviate the violence around them, can lead to the "specter of the well-fed dead." Even more disturbing, the provision of humanitarian assistance can give non-combatants a mistaken sense of security and protection by the international community, with tragic consequences.

Aid can prolong and fuel conflicts, undermining its ultimate goal of saving lives because for fighting parties, aid can become a resource to be fought over. Aid leakage, or 'political taxation' of aid, refers to situations in which a portion of the aid goes directly to the fighting parties, who then use it themselves or sell it to buy weapons.

Aid is fungible; because populations and troops are being fed by aid, fighting parties no longer have to worry about providing for this need themselves and are thus able to put more resources into fighting.

Aid that helps only one side in a conflict can fuel tensions and competition between the sides. Simply ensuring equal distribution to different ethnic groups can reinforce divisions and 'labels' and make the groups less dependent on each other.

Aid can create private incentives for continuation of the war, for example by paying relatively high wages to local people employed by aid agencies. Imported food aid can undermine the local economy and make an activity like agriculture less profitable.

Solving these problems through aid conditionality carries the risk of harming the poorest and most vulnerable members of society. 'Smart aid' responds to this dilemma by applying the principle of conditionality to aid that is of greatest benefit to warlords and political leaders.

Development assistance carries its own problems as donor governments unavoidably competing on multiple interests, only one of which is peace building. Economic and commercial interests are at stake, with roughly half of all bilateral aid tied to imports of goods and services from the donor country.

Secondly, most donors award funding on a yearly basis, thus making forward planning very difficult for agencies. In general, each year's funding has to be used up before the next year's funding can be obtained, even if that money could be more usefully spent at a later date. This means the creating of inadequate funding mechanisms.

Self Assessment Exercise 2.1

What is development assistance?

4.0 CONCLUSION

More so, Governments may refuse to allow humanitarian agencies to assist their citizens and may object to conditionality of aid and development assistance, citing defense of their national sovereignty. However, there is a growing acceptance of the changing norm of sovereignty to "sovereignty as responsibility," which implies a government's responsibility for the well being of its citizens.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit we have discussed aid and development assistance and seeing the challenges it poses in the operation of peace building and conflict prevention.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

The provision of aid and development assistance has a purely positive impact on Peace building and conflict prevention. Discuss.

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

Nafziger, E.W., Frances Stewart, R. Vayrynen, Eds. 2000. "War, Hunger and Displacement: The Origin of Humanitarian Emergencies, Volume One: Analysis." Volume: 1 Issue: Oxford: Oxford University Press.

UNIT 5 CASE STUDY: SIERRA LEONE

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 The Effects of the Sierra Leone Conflict
 - 3.2 Post-War Reconstruction in Sierra Leone
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The conflict in Sierra Leone within a historical context has been as a result of political putrefy, economic decline, social segregation, regional volatility, and the indifference of the international community. Ruling elites increasingly relied upon oppression and bribery to maintain power; giving rise to a structure of benefaction network. The country's rapidly dilapidated economy fueled immense unemployment and social displeasure, thereby providing fertile ground for the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebellion.

This unpredictable situation was then aggravated by the materialization of a regional war economy related to the conflict in nearby Liberia. Finally, the international community, including Sierra Leone's former colonial ruler, the UK, ignored opportunities in the early 1990's to commit resources toward preventing civil war.

First, in a bid to end the civil war, a general reprieve was offered to RUF combatants and a ministerial post with control over diamond resources to Sankoh. This failed, as the RUF attempted to take political power by capturing Freetown, while also continuing to exchange diamonds for arms. Second, and more importantly, ECOMOG extracted its troops, but other international actors, including the UN and key member states, preferring to "enforce peace on the cheap," failed to entrust the basic resources for a just and strong settlement.

Initial efforts by the United Nations Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) to execute the Lomé Accord suffered a series of setbacks. However, there are a number of vital defense challenges that linger:

First, conflict in Sierra Leone has been closely tied to events in the surrounding region. The international community cannot only wait politically and financially engaged in peace accomplishment in Sierra Leone, but must also formulate a common tactic for the wider West African region, including Liberia in particular.

Moreover, the border of Sierra Leone remains permeable, posing a challenge for peacekeepers and local authorities aim on faltering the continuing flow of unlawful diamonds to Liberia. It is difficult to predict how the ongoing crisis in Liberia may impact Sierra Leone's peace process in the near future.

Second, the attention of the international aid community tends to be motivated by short-term crises. It remains to be seen whether sufficient funds can be secured for long term reintegration of former combatants, let alone to rectify unceasingly high levels of unemployment in the country.

Yet, lack of attention to these issues risks the return of some former combatants to criminality and predation, if only as a means of survival.

Third, the lack of effectual governance largely created the conditions for war in Sierra Leone. Reinstatement of social services, capacity-building for efficient management of resources, political and financial lucidity, and accountability are desperately needed.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be:

- i) Discuss the case study of Sierra Leone;
- ii) Define the effect of Sierra Leone;
- iii) Highlight the various post-war reconstruction programmes in Sierra Leone; and
- iv) Assess the impact of Post-war reconstruction in Sierra Leone.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 The Effects of the Sierra Leone Conflict

The war, which exploded on March 23rd 1991 east of the country, was a spill out from the war in neighboring Liberia. It arose as a result of unchecked corruption; bad governance, deprivation and the elimination of a vast bulk of the population especially those in rural areas, the methodical dismantling of democratic institutions, social injustice and a culture of impunity in plundering state resources. It, however, ended with the disarmament of over 70,000 ex-combatants and the subsequent destruction of arms and ammunition in January 2002.

Many people lost their lives; properties were damaged, thousands relocated while others were required to seek refugee status in the sub-region. Together with its provoked aim of wiping out corruption, political and social incompetence, underdevelopment and prevalent poverty, was its assistant problem of human rights breach and the break down of law and order.

The war cruelly hit the socio-economic order. The economy remained unstable; agriculture was seriously destabilized while prices of goods soared and unemployment subjugated the labour force. Poverty became widespread as living standards fell especially among the poorer parts of society.

Against this milieu, smuggling, especially of diamonds, remained persistent and unbearable. Similarly, the country's physical and social infrastructure was affected. Road networks were destroyed and lack of maintenance resulted in a depreciated power supply system. Human resources development was derelict while the literacy rate fell.

In the civil service, the quality of service declined as the majority of the middle and lower level staff lacked sufficient education and were preoccupied with second jobs due to poor salaries. The public health sector was left in an abysmal state: hospitals, health centers and clinics were looted, short-staffed and riddled with corruption. Health services were inadequate in many parts of the country and access depended entirely on how much one could afford to pay.

However, the exhilaration that greeted the eruption of the civil war could only be overcome with the construction of a need for a new set of priorities that would address such pressing issues as peace and reconciliation, health, education, capacity building, unemployment, agricultural inefficiency and an effective price control system. The provision of adequate, relevant, timely and available information is a pre-condition for development as well as the outcome of development. Post-war reconstruction cannot take place without the ideas and notions embedded in documents, which form the basis of our informed knowledge.

Self Assessment Exercise 5.1

What in your opinion are the effects of conflict on Sierra Leone in general?

3.2 Post-War Reconstruction in Sierra Leone

As in the times of post-war reconstruction, rehabilitation and relocation, the fraught need for sustainable peace and security should not be overemphasized. The fight and challenge for peace and its improvement should be the accountability of both the state and the citizenry, even though the former is expected to play a leading role in ensuring that all the necessary and vital mechanisms for achieving peace are firmly in place.

In building peace all over the world and in Sierra Leone in particular, there is a need for precise, consistent and helpful information. Information is an essential resource for development, human rights promotion, conflict resolution, peace and security. The accessibility of information is, at the level of governance, a major measure of accountability, simplicity and predictability in a democratic society besides its impact on the economic sphere.

Regular and smooth communication channels through which healthy and sound information flows can lay the foundation for the effective functioning of a democratic system. Information promotes and authorizes citizens' contribution to the democratic process; it maintains the Rule of Law and creates a feasible outlet for the injection of public opinion. Information informs the policy-making process of political leadership, all of which nurtures the building of sustainable peace for the improvement of the State.

No nation can progress significantly without the accessibility of sound information networks such as the media, libraries and information services, educational institutions at all levels, and vibrant and relevant professional bodies. The unique and immeasurable role of these information agents for learning and information diffusion for the achievement of lasting peace should not be ignored in any society.

Rather, they should be seen as crucial for effectively supporting research, promotion, and awareness raising and as a means of attracting suitable support from the international community. In particular, this will no doubt hasten the speedier performance of the provision of the

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as essential requirement for building peace and reconciliation and post-war reconstruction as provided for in the 1999 Lomé Accord in Sierra Leone.

The state of peace involves the practice of democratic norms and values, justice, universal economic and social well-being. Sierra Leone is going through a period of modification with the completion of innovative peace building and peace education activities. The underlying principle behind these is that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in their minds that the defense of peace must be constructed. Sierra Leonean, therefore, must not only contribute, but should also be practical to enable the government and policy makers to adopt robust policies and strategies to finally attain a lasting peace.

While a majority of African countries have held multiparty elections in recent years, much more needs to be done to ensure that individuals feel protected, civil society is able to flourish and governments carry out their responsibilities successfully and clearly, unless people feel that they have a proper pledge in society lasting peace will not be possible and sustainable development will not be achieved.

Development is a human right, and is vital to the prospects for reducing conflict. Investment in human development is crucial, especially to ensure basic education and public health priorities. In addition, attention to social justice is fundamental if development and economic growth are to produce positive results and if society is to develop in a balanced way. In this direction, the institutional barriers that prevent women's exercise of equal rights must be identified and removed through broad policy reform.

Above all, for peace and development in Africa to gain new momentum, sufficient political will is required from both Africa and the international community. Africa must display the will to reply upon political rather than military responses to problems and enact and adhere to reforms needed to promote economic growth. The international community must summon the political will to intervene where it can have an impact, and invest where resources are needed.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Building durable peace in Sierra Leone would require good governance and sustainable development, respect for human rights and the rule of law are vital components of any effort to make peace durable, and are also cornerstones of good governance. Laws must be fairly and impartially enforced.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have examined the conflict in Sierra Leone and its effect and peace process. The process of post-war reconstructions its challenges, requirements and process were discussed.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

What are the requirements for possible sustainable peace in Sierra Leone?

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

Garcia E. 1996, *The Abidjan Peace Accord and Beyond: Taking Steps Towards a Sustainable Peace: A Layperson's Guide to the Peace Agreement*. International Alert, London.

MODULE 5

- Unit 1 Diplomacy and Peace building
- Unit 2 Gender and Peace building
- Unit 3 Democratization and Peace building
- Unit 4 Coexistence and Conflict
- Unit 5 Sustainability of Peace building

UNIT 1 DIPLOMACY AND PEACE BUILDING

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Track I Diplomacy
 - 3.2 Informal (Track II) Diplomacy
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- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Diplomacy is the practice of verbal discussion with the target to persuade, pass on an arrangement or confer on a given issue or condition for a jointly suitable result. It is often called an art because each state requires a unique mixture of understanding, persuasion, protest, and sweet-talk amongst other things.

It has traditionally been a method of conducting interstate relations involving discussions and negotiations between heads of state or their representatives in order to advance national interests. As one may imagine, these efforts may not always be sincere. More broadly, however, diplomacy often involves efforts to keep channels of

communiqué open between different sides of a clash in the hopes that tension can be diffused and violence averted.

Modern diplomacy is in many ways more complicated with intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations involved and the globalization of communication and transportation opening up new avenues for the demeanor of diplomacy and helped new participants get involved.

Much of modern diplomacy continues to entail the communication of state and/or official actors in what has become known as Track I diplomacy. These diplomats are acting in an official ability with the authority and on behalf of the state they are representing. The body they are representing may have a direct stake in the dispute or they may be acting as an intermediary.

In situations in which official, diplomatic communications between countries or between a government and an insurgent group have broken down, unofficial channels can often operate effectively. As originally conceived by Joe Montville, the term "track two diplomacy" refers to private citizens negotiating topics that are usually reserved for official negotiations—the formal resolution of an ongoing conflict or arms reductions, for example.

Over time, however, the term has come to be used more broadly: to encompass processes such as problem-solving workshops, dialogues, cultural and scientific exchanges, traveling artists, sports teams, or any other contacts between people whose groups are currently engaged in an intractable conflict.

Track II diplomacy is more subtle and personal, involving conflict resolution professionals from non-governmental organizations engaged in activity often through back channel measures. Track II diplomacy is important in maintaining support at the local level for negotiated agreements and terms to a peace settlement. Track II diplomats are also more often engaged "on the ground" in Peace building efforts in addition to their back channel peacemaking efforts.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the concept and essence of diplomacy
- ii) Identify various types of diplomacy
- iii) Highlight the criticisms of diplomatic tracks

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Track I Diplomacy

Termed as governmental diplomacy, or "a technique of state action, it is essentially a process whereby communications from one government go directly to the decision-making apparatus of another". It is carried out by official representatives of a state or state-like authority and involves relations with other state or state-like authorities: heads of state, state department or ministry of foreign affairs officials, and other governmental departments and ministries.

Track-one diplomacy may also be referred to as "first track" or "first tier" diplomacy. These official diplomatic efforts can be distinguished from unofficial interactions, which may involve conflict resolution specialists, private citizens, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), or businesses.

Such unofficial interactions are referred to as "track-two diplomacy." In the metaphor of track one and track-two diplomacy, each type of diplomatic effort proceeds along a different track, just as separate trains might follow different tracks.

Along the official track, track-one diplomacy may take place bilaterally between two states, or multilaterally when several states cooperate together, and even regionally or globally through inter-governmental organizations (IGOs).

The purpose and intentions of track-one diplomatic efforts may vary greatly: track-one diplomacy may be used coercively and may involve sanctions, ultimatums, and psychological intimidation; it may be used influentially and involve argumentation and/or compromise; it may be used as a means of adjusting states' relationship to and views of one another; Track-one diplomacy may be used by a third-party state to help bring about an agreement between other states.

Track-one diplomacy varies not only according to the different roles states play, but also according to the manner in which these track-one roles are carried out. Official interactions may be at the senior head-of-state level, ministerial level, or involve lower-level officials.

Track-one diplomacy's application to conflict resolution is shaped by the interwoven web of international relationships that form the context for international conflicts. In this context, track-one diplomats take on many roles and utilize diverse techniques.

Track-one diplomats can act as the primary parties to negotiations, support one or more of the primary parties, or act as third parties. These multiple roles, and issues of official recognition, complicate track-one diplomacy's application to conflict resolution.

Criticisms Of Track I Diplomacy

First Track diplomats are criticized due to their lack of pressure on the ground of the conflict. This could be because the fighters do not view the "diplomat" as a true representative of their cause, or because they do not agree with the settlement. Therefore steps must be taken to ensure that the fighters and the signatories are in contact and agreement during the Peacemaking process.

Lederach composed a leadership triangle which exemplifies the significance of coordination throughout all levels of actors in order to ensure a sustainable peace. He divides the actors into three different types: elites, community leaders and grassroots. Each group possesses its own responsibility in Peace building, from the elite's focal point on high-level negotiations, to the community leaders and grassroots work.

The leaders in Track 1 are reliant on the community leaders, who are reliant on the grassroots actors for successful conflict resolution. This is another example of the intertwining interaction between Track I and Track II. Without it, peace is endangered.

Self Assessment Exercise 1.1

What are the criticisms of Track I diplomacy?

3.2 Informal (Track II) Diplomacy

Track II diplomacy is a specific kind of informal diplomacy, in which non-officials (academic scholars, retired civil and military officials, public figures, women, social activists) engage in dialogue, with the aim of conflict resolution, or confidence-building. Sometimes governments may fund such Track II exchanges.

At the inter-group or international level, the term covers a number of different terms: "track two diplomacy," citizen diplomacy, "multi-track diplomacy," supplemental diplomacy, pre-negotiation, consultation, interactive conflict resolution, back-channel diplomacy, facilitated joint brainstorming, coexistence work.

While varying in importance, agenda, and theoretical approach, these initiatives share many common goals. They attempt to present an

environment that is low-key, non-judgmental, non-coercive, and safe, and to create a process in which participants feel free to share opinions, fears and needs, and to investigate ideas for resolution, free of the constraints of government positions.

The process is designed to persuade the development of mutual understanding of differing perceptions and needs, the creation of new ideas, and strong problem-solving relationships.

Normally, informal intermediaries are non-governmental actors, such as religious institutions, academics, former government officials, non-governmental organizations, humanitarian organizations, and think tanks, among others.

In some cases, however, governments or government officials can act as informal intermediaries when they aid discussions among non-officials - private citizens or groups of individuals -- from conflicting parties.

During the Peacemaking stage Track II diplomacy can help the official actors arrange for negotiated settlements by initiating discussions and finding common ground on which negotiations can be based. The efforts of the Track II actor help identify the real problems and issues underlying the conflict. When negotiations are not prepared to begin at the official level, Track II diplomacy can be used to act on behalf of the parties themselves. Using representatives from the opposing sides who are in direct connection to the leaders is one way to initiate a peace process.

Finally, Second Track diplomacy during the peace-building stage is one of the front line men for detecting early warning signs of re-occurring violence and of threats to the peace process at the local level.

Criticisms of Track II Diplomacy

The Track II diplomat has a large task in any situation. The problems are abundant and issues of legality frequently arise. Since Track II diplomacy is usually driven by inter-personal relations, these can sway for or against any effort.

At times the Track II actor is given too much influence; other times not enough attention is given to the reports generated through Track II efforts. In some cases the agenda of the Track II actor is in conflict with the efforts of the Track I actors.

For example, a Track II agenda of seeking "justice" (such as uncovering human rights abuses), can threaten the negotiation process if the

participants feel they are going to be charged with violations once the cease-fires have been arranged.

Additionally, NGOs and other organizations dependent on conflict and suffering for their survival have the awkward position of needing the conflict, its atrocities and controversies for their continued existence.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In situations in which official, diplomatic communications between countries or between a government and an insurgent group have broken down, unofficial channels can often operate effectively. The value of such unofficial contacts between opposing sides is that they can often de-escalate a conflict before any official negotiations can do so. These contacts can build bridges between people, increase trust, and foster mutual understanding.

They can serve to correct misperceptions and unfounded fears, and can reverse the trend toward dehumanization and the entrenchment of enemy images that often occurs in escalated conflicts. Often the de-escalation that results from such contacts is necessary, before official negotiations will be considered politically possible.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have discussed diplomacy and its two main types, as well as the criticisms of these types of diplomacy. The importance and interrelatedness of diplomacy in Peace building has also been highlighted.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

How important is diplomacy in the process of Peace building?

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

Harold H. Saunders, 2001. "Pre-negotiation and Circum-Negotiation: Arenas of the Multilevel Peace Process." In *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, Pamela Aall, Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, Eds. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

UNIT 2 GENDER AND PEACE BUILDING

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Women and Demilitarization
 - 3.2 Women and Development
 - 3.3 Women and Human Rights
 - 3.4 Women and the Environment
 - 3.5 Gender Related Policies for Peace building
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The gender aspect of Peace building is increasingly recognized as an area warranting meticulous consideration especially as the idea of security is expanded to include its human dimensions. Some of the many issues encompassed by gender and Peace building have received a lot of attention in other fields including feminist research and activism. Gender and Peace building captures the contexts leading up to and ensuing from conflict which must also be addressed from a gender perception as well as the roles and expectations of women and men which further enable or confine capacities to prevent conflict or rebuild after it.

In order to develop a broad framework and style to analyze and respond to the knowledge and participation of women and men in conflict, and the disintegrate of society it entails, as well as its resolution and aftermath, "gender and Peace building" better situates the attempt in the perspective of an assessment of women's involvement and inter-relatedness with the various factions that influence Peace building; these

including demilitarization, demobilization, development, environment and human rights and the relationship between them.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the gender aspect of peace building;
- ii) Describe the role of women in development; and
- iii) Discuss women and human rights.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Women and Demilitarization

Long before the recognition of the role of women in the peace process, women have already been very much involved in peace building. As a social group, women have been suitably identified as being pro-peace. Women are highly visible in peace movements.

Polls show that women resist increases in military expenditures and operation of new weapons more frequently than men. In spite of all the obstacles of gender prejudice, women's interest in peace has been powerful. Women have been highly visible in the forefront of movements for nonviolence and peace worldwide. Women usually assume roles of peacemakers in families, in communities and in societies even though they have often always been victims.

3.2 Women and Development

A growing number of advocates have been calling for a close connection between the idea of development and peace. There can be no peace without equitable development for all human beings irrespective of gender, and no development without peaceful conditions in society. Development practitioners never considered women's needs. Women were thought of as part of the household, which is headed by the male. However recently, more concentration to survival agriculture has led to a greater admiration of women's work.

Concern for wealth distribution has led to the awareness that women constitute a large portion of the poorest of the poor while still providing almost all the family's basic needs. Through the 70's, the rise of women's movements on development issues and supportive organizational development in United Nations other aid agencies led to a decisive link between women's rights, equality, equity, development and peace.

Theorists and practitioners within the women's movement have advocated a succession of paradigms or frameworks on women and development problems, namely women in development, women and development, gender and development, women environment, and development for promoting greater fairness and input of women in development which they claim would lead to world peace.

3.3 Women and Human Rights

Since the adoption by the General Assembly of an International Bill of Human Rights for Women called the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), many women's organizations have been working for the protection of the rights and dignity and needs of women. Although the gap between women and men in terms of human rights promotion remains great, such advocacy has yielded progress across many specific areas.

Women's rights is in an equal opportunity concept which have been impeded by civil and political limitations placed on them, social laws economic and cultural laws and an emergent one is their marginalization even in the spiritual realm. In addition to the original issues being mentioned as violations of women's rights, like equal pay for equal jobs, equal opportunity, and so on, some other issues have gained currency in public debate about women's rights. Gender based violence has become a human rights paradigm. Rights of women of color are gradually seeping especially in the discourse on feminization of poverty.

It believed that international human rights law has not been applied effectively to redress the disadvantages and in justices experienced by women. In this sense respect for human rights fails to be general.

Also those in the East and South must be equally cautious not to subscribe to the reverse notion that accepts the division and believes that the East and South is "superior," more "communal" and "less self centered", believing that human rights law was instituted by colonizing powers to replace indigenous, religious, and social traditions.

3.4 Women and the Environment

In recent years, the dimension of environmental violence and environmental care has also been increasingly recognized as vital to women's development and peace. In all South regions, environmental degradation and destruction have impacted severely on women's livelihood and subsistence. This analytical deepening has been referred to as "women, environment and development".

There is a commonly held opinion that women are liable for much of the environmental degradation that is taking place in rural areas. Laying blame on the women is to ignore the globally linked causes of environmental damage, which have created and continued to create a situation of scarcity that often forces women into ecologically destructive actions. The women and environmental movement is based on the full recognition of the fact that without a healthy environment there is no life.

3.5 Gender Related Policies for Peace building

Peace building needs to integrate specific policies geared towards meeting women's needs, as a vital part of short term Peace building for negative peace and for long term transformative processes.

It also showed the need to find ways to challenge the supremacy of masculinity within key institutions in order to encourage longer term Peace building. Here, ways to encourage institutional change, as well as strategies to move towards positive peace, and of developing a gender-aware perspective on Peace building will be highlighted.

- i) *Avoiding a gendered peace*, where a gendered peace is a post conflict situation in which Peace building policies address the needs of women less effectively than those of men, or which result in a decline in the situations of women. The achievement of such objective would also have wider positive subsidiary effects for society in general, because of the important post-conflict roles commonly played by women (e.g. caring for survivors, managing social networks, and educating children). Furthermore, minimizing, or removing such disparity also represents a move towards positive peace in itself.
- ii) *Working with women as change agents in society* to embark upon ingrained violent and aggressive behavior which is rooted in forms of masculinity. This purpose is highly attuned with the aforementioned (i), and is expected to develop the situation for women as well as having positive outcomes for Peace building generally.
- iii) *Working with men as change agents in society* to tackle entrenched violent and aggressive behavior, which is rooted in forms of masculinity. This objective is highly compatible with objectives i. and ii, although it requires quite a different set of

activities. It is also expected to have positive outcomes for Peace building generally.

- iv) *Attention to participation of women and the promotion of gender equality in peace agreements.* Peace agreements are crucial components of peace processes. They not only indicate the official termination of armed conflict but also offer the basis for a constitutional framework for sustainable peace and construction of the political, legal, economic and social structures and institutions of post-conflict societies.

The Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), in paragraph 8, highlights the significance of bringing gender perspectives to the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements. Gender equality is an important social goal in itself and an essential factor in Peace building and for achieving sustainable peace.

Unambiguous language in a peace agreement to encourage gender equality and women's participation can assist proactive implementation and ensure that the gender specific penalty of armed conflict and the rights, needs and priorities of women and girls in the aftermath of conflict are fully addressed.

Self Assessment Exercise 2.1

How can gender related policies aid Peace building or promote the peace process?

4.0 CONCLUSION

A culture of peace requires that the violence of economic and social deprivation are confronted. Poverty and social injustices such as exclusion and discrimination weigh heavily on women. Efforts to move towards a culture of peace must be present in all sectors of human existence. Women as peace makers have been contributing to the building of a culture of peace in their multidimensional involvement by weaving a cultural tapestry of peace, observing the seven principles, norms, values of compassion, constructiveness, conciliation, communion, commitment, and contemplation which are indispensable in building this culture of peace.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit the role of gender in Peace building has been highlighted, more so the importance of women and gender policies in the peace process has been examined.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

How can the process of Peace building approach the effects of violence against women before, during and after conflict to ascertain its non-occurrence in future?

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

El-Bushra, J. (2000). 'Transforming conflict: Some thoughts on a gendered understanding of conflict processes'. In Jacobs, S et al. (eds.) *States of conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance*. London Zed Books Ltd.

UNIT 3 DEMOCRATIZATION AND PEACE BUILDING

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 The Importance of Democratization
 - 3.2 Democratization in the Process of Peace and Peace Building
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Democratization is one of the most significant concepts in modern political science, one whose significance is being understood by conflict-resolution practitioner. On one level, it is a relatively simple idea, since democratization is simply the establishment of a democratic political regime. However, in practice, democratization has not been easy to achieve. Democratization seeks to set up justifiable and firm political institutions and civil liberties that allow for meaningful competition for political power and broad participation in the selection of leaders and policies.

Many point to democratization as a key way to create these sorts of peace-enhancing structures. It is imperative for governments to stick to values of clearness and inexorableness, and for laws to be adopted through an open and public process. For the purpose of post-conflict Peace building, the democratization process should be part of an all-inclusive project to rebuild society's institutions.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain concept of democratization;
- ii) Discuss democratization and peace building;
- iii) Highlight the role of women in reintegration and rehabilitation; and
- iv) Differentiate between the concepts of reintegration and rehabilitation.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 The Importance of Democratization

The importance of democratization is easy to see at first glance but is much more complex in practice. Democratization is fundamental because of one of the most widely (but not universally) accepted trends in international relations, known as the democratic peace.

Put plainly, it does not mean that democracies cannot go to war with each other, but there is something about democracy and the relationship between democracies that allows them to resolve their disputes peacefully.

There is no conformity about why the democratic peace exists. Some political scientists assert the cultural notion of trust and tolerance, which trigger democracy. There is the emphasis on the institutions democracies build up for nonviolent conflict resolution, including elections and legislatures.

Yet others emphasize the cultural and economic relations that have increasingly tied the wealthy democracies to each other. Whatever the exact mix of causes, there is little debate that the wealthy democracies have become what a "zone of peace" according to Max Singer and Aaron Wildavsky in which war has become all but inconceivable.

Whatever the precise set of factors that give to democratic peace, democratization is principally vital in countries which have gone through an extended period of intractable conflict. The institutions and value systems that make democracy possible are based on the progress of the trust, tolerance, and competence for cooperation that make constant peace and reconciliation achievable in the conflict-resolution process.

Unfortunately, the very same reasons that make democratization important make it hard to attain. The ethnic and other tensions that give rise to obstinate conflict generate so much mistrust and intolerance that cooperation is very difficult to achieve.

Indeed, there are very few countries that have been able to move from intractable conflict to democracy quickly or easily.

Nigeria which returned to democracy in 1999, after more than a decade of brutal and corrupt military rule, the country actually saw a sharp increase in political violence after the Third Republic was created, including riots over whether or not the Miss Universe Contest should be held in the Muslim-dominated northern region of the country and other incidents which has claimed hundreds if not thousands of lives.

3.2 Democratization in the Process of Peace and Peace Building

Political structural changes center on political development, state building, and the establishment of successful government institutions. This often involves election reform, judicial reform, power-sharing initiatives, and constitutional reform. It also includes establishing political parties, creating institutions that provide procedures and apparatus for effectively handling and resolving conflict, and establishing mechanisms to monitor and protect human rights.

Such institution building and infrastructure development normally requires the dismantling, strengthening, or reformation of old institutions in order to make them more effective. It is crucial to set up and preserve the rule of law, and to implement rules and procedures that constrain the powers of all parties and hold them accountable for their actions. This can help to ease tension, create stability, and lessen the likelihood of further conflict. For example, an independent judiciary can serve as a forum for the peaceful resolution of disputes and post-war grievances.

Also, societies need a system of criminal justice that deters and punishes banditry and acts of violence. Fair police mechanisms must be established and government officials and members of the police force must be trained to observe basic rights in the execution of their duties. In addition, legislation protecting minorities and laws securing gender equality should be advanced. Courts and police forces must be free of corruption and discrimination.

3.3 The Role of Women in Reintegration and Rehabilitation

In addition to women's participation in general community activities, they have committed to women's organizations, these groups has, in fact, led to the restoring of some execution problems and gaps in the reintegration process for both men and women.

In reaction to endless needs, women have developed a range of practical projects that targeted the most disadvantaged groups and continue to lead reconstruction efforts in rural and urban areas today.

The near elimination of women and girls from DDR programs meant a loss of access to reintegration assistance in Sierra Leone, thus worsening their problems of material deficiency, separation from family and a deficiency in of access to education. As a result of difficult conditions, riots increased in 2002, particularly among former child and adolescent combatants, in which national DDR implementing agencies were attacked.

It was reported that youth women and girls were at times the leaders of these protests. Without support or care from their former "partners" or "husbands," their own families, the community, or the state, many of the young women—particularly those with children born as a result of their captivity—have resorted to civil unrest as a means of accessing basic goods for the survival of their children.

For these young women and girls, the stakes are, in effect, greater than for some of the men and boys. Even more extensive, the elimination of women and girls from official programs and assistance has significant social consequences including poverty, crime, prostitution, and an increase in HIV/AIDS. Moreover, the exclusion of single mothers means the exclusion of their children and the emergence of another generation of disaffected marginalized youth.

National women's organizations are taking the lead in rebuilding schools and educating children including ex-combatants. Local community women and informal networks and groups support some of those who did not pass through DDR programs or receive benefits. Still, women's work is often undocumented and unacknowledged in official processes, and they receive limited support from the international community and donor governments.

The significance of women's involvement in reconciliation, reconstruction and Peace building cannot be highlighted enough. In Sierra Leone, one can only conjecture that the improved participation of women during negotiations, when DDR plans are laid, led to an open appreciation of the existence of women and girls in fighting forces.

Women play numerous roles during war, reaching beyond traditional gender roles and learning new skills, despite the horrors of the situation. In Sierra Leone, women symbolized tremendous social capital greatly required in the post-conflict environment.

Their practical skills, such as radio communications, nursing, and organization, combined with their leadership skills can and must be built upon to contribute to post-conflict peace building.

In Sierra Leone, as women's organizations are usually active at the local level, they are mainly aware of the needs of the community and the former fighters and have developed programs to address them. Women, individually and collectively, have no "exit strategy" and are invested like no other group in the pursuit for sustainable peace. Supporting these women's efforts at informal and unofficial reintegration is a cost-effective and necessary measure to prevent future violence.

More importantly, it is important to understand the consequences of failing to include women's needs and concerns in DDR planning and implementation. In Sierra Leone, where women have been particularly abandoned from the process, girls are now beginning to riot and there are reports of former fighters moving through the region to join other rebel groups. Not only is there a loss of social capital when women are excluded, but there is a tendency that security may not be established when a percentage of combatants are excluded from disarmament programs and from reintegration support. The longer-term consequences include a rise in crime, the potential for renewed violence, widespread possession and use of small arms.

Self Assessment Exercise 3.1

What role can women play in the process of rehabilitation and reintegration to promote democracy and initiate Peace building?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Finally, a more substantial conclusion to draw from these. Although the nature of the conflicts was very different, there are lessons to be learned, comparisons to be drawn, mistakes to be aware of, and positive planning to replicate. Ensuring these experiences are documented and distributed is essential to successful DDR planning in the future. National and international actors must look for, and recognize, the roles that women play during war so that they might fully participate in programs for former combatants, their skills might be capitalized on during the peace, and their dignity restored.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit we have identified the meaning of democratization and its relationship with Peace building. Having noted the importance of gender in Peace building we have in this unit examined the role that women play in the sub-section of democratization that is reintegration and rehabilitation.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

What is the significance of democratization in the process of attaining peace?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Farr, Vanessa. (2002). "Gendering Demilitarization as a Peacebuilding Tool." BICC Paper 20. Bonn, Germany: Bonn International Center for Conversion.

Luciak, Ilja A. (2001). *After the Revolution: Gender and Democracy in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

UNIT 4 COEXISTENCE AND CONFLICT

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Types of Coexistence
 - 3.2 The Importance of Coexistence
 - 3.3 Coexistence and Social Justice
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Coexistence is a condition in which two or more groups are living collectively while respecting their differences and resolving their conflicts nonviolently. The thought of coexistence is not new; the term came into common usage during the Cold War. Originally, it was a cover up for belligerence, but then it developed as a tool for reframing the relationship between states. In the late '80s, the policy of peaceful coexistence included principles such as "nonaggression, respect for autonomy, national independence, and noninterference in internal affairs."

Coexistence has been defined in various ways:

To exist together (in time or place) and to exist in communal tolerance.

To learn to know and live with one another's differences.

To interact with a commitment to tolerance, mutual respect, and the agreement to settle conflicts without recourse to violence.

At the center of coexistence is the consciousness that individuals and groups vary in various ways including class, ethnicity, religion, gender, and political proclivity. These group identities may be the causes of conflicts, donate to the causes of conflicts, or may be hardened as conflicts develop and escalate. A plan of coexistence, however, reduces the possibility that identity group differences will escalate into a damaging or obdurate conflict.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Explain the concept of coexistence as a necessity for peace;
- ii) Discuss coexistence and conflict; and
- iii) Distinguish between coexistence and justice in peace process.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Types of Coexistence

Coexistence exists before and after violent conflict. However, it is not stationary. Like all social environments, it alters from violent conflict to active coexistence, depending on the level of social communication. Coexistence exists in situations where individuals and communities actively recognize and accept diversity (active coexistence) and where individuals and communities simply bear other groups (passive coexistence).

Passive coexistence: This arises where relationships are characterized by imbalanced power relationships, little inter-group contact, and little equity. The principles of social justice are not noticeable here. While this type of environment may lack violence, the continuation of unequal relationships is unlikely to lead to the resolution of conflict. Institutions in this environment are not designed to support egalitarianism; consequently unjust and repressive structures can be maintained. These structures often encumber community growth, peace processes, and the development of democracy. Yet since inter-group conflict is not widespread, the groups can still be said to coexist without violence.

Active coexistence: In this category of coexistence, relationships are described by an acknowledgment and value for diversity and a dynamic acceptance of difference, equal access to resources and opportunities,

and impartiality in all aspects of life. This type of coexistence fosters peace and social cohesion based on justice, equality, inclusion, and equity. In addition, institutions in this environment are designed to ensure fairness.

3.2 The Importance of Coexistence

Finding peace in the tumultuous nature of war is a hard and sometimes unfeasible task: The prolongation of carnage that goes with wars tends to affect odium and encourage vengeance, hence fueling the persistence of the conflict. Such emotions not only deter efforts to resolve the conflict, but create conditions that make the restitution of war more possible.

Coexistence is seen as being an ability to tolerate difference. Tolerance is the appreciation of diversity and the ability to live and let others live. It is the ability to exercise a fair and objective attitude towards those whose opinions, practices, religion, nationality and so on differ from one's own. As William Ury notes, "tolerance is not just agreeing with one another or remaining indifferent in the face of injustice, but rather showing respect for the essential humanity in every person."

Coexistence like tolerance is essential to different groups relating to one another in a respectful and understanding way. In cases where communities have been deeply ingrained in violent conflict, being able to coexist tolerably helps the affected groups endure the pain of the past and resolve their differences.

A state of coexistence provides psychological and physical conditions for individuals, organizations, and/or communities to diminish tensions, and for peacemakers to try to resolve the causes of the conflict. This period of nonviolence is especially useful post-war, as it provides an environment in which the causes of conflict can be addressed and peace can be envisioned, negotiated, and achieved.

The beginning of a coexistence period allows common interests (such as economic ones) to materialize among the opponents, giving both parties a strong chance in making the provisional arena a permanent one. It is this constant dynamic that creates the idea of coexistence a predominantly useful one in the resolution of difficult ethnic conflicts.

Coexistence work moves "societies away from violent interaction and helps maintain a non-violent system of dealing with conflict within societies. It recognizes and addresses the root causes of conflicts to enable individuals and societies to develop strategies for existing without destroying the enemy." Coexistence work is that which brings

individuals, communities, and/or nations away from hostility and towards social unity. This includes efforts that aim to address past wrongs, search for justice and forgiveness, build/rebuild communities, and investigate ways for community structures and systems to symbolize fairness, justice, and equity. Thus taking the role of a Peace building initiative or process or a peacekeeping process as peace could rightly be the status quo.

The tools of coexistence are all geared towards preventing, reducing, and eliminating violence in an effort to take societies towards increased amalgamation. In addition to functioning as a framing apparatus, coexistence therefore becomes a term with which different types of peace work can be discussed.

This practice unconditionally promotes a multi-pronged advance to conflict prevention and resolution, one that looks not at a single field for a resolution, but that recognizes the need for multi-sectored i.e. conflict resolution and economic development and multi-leveled (from grassroots to policy) efforts.

This wide and all-encompassing advance is primary in the conversion from war to submissive coexistence and then to active coexistence, to the development of peace practice, and to the creation of sustainable peace.

With an increasingly multifaceted international political system and a multifaceted field of stakeholders, our language and concepts must acclimatize to the realities of conflict, violence, and combat. Efforts to mainstream the idea of coexistence in both the Peace building and conflict-resolution fields and in everyday communication are precedence.

The opportunity that increased coexistence presents - a reduction in violence, an active embracing of diversity, and collaboration within and across fields - is of increasing value and significance worldwide. The promise of coexistence is that it provides a needed pause from violence, and a springboard into stronger, more respectful inter-group relationships.

Self Assessment Exercise 4.1

How significant is the notion of Coexistence as an alternative to conflict?

3.3 Coexistence and Social Justice

The use of the word “coexistence” is inclusive of Peace building, as well as a range of other dispute resolution theories and practices (Clements, 1998). However, the term, both in theory and practice, is used in a narrower sense among some.

For instance, coexistence theory and practice as described by Weiner (1998), editor of the seminal text in this area, *The Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence*, represents a thorough exodus from both the human rights based problem solving based on legal protections and formal negotiations and strategies of socio-economic development. Instead, it focuses on the lives of individual persons and communities: Coexistence work deliberates neither on the deep psychological level nor on the macro-societal, political, and economic levels. It does not imagine to resolve either deep-seated, long-lasting hatreds or essential, structural injustice.

Coexistence work goes on where ethnic enemies actually relate: in the street, in neighborhoods, in institutions of higher learning, in hospitals, in sports clubs, in business enterprises, in community groups, in religious organizations.

Its ‘live and let live’ idea informs its work mainly within the institutions of civil society. Thus coexistence work, while taking a soft view of human nature, is nonetheless militant, practical, incremental - and hopeful.

As a whole, the coexistence “field” focuses chiefly on preventing and premeditating direct violence rather than *structural* violence (Lederach, 1999). While it recognizes the value of revolutionizing basic inequalities in social arrangements that destructively affect people and likely precipitate direct violence, it argues that existence is rather a necessary precondition for other kinds of efforts to bring about structural change.

Lederach identifies three gaps in Peace building efforts to date. Most relevant is what Lederach terms “the justice gap.” To address this gap, Lederach makes several suggestions, which integrate goals of economic and civic development: Increase the ability of peace building practitioners, both governmental and nongovernmental to incorporate social justice building with direct violence reducing processes.

Enlarge the understanding of Peace building to amalgamate the fields of conflict transformation, restorative justice, and socio-economic development.

Reorient our investment (funding, research, and practice) such that we are not negotiation-centric at the expense of developing practices

and frameworks for understanding how to create and sustain collaborative, nonviolent processes of structural change (1998, p. 32).

4.0 CONCLUSION

Coexistence is not only a notion in theory but can be ingrained into conflicting societies by the use of educative tools, the media and various agents in civil society. Though it is seen as an alternative dispute resolution tool, it still holds water as a Peace building tool.

5.0 SUMMARY

In our examination of the idea of coexistence, we have addressed its significance in society and amongst conflicting societies. Also we have identified its inter-relatedness with social justice as well as identified its continuum.

6.0 TUTOR -MARKED ASSIGNMENT

“The promotion and practice of coexistence as a Peace building tool is like trying to square a circle.” Discuss.

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

Weiner, Eugene 2000. "Coexistence Work: A New Profession." In *The Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence*, ed. Eugene Weiner. New York: The Abraham Fund.

UNIT 5 SUSTAINABILITY OF PEACE BUILDING

CONTENT

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Body
 - 3.1 Components of a Just Peace (The Israeli/Palestinian Case)**
 - 3.2 Sustaining and Building Long-Term Peace
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 Reference/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In ascertaining the durability of peace and the sustainability of Peace building in conflict regions, this unit will aim to identify and examine the various notions and practices that will aid stable peace when Peace building is in progress or its sustainability is probable. Thus in the sustainability of Peace building and attainment of stable peace, it is imperative that the components necessary for just, stable and positive peace be thoroughly practices in the society.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, should be able to:

- i) Discuss durability of peace and sustainability of peace building;
- ii) Explain the components of a Just Peace; and
- iii) Discuss the case study of Israeli / Palestinian conflict.

3.0 MAIN BODY

3.1 Components Of A Just Peace (The Israeli/Palestinian Case)

Self-determination: Self-determination has been a leading principle in the breakup of colonial empires and in the creation of independent states in the Twentieth Century. The truth is that Israelis have already exercised their right to national self-determination and now have their own state. The Palestinians continue to be denied that right.

In accordance with its ethical and religious beliefs and with international law, international organization and non-governmental organizations have consistently upheld peoples' rights to self-determination. Specifically, the assertion of the right of Israelis and Palestinians to live as sovereign peoples in their own homeland, a right that encompasses the possibility of choosing two separate states.

However, other options such as bi-national state and confederation are being discussed. Ultimately it will be up to both parties to determine national boundaries. Since the issue here is of one land and two peoples, no one's right to self-determination should be exercised at the expense of someone else's.

Consideration of this issue should address, in a timely way, the repatriation of refugees. Any settlement of boundaries must be based upon respect for the rule of law and for the right of both peoples to determine their own future. Both parties should be guided by an ethic of reciprocity: what holds true for one side in a conflict should hold true for the other as well. This ethic will help address the very real power imbalance that currently exists between Israelis and Palestinians, an imbalance that works against mutually acceptable and just agreements; thus allowing for coexistence if not peace and inevitably stable peace.

Rights: The same principles of reciprocity present in self-determination must also extend to the discussion of human rights, which provide the foundation to any building of peace. Human rights include the freedom to practice one's religion, the freedom of assembly, free speech, and free press, the right to education and adequate nutrition, and civil rights for all people, regardless of race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, political orientation, nationality, or ethnicity.

Rights of minorities within the Israeli state and within a future Palestinian state must be safeguarded. Other important rights include the right to legal representation, a fair trial, and protection against discrimination in employment, housing, education, and health care. The right to freedom of movement within borders and freedom from collective punishment, because these rights often have been denied.

These rights ought to be secured not only at the end of the peace process, but also to inform the process itself. Therefore just ends can be accomplished only through just means.

Economic Justice and Natural Resources: All parties need to take action to ensure equitable access to resources such as land and water. Fair taxation and distribution of resources are critical elements to establish and maintain peace, not only between Israelis and Palestinians, but also within each separate society.

It is important that people, goods, and services be able to move freely in the region. People should have the right to build and live anywhere, but not as a result of unwarranted land confiscation and illegal settlements. Mobility for trade, employment, education, and residence is critical to establishing and sustaining peace. These issues can be addressed before, during, and after any political solution to the conflict.

Governance: The rights of both Palestinians and Israelis to choose their forms of governance are widely supported. We affirm our support for a democratic process that is accountable to its entire people as the surest means of achieving sustainable and just political structures.

Security: The foundations of security are to be found in trust, respect, and mutual recognition of the humanity and past and present sufferings of both parties. Security is contingent upon the achievement of self-determination and the promotion and protection of basic human rights. Such security does not currently exist. While it is tempting to suppose that only military strength can achieve and guarantee security, it could be maintained that military might only increases fear and distrust and exacerbates the power differences that already exist between conflicting parties. Accordingly, the substantial reduction of armaments to all states in the Middle East is supported by many international organizations, because the accessibility of arms contributes to the prevalence of violence and causes the use or threat of violence to be the first resort to settle any personal, communal, or national dispute.

Various internal actors play an important role in Peace building and reconstruction efforts. The government of the affected country is not only the object of Peace building, but also the subject. While Peace building aims to transform various government structures, the government typically oversees and engages in this reconstruction process.

A variety of the community specialists, including lawyers, economists, scholars, educators, and teachers, contribute their expertise to help carry out Peace building projects. Some suggest that governments, NGOs, and intergovernmental agencies need to generate categories of funding

related to conflict transformation and Peace building. Funds are often difficult to secure when they are intended to finance preventive action.

Middle-range initiatives, infrastructure building, and grassroots projects do not typically attract significant funding, even though these sorts of projects may have the greatest potential to sustain long-term peace. Those providing resources for Peace building initiatives must look to fill these gaps.

Thus, an important task in sustaining peace is to build a peace constituency within the conflict setting. Middle-range actors form the core of a peace constituency. They are more flexible than top-level leaders, and less vulnerable in terms of daily survival than those at the grassroots level.

Middle-range actors who strive to build bridges to their counterparts across the lines of conflict are the ones best positioned to sustain conflict transformation. This is because they have an understanding of the nuances of the conflict setting, as well as access to the elite leadership.

Many believe that the greatest resource for sustaining peace in the long term is always rooted in the local people and their culture. Parties should strive to understand the cultural dimension of conflict, and identify the mechanisms for handling conflict that exist within that cultural setting.

Self Assessment Exercise 5.1

What in your opinion constitutes just peace?

3.2 Sustaining and Building Long-Term Peace

According the United Nations (UN) document *An Agenda for Peace*, Peace building consists of a wide range of activities associated with capacity building, reconciliation, and societal transformation as we have seen in previous units.

Peace building is a long-term process that occurs after violent conflict has slowed down or come to a halt. Thus, it is the phase of the peace process that takes place after peacemaking and peacekeeping. Thus for its sustainability, it is vital that certain structures, institutions and regulations be put in place.

Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs), on the other hand, understand Peace building as an umbrella concept that encompasses not only long-term transformative efforts, but also peacemaking and peacekeeping. In this view, the sustainability of Peace building includes

violence prevention, advocacy work, civilian and military peacekeeping and the establishment of peace zones.

In its narrower sense, Peace building is a procedure that facilitates the establishment of long term peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing root causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, capacity building, and political as well as economic transformation. This consists of a set of physical, social, and structural initiatives that are often an integral part of post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation.

It is generally agreed that the central task of Peace building is to create positive peace, a "stable social equilibrium in which the surfacing of new disputes does not escalate into violence and war." Peace building initiatives try to fix the core problems that underlie the conflict and change the patterns of interaction of the involved parties. They aim to move a given population from a condition of extreme vulnerability and dependency to one of self-sufficiency and well being.

Long-term Peace building systems are designed to achieve stable peace, and to address the underlying substantive issues that brought about conflict. This longer-term perspective is crucial to future violence prevention and the promotion of a more peaceful future; thus it involves articulating desirable structural, systemic, and relationship goals. These might include sustainable economic development, self-sufficiency, equitable social structures that meet human needs, and building positive relationships.

Peace building measures also aim to prevent conflict from reemerging. Through the creation of mechanisms that enhance cooperation and dialogue among different identity groups, these measures can help parties manage their conflict of interests through peaceful means. This might include building institutions that provide procedures and mechanisms for effectively handling and resolving conflict. For example, societies can build fair courts, capacities for labor negotiation, systems of civil society reconciliation, and a stable electoral process. Such designing of new dispute resolution systems is an important part of creating a lasting peace.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Sustainable peace is characterized by the absence of physical and structural violence, the elimination of discrimination, and self-sustainability. Moving towards this sort of environment goes beyond problem solving or conflict management. Building on cultural resources and utilizing local mechanisms for handling disputes can be quite

effective in resolving conflicts and transforming relationships. Initiatives that incorporate citizen-based Peace building include community peace projects in schools and villages, local peace commissions and problem-solving workshops, and a variety of other grassroots initiatives. Finally, a society's religious networks can play an important role in establishing social and moral norms that will sustain Peace building efforts.

5.0 SUMMARY

Using the case of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, we have examined the components or possible requirements for just peace; while highlighting the relationship of just peace in the sustainability or peace and Peace building. We have also examined the procedures or processes that can motivate sustainable peace and maintain the Peace building development.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT

What recommendations for sustainable peace would you offer to a post-conflict state that has already executed Peace building procedures in its post-conflict reconstruction strategies?

7.0 REFERENCE/FURTHER READING

Dugan, Máire A. (2001). "Imaging the Future: A Tool for Conflict Resolution." In *Peacebuilding: A Field Guide*, Thania Paffenholz, Luc Reychler, eds. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.