



BLOCK 3
PEACE BUILDING

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UNIT 8 MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE*

Structure

Introduction

Aims and Objectives

Concept of Peace

Meaning of Peace

Cultural Traditions

Negative and Positive Peace

Typologies of Peace

Sub-International Peace Plans

International Peace Systems

Based on Distribution of Power

Based on Organisation of Conflicts

Based on Individual Loyalty Conflicts

Based on Degree of Homology

Based on International Stratification

Based on Degree of Interdependence

Based on Functional Cooperation Interaction or Interdependence

World Peace Systems

Let Us Sum Up

Some Useful References

Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

8.0 INTRODUCTION

Peace is considered essential for an individual's well being. However, when we talk about peace in international relations, our reference is not to individual's mental peace or morality or social behavior. Instead the concerns are about the morals and behaviour of nations and groups in the international arena that often throw a challenge to peace. In a nuclear age, this problem has assumed critical dimensions, putting at risk the very existence of the human race and its civilization that has been built with painful efforts and travail of centuries. It is, therefore, important that we take establishment of enduring peace for the entire world seriously.

Let us for a moment examine the morality that guides groups and countries in their relations with each other. Here we find that the norms and values of the international system are diametrically opposite to those practiced in society, the observance of which among individuals is what has made our civilization possible. What is considered as good in individual and social conduct becomes undesirable in political conduct, especially in international relations. In social relations we admire people who are peaceful, truthful, modest, and helpful towards others. We may admire a person who goes through great personal inconvenience to help a neighbor. However, in relations among nations, we expect countries and their

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agents to be selfish, proud, overbearing and aggressive. A country which sacrifices its real or fancied interests for its neighboring country is considered foolish and even depraved. In social life we denounce aggression and violence, but applaud the successful use of these in relations with other countries. In social life, murderers are convicted for their crime, but in international realm, people responsible for arson, loot, rape, mass murders are celebrated as great patriots and heroes. In social life, individuals are generally encouraged to trust each other and keep their word. However, no nation ever keeps its word with another nation if its national interest is involved. Nations betraying each other are not an exception but the rule. There is thus a constant struggle for power and security among the countries of the world. As a result, all countries live in condition of anarchy, meaning not chaos but without a world government to impose peace.

However, many developments of our times demand better co-operation among countries. With globalisation, revolution in Information, Communication and Technology, the world is more interconnected today than ever before. As a result, many challenges are no longer local but global in nature. Hence they need to be tackled globally through greater international cooperation. For example climate change which is one of humankind's greatest challenges cannot be solved by one country alone. It requires close and peaceful cooperation between all countries. Similarly, the threat of international terrorism; emergence of new infectious diseases such as Ebola, SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) pose a threat to all, particularly as people's mobility across borders has increased manifold. These developments require countries to work together, and for richer and more capable countries to support poorer nations. International commerce and trade also needs greater cooperation. Hence an environment of mutual collaboration and support internationally, where peace can flourish is an historical necessity.

Peace is also important for people to live a fulfilling and dignified life. It is not possible for human beings to live under conditions of cruelty, injustice and tyranny for long, without struggling to change their situation. Allowing repressive conditions to continue, simply because they cannot be solved without violence or war, will lead to despair. Quiet despair should not be misunderstood as peace, for even if there is temporary acquiescence, it can never be a permanent solution. Throughout the centuries the best spirit of the age have worked for holistic and lasting peace both at the level of people and countries. In this unit we will elaborate these aspects.

Key Points

- In the international system, every nation is guided by the pursuit of its own self interest, struggle for power and security which often throws a challenge for peace.
- Repressive and unjust human condition also creates a stumbling block in achieving peace.
- Peace is of critical value in a nuclear age that threatens the existence of humanity and human civilization.
- Peace is also critical for everyone's development in a globalised interconnected world, where global challenges such as climate change, international terrorism, spread of infectious diseases etc require harmonious relations among countries.

Aims and Objectives

After studying this unit you should be able to:

- know the meaning of peace;
- distinguish between negative and positive peace;
- understand the typologies of peace; and
- know various international peace systems.

CONCEPT OF PEACE

Throughout the ages, the idea of peace has been imbibed into various traditions, social systems and religious scriptures. It is not new to any civilization. Invariably, all civilizations have developed only when the larger environment has been peaceful. Indeed, if we look at the history of the evolution of all ancient or modern civilizations, it becomes clear that peace is the necessary precondition for progress.

Every branch of discipline, be it art, music, sculpture or literature has flourished only when the larger environment has been peaceful. In countries, where war, turmoil, conflict has been dominant, progress of people and the nation has stagnated. Cultures evolve only when a society is peaceful. Thus it can be said that peace is as old as human civilization itself. However, the word ‘peace’ is of recent origin. In a basic sense peace means harmony, concord or tranquility but the concept of peace has multifarious dimensions and has a rich content in various religious and philosophical traditions.

MEANING OF PEACE

Peace has many dimensions, and is applicable to different spheres of human and social existence. If we ask a religious person to explain the meaning of peace, they are likely to see it from a spiritual angle, and depict political conflict as a symptom of deeper spiritual malaise: of human beings not being at peace with themselves, with others, or with God. For a pacifist, peace means the moral organisation of society on the principal of non-violence. To a Marxist, peace is nothing more than the false promises of capitalism in the deeper reality of international class struggle. For observers of international affairs, the meaning of peace is primarily the absence of war or conflict.

The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1957) provides a more positive or optimist view of peace. He considers it the genuine goal of politics because peace is something that is desired by all. Hence for Kant, peace and democracy are closely linked. He states that peace is first an “end of hostilities” and indicates that the problem is largely one of “good organisation”. He equates peace with a “condition” which is “the final end of jurisprudence”, and concludes by designating it “the highest political good”. Expanding the concept, Johan Galtung (1996) introduced the notion of positive peace and negative peace. Negative peace according to Galtung is the absence of war while positive peace is the absence of structural violence. By structural violence Galtung implies the inegalitarian and discriminatory social structures which also indirectly inflict violence upon individuals or groups in a systematic and organised way because of the institutions and practices they condone. In the past, slavery was an example of structural violence.

In our contemporary age, discrimination on the basis of race, caste, ethnicity, or gender is examples of structural violence. According to peace researchers such as Galtung, a society in which such social structure exists is not at peace even though it may not be at war.

Brock-Utne (1985) further expands Galtung's definition. She acknowledges the existence of negative peace (the absence of war) and positive peace (the absence of structural violence). However, she introduces a distinction between one kind of structural violence that shortens a person's life span, and another kind of structural violence that reduces a person's quality of life. Brock-Utne further points out that there is a distinction between organised violence that is manifested in a systematic form on intergroup level, and a more unorganised physical and structural violence manifested on an interpersonal level within the home in the for example, such as wife beating, abuse of children, rape. In other words, even if there are no wars (organised physical violence), peace cannot be said to exist when children or women are abused within the home (unorganised physical violence). There is no peace if life span is lessened because of the effect of inequitable economic structures or damage of nature by pollution, radiation, etc. (organised structural violence) or if a girl child's need for food, health, clothing are not provided to her because of her gender (unorganised structural violence). Finally, there is no positive peace if quality of life is reduced when free speech or the right to organise is denied (organised structural violence) or when educational opportunities in a home are determined according to gender (unorganised structural violence).

Another meaning of peace is given by Quincy Wright who defines peace as 'the by-product of a satisfactory organisation of the world'. Wright further clarifies that peace is "the condition of a community in which order and justice prevail, internally among its members, and externally in its relations with other communities." For Wright, justice is integral to peace. He stated that "The positive aspect of peace—justice—cannot be separated from the negative aspects—elimination of violence".

8.2.1 Cultural Traditions

Takeshi Ishida, a Japanese political scientist studied the different conceptions of peace in various cultural traditions. Ishida listed the following conceptions of peace as most prominent, identifying along with them the differing characteristic peace value that often influenced the concept of peace in each of these cultures. These were *Shalom* (Judaeo-Christian), which paid greater emphasis on positive orientation toward justice; *Eirene* (Greek) and *Pax* (Roman) stressed on good orders; *Shanti* (Indian), *P'ing ho* (Chinese), and *Heiwa* (Japanese) tranquility of mind. Declaring that these ways of conceptualising peace with different peace values are likely to conflict with one another, Ishida suggests that it would be helpful if scholars would compute the uses of peace in state speeches, in order to clarify the structural concepts currently in use in each nation. He thinks that justice should not be neglected in favour of harmony and good order. Though Ishida's conceptualization of peace across culture is interesting, it however suffers from over simplification. It tends to subsume diverse moral goals and political objectives under the single umbrella of peace, and goes on to ascribe some sort of automatic compatibility between them. Moreover, each of Ishida's cultural formulations seems to represent a narrow conceptualisation in which one value is stressed to the determinant of others.

However, as pointed out by Kaplan, one should avoid fixing meaning to terms and concept prematurely. Instead, Kaplan argued that it is important to understand the whole process of scientific inquiry as a matter of 'successive definition'. Surely there are few concepts that have as many definitions as peace. Given its multiple dimensions and complex mix of social-scientific, ethical, and political elements, it makes excellent sense to regard peace as requiring continuous redefinition as peace theory advances.

Key Points

- Peace a pre condition for art, knowledge, music and human civilization to flourish.
- Peace multidimensional concept that continues to evolve.
- Immanuel Kant defines peace as the ultimate goal of politics, universally desired and closely linked to democracy
- Johan Galtung defined two dimensions of peace. Negative peace implying absence of war; positive peace as absence of structural violence.
- Brock-Utne elaborated organised and unorganized, direct and indirect violence in positive and negative peace. Defined peace as absence of unorganized violence by individuals (crime, violence inside homes), and organised violence (e.g. war).
- Quincy Wright defined peace as condition where order and justice prevail, internally and externally in communities and their relationship with others
- Takeshi Ishida present different meaning of peace in different culture, shaped by their peace values – *Shalom* in Judaeo-Christian emphasizing justice; *Eirene* in (Greek) and *Pax* (Roman) stressing good order; *Shanti* (Indian), *P'ing ho* (Chinese), and *Heiwa* (Japanese) emphasizing tranquility of mind.

NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE PEACE

There is need to distinguish between two concepts of peace. First, negative peace defined as the absence of direct, organised violence. For example, when there is cease fire between two warring countries or groups, negative peace ensues. It is negative because something that was undesirable, like violence, stopped happening. This does not mean that relationship between the warring parties has been restored. The second conception is positive peace. Positive peace is said to prevail when there is restoration of cooperation and integration of human society. Positive peace serves the need of people at large. It is important to understand here that absence of violence should not be confused with absence of conflict: Violence may occur without conflict, and conflict may be solved by means of nonviolent mechanisms. The distinction between these two types of peace gives rise to a fourfold classification of relations between two countries:

POSITIVE PEACE

Presence of attitudes, structures and institutions that create and sustain peaceful societies. For e.g. -

- **Acceptance of rights of others**
- **Equal distribution of resources**
- **Well Functioning Government**
- **Prevalence of Non violence**
- **Good relation with neighbours**

- 1) War, which is organised group violence;
- 2) Negative peace, where there is no violence but no other form of interaction or cooperation takes place, and where the best situation is of ‘peaceful-coexistence’;
- 3) positive peace, where there is some cooperation interspersed with occasional outbreaks of violence; and
- 4) unqualified peace, where absence of violence is combined with full cooperation.

NEGATIVE PEACE : SRI LANKA

In May 2009, the 26 year civil war ended with defeat of the LTTE by the Government. With the end of war, direct violence ceased and negative peace prevails.

However, inequality and grievance of Sri Lankan Tamils remains. Hence positive peace has not yet ensued.

As discussed, the absence of every direct form of violence is considered to be negative Peace. Johan Galtung (1996) explained it lucidly, as absence of violence, particularly direct forms of personal violence, absence of war, war preparation, civil war, terrorism, management of conflicts both national and international. The emphasis here is on violence. As such the approach examines direct violence or physical assault which is used to divide human beings in terms of religion, race, and class, caste, gender etc.

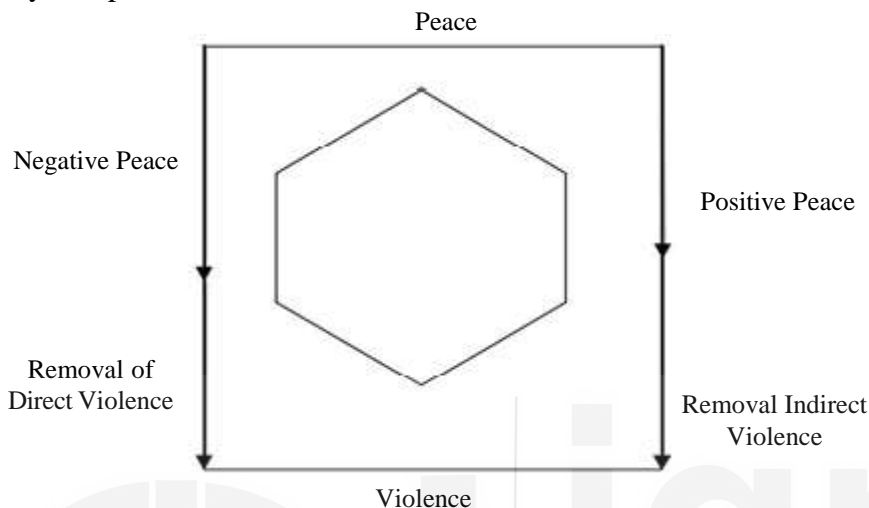
The Gandhian notion of peace makes a departure from such an approach and is of great significance For Gandhi ‘peace is not merely a negative state of harmlessness’ or absence of violence, but a ‘positive state of love’ , of doing good to even the evil doers. Peace-less state of affair is a situation in which human beings are obstructed from achieving full development - either because of internal relations (that exist within the group members), or external relations that exists with other groups or person.

Violence is generally concerned with the threat or use of physical force or power against nations, groups, communities or individuals which results in physical harm, injury, death, psychological disturbance and unhappiness. Violence destroys peace, as well as human relationships. Violence may arise due to various reasons. Often it starts when an individual’s potential development (mental or physical) is harmed by social relationships that result in emotional and social deprivation (low level of education, health, unemployment.) or a sense of injustice and grievance. If these problems are not resolved through non violent means, it creates conditions for violent conflict. Hence social injustice and social discord are often at the root of violent conflict. In another words violence often emanates from certain problems at the level of individuals and social structures.

According to Johan Galtung (1996), violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realisations are below their potential capacities. He goes on to divide violence into direct, and indirect or structural violence by which he means uneven distribution of power over resources. The absence of direct violence as know, he calls ‘negative peace’ and absence of structural violence as ‘positive peace’ or social justice. Together, they constitute peace in the full sense of the term. When both the types of violence are removed, the resulting state of affairs is peace.

To simply conceive peace as a condition of ‘non war’ is neither theoretically nor practically helpful. For example, consider the relationship between Norway and

Nepal- at a huge geographical distance and little interaction. As such it will hardly be identified by many as an ideal relation worth striving for. For peace, like health, has a both cognitive and evaluative component: it designates states of a system of nations, but this state is so highly valued that institutions are built around it to protect and promote it. It is the concept of positive peace that is worth exploring, especially since negative peace is a condition *sine qua non*. The two concepts of peace may be empirically related even though they are logically independent.



From Violence to Peace

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

- Note:** i) Use of the space given below for your answer.
 ii) See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Explain the concept, meaning and distinguish between Negative and Positive Peace.

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TYOLOGIES OF PEACE

There are no coherent theories of peace as we have seen earlier. What we have instead is different kinds of thinking about peace. For just as there has been a lot of thinking about war, there have also been different kinds of plans for peace. One can develop extensive typologies of various peace plans. However, a major axis for classification of different peace plan is level the level of organisation it is targeting to propose a reform. Peace plans can be located at any of the five levels: at the level of the isolated individual; the level of human groups; the level of human societies or nations; the level of the international system of nations; and the emerging level of a world state. To simplify things, the first three can be collapsed together. We are thereby left with only three levels of peace plans: the sub-international, the international, and the level of the world state which we discuss below.

8.5 SUB-INTERNATIONAL PEACE PLANS

There are several well-known approaches at the sub-international level. Although they play a minor role in contemporary thinking about peace, they need to be mentioned because of their prevalence. The basic idea of intra-human approaches to peace is that conflicts we see between and within group are projections of inner conflicts within human beings. Hence, if human beings could be freed from their inner conflicts, they were more likely to behave in a less aggressive manner at the international level. In the earlier generations, some of the techniques for freeing individuals from their internal conflicts were religious in nature. In contemporary societies psychotherapy is more frequently called for- if not for the whole population, at least for its leaders, and if not for its present leaders, at least as a screening device for future leaders.

Inter-human approaches to peace emphasize the idea of projection of inter-human rivalry onto higher levels of human organization. If one were to put this more positively, it meant that the training in non violent conflict resolution and peace building at lower levels could be transferred to higher levels, including the international level. Life in the family, at school, at work, or in associations could provide the training grounds, particularly for those who are to become world leaders.

Likewise, intra-societal approaches to peace emphasise the idea that societies that have less conflict within, are less like to projection external aggression with others. Conversely, societies that are conflict-ridden are more likely to use external aggression as a means to force internal cohesion. Such an approach upholds the idea that some political systems are more peaceful than others, particularly if there is fair distribution of the nation's wealth to its inhabitants.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE SYSTEMS

There have various suggestions for international peace plans, which in both, theoretical and practical sense are more promising than peace plans on the sub-international level.

Based on Distribution of Power

Most peace thinking has centered on the problem of how power shall best be distributed among the nations of the world. A major limitation of theories relating to this is their sole focus on coercive power and neglect of other kinds of power. For instance, influence is an important but often neglected aspect of power. However, if we simply focus on the tradition of studying the distribution of military power, there are four major models of peace.

The first model is that of minimum equality, which is based on the theory that the international system is best served by making power the monopoly of one nation or system, just as it is monopolized by some states in the international system.

The second model focuses on maximum equality, or what is usually referred to as a "balance of power" in the sense that no nation or alliance is strong enough to defeat another nations or alliance. A modern variation of this is the "balance of

terror,” wherein a nation may defeat other nations, but only at the risk of being completely destroyed itself.

The third model attempts to keep or stabilise military powers at a low level. All kinds of arms control efforts fall within this category. Finally, there is the model that seeks to do away with or stabilize military power to a zero level. This refers to the general (all nations) and complete (all weapons) disarmament advocated by pacifists.

Based on Organisation of Conflicts

The second general type of international peace plan focuses on the organisation of conflicts. This is basically a crisscross model, based on the idea that more the number of conflicts a system harbours, the more it is strengthened (not weakened), provided all these conflicts do not divide the units in the same way. For example, two nations may be allies in one conflict (for instance, some Western and Eastern countries were allies during the Cold War). However, they may simultaneously be foes in another conflict (for instance, when it came to antagonism between rich and poor nations). This subjects them to cross cutting pressures. Such a situation can also create for withdrawal and neutrality, or nonalignment. In other words, because multiple loyalties develop, it prevents complete identification and involvement in any one conflict. There is also a greater tendency for groups that are not part of the cross pressures, to serve as a channel of communication.

Based on Individual Loyalty Conflicts

According to this peace model, the potential for violence among nations is reduced when many loyalties are induced in individual citizens. This can take two forms. First, a peace plan may seek to prevent conflicts by preventing conflictual polarisation by inculcating multiple loyalties. This is done by institutionalising, preferably across potential conflict borders, secondary and primary relations between individuals from different nations. In practice, the suggestions include people to people exchanges (children, youths, students, professionals, politicians), mixed marriages, increased knowledge and empathy.

A second plan seeks to build cross cutting organisational loyalties. The division of the world into nations and territories provides, roughly, an exhaustive and mutually exclusive division of humankind. But there are also nearly two thousand international organisations, which provide many individuals with other possibilities of identification, although this division is far from exhaustive (and not exclusive either). Indeed, increased communication, geographical distance decreases in importance; thus organisational identification may gradually gain in importance relative to national identification. Eventually they may enable multiple loyalties to emerge, making it difficult to push individuals to go to war against their peers.

Based on Degree of Homology

Homology between nations, meaning the extent to which they are similar in social and political structure is also considered an important factor in peace plans. There are two models of peace based on this concept. In the models of minimum homology nations which are very different in their value systems, structures are unlikely to compete for the same scarce values. They can instead be interdependent

and establish a symbiotic relationship based on complementarities. On the other hand, in the maximum homology model, nations are as similar as possible in social structure and value structure. This facilitates interaction and creates value consensus. It is argued that greater the similarity between nations in terms of their culture (including language), the lower is the probability of misunderstanding. The theoretical basis is the thesis of “value homophily” i.e. that similarity tends to produce liking and interaction.

Based on International Stratification

We may assume that international stratification – that is ranking of nations as high or low based on size, population, power, natural resources, income per capita, cultural level, social level and urbanization - is multidimensional, and that there is a tendency toward rank equilibrium, in the sense that nations are divided into those that are high and those that are low on most or many of these dimensions. The problem, however, is about how the interaction between the high ranking and low ranking nations is regulated. There seem to be two models that focus on regulating the “class conflict” that may arise at the international level.

First, is the feudal type of system. Here there is high level of interaction among nations at the top, and a low level of interaction among countries at the bottom of the system. Thus at the top, the international system is tied together by trade, diplomacy, and other kinds of exchange. Although there is very little interaction at the bottom, there may be some interactions flowing from countries at the top, to countries ranking at the bottom. This system is easily controlled by the wealthy nations. If there is a consensus among them, the system may achieve stability similar to that of the caste system or of slave societies.

By contrast, in what may be called the modern system, there is equal level of interaction among both - the top ranking wealthier countries, and the poorer countries at the bottom. In such a system, the poorer countries or the “underdogs” unite which makes it possible for them to countervail the influence of the “top” nations. One may understand this as a kind of trade unionism among smaller or weaker countries that are then able to strike against the big nations. For example, they can organise embargoes to obtain better prices for raw materials from richer countries, thereby forcing a more equitable distribution of world output. Over time the importance of such ‘class’ division may then decrease in the international system.

Based on Degree of Interdependence

Some models of peace are based on interdependence between nations. Interdependence, or interaction where some kind of positive value is exchanged between the interacting parties can vary in frequency (how often), volume (how much is transferred), and scope (variety of value exchanged). Trade between two nations is a good example of how all three – the frequency of trade, the volume of trade, and the variety of items being traded - can vary independently. There are two principal models based on this concept. First is the model of minimum interdependence. Such a model envisages a world where each nation is autonomous and self-sufficient and no nation intervenes or interferes in the affairs of any other nation. This is a clear case of negative peace, where positive peace is explicitly ruled out (Burton 1965). The second model is that of maximum interdependence. Here, all pairs of nations have maximum interaction in terms

of frequency, volume, and scope. The idea is that all pairs of nations would be protected from rupture and violent conflict by the web of interdependence spun between them. Positive interaction with other nations would be built with each nation in such a way that wars would be too costly.

8.6.7 Based on Functional Cooperation Interaction or Interdependence

Interaction or interdependence among countries on certain specific kinds of exchange should not be confused with functional cooperation. Functional cooperation implies that the parties involved work together to produce something they may then also share together. For example, one form of functional cooperation can be co-production where several countries combine resources in order to produce something really big, such as a supersonic commercial airplane or a gigantic development project. There is good reason to believe that, at the level of individuals, functional cooperation on equal terms is one of the factors most efficient in producing integration.

WORLD PEACE SYSTEMS

Most peace thinking has revolved around the problem of how power can be best distributed among countries of the world. The first model is that of minimum equality of power. This is based on the theory that the international system works best when there is monopoly of power by one nation or system. Examples are the Pax Romana, Pax Ecclesiae, and Pax Britannica. These are instances of Roman Empire, the Catholic Church and Britain maintaining law and order over large areas in the globe. The second model is based on maximum equality, or what is usually referred to as a ‘balance of power’. This model works on the principle that no nation or alliance is strong enough to defeat another nation or alliance. A modern version of this is the balance of terror, in which a nation may defeat other nations, but only at the risk of itself being completely destroyed. The third model is based on keeping military power at a low level. Examples of this are all kinds of arms control efforts, especially those that have taken place since The Hague Peace Conference of 1899 to the present day. Finally, there is the model that seeks to stabilise military power to zero level. The general and complete disarmament advocated by pacifists falls in this category. Pacifism advocates that such a state of zero military power and complete disarmament can be done unilaterally. Once one side leads by setting an example, weapons become meaningless when they do not encounter similar weapons, when soldiers and governments refuse to use arms.

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

- Note:** i) Use of the space given below for your answer.
 ii) See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Discuss the various typologies of Peace.

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8.8 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, you have learnt various definitions of peace, distinction between Negative and Positive Peace and typologies of peace as identified by various approaches. Negative peace generally is absence of direct form of violence. At a wider level, it also means absence of war. But, as Gandhi observed peace is not merely a negative state of harmlessness or absence but a positive state of love, of doing good to evil doers too. Positive peace at international level, as such will mean absence of violence combined with a pattern of cooperation.

There are several approaches at the sub-international level on types of peace. These are divided into intra-human and inter-human approaches. More important in terms of typology are international peace systems. These are based on Distribution of Power, Organisation of Conflicts, Individual Loyalty Conflicts, Degree of Homology, International Stratification, Degree of Interdependence and Functional Cooperation Interaction.

All the models of world systems have in common a certain resemblance to a nation state, usually held to be successful by the person who puts forward the proposal. The idea is that since many nation-states have obtained reasonable security and equity for their inhabitants, there must be something in their structure that is worth copying at the world level.

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8.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

- 1) Your answer should include concept, meaning and positive & negative aspects of Peace.

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

- 1) Your answer should have the following points:
 - a) Typologies and Sub- International Peace Plans.
 - b) International Peace Systems.



UNIT 9 APPROACHES*

Structure

Introduction

Aims and Objectives

Conceptions of Peace building

Integrated or WoG Approach

Political Democracy Approach

Peace versus Justice Approach

Reconstructive Versus Transformative Approaches

Top, Middle and Grass-root Approaches

Civil Society or Transformational Approach

Feminist Approach

Let Us Sum Up

Some Useful References

Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

9.0 INTRODUCTION

Peace building, today, is one of the well-established sub-fields of international peace operations. It has become especially interesting, located as it is in the still uncharted terrain of post-conflict activities i.e. it begins when guns have stopped firing, and there is a tacit or explicit ceasefire agreement between parties to the conflict. Traditionally, this is where conventional UN peacekeeping would normally come to an end and the UN forces would depart - leaving the parties to conflict to resolve their dispute using the political processes. It is this process of strengthening peace at that watershed point – when violence has ended, and ceasefire agreement signed that peace building has emerged as a specialised field.

Originally coined in 1975 by Johan Galtung, the foundations of the contemporary concept of 'Peace building' were laid formally in 1992 in UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report, *An Agenda for Peace*. This UN report defined peace building as "actions to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict." Even though the UN peacekeeping forces had been engaged with similar responsibilities since early 1960s, this new mandate has since made peace building both a specialised field, and an integral part of international peace and conflict resolution thinking and practices around the world.

Peace building does not yet have a precise agreed definition other than that it locates itself in the unique 'post-conflict' context where traditional peacekeeping was expected to have come to an end. Nevertheless, peace building encompasses an expansive mandate that involves a whole range of activities associated with capacity building, reconciliation, and societal transformation - all aimed at

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building and strengthening norms, behaviours, and institutions for sustaining post-conflict peace. This makes peace building somewhat of a long-drawn process that begins when violence in a given conflict, either ends, or at least begins to slow down, allowing efforts to be made for establishing a lasting post-conflict peace.

Aims and Objectives

This Unit aims to help you to:

- appreciate that peace building is a long-time effort that requires diligent designing and painstaking execution from different perspectives;
- learn the main proponents of different approaches and their chief arguments;
- recognise that various approaches highlight different dimensions of peace building – political, social, economic, administrative, structural, or transformative; and
- appreciate the emphasis these approaches place on values like justice, national ownership, and international commitment

9.1 CONCEPTIONS OF PEACEBUILDING

Armed conflict trends and ideas about peace are interrelated. Thus as the trends on armed conflict change over time, so does the peace response to it. The shift from short term peacekeeping, to ‘stay on’ long term peacebuilding after the violent part of conflict has ended and ceasefire agreement is signed, has largely been driven by the changing nature of conflict. While the earlier conflicts were inter-state, most post-Cold War conflicts of 1990s were intra-state conflicts. Such conflicts often arose from and often dissipated gradually into sporadic and low-intensity violence that blurred the distinction between war and peace situation. Second, it also made equations between parties to conflict asymmetrical which attracted larger involvement of civil society actors and external agencies like the UN to ensure that state was not allowed to renege from its agreed commitments in their ceasefire agreement. Finally, civil society actors, NGOs and agencies who had been working in conflict areas became active players in academic discourses on peacebuilding and its practice, and strongly favoured a wider conception of peacebuilding; much wider than what was initially adopted in An Agenda for Peace of the UN.

In general, academics in the area of peacebuilding articulate a wider definition. They treat peacebuilding as an umbrella concept that includes both traditional peacekeeping as well as expanded peacekeeping responsibilities. This implies long-term engagements of peacebuilding operations. Several of them seek to include various tasks like setting up mechanisms for early warning, violence prevention, advocacy, intervention, humanitarian relief, ceasefire and establishment of peace as part of peacebuilding efforts. In the more expansive definitions, peacebuilding is seen as aiming to create ‘positive’ peace which does not limit itself to simple ‘absence of physical violence’. Instead, it extends to attending to sources of invisible or ‘structural’ violence. Even the narrower definitions of peacebuilding involves addressing the root causes of conflict which make repatriation, rehabilitation, reintegration, reconciliation, as well as institution-building and socio-economic (if not political) transformation of the conflict zone a central task. The definitions lying in the middle ground of these

two extremes emphasize on stable social equilibrium in order to make peace sustainable. The stress here is on the need to ensure that new disputes are not allowed to sprout and escalate into another violent conflict. This means that peacebuilding efforts must go beyond conflict prevention or conflict management and try and 'fix' the underlying root causes that lie in the patterns of socio-political behaviours reflected through institutional or norm-building efforts for conflict-resolution. Such a line of thinking underlines the need for conflict transformation that requires the warring parties to move away from confrontation, and work towards participation in joint peaceful transactions that are aimed at evolving a relationship of harmony and interdependence. Much of this, however remains an extremely ambitious, almost idealistic, proposition.

While there are differences among scholars on the exact definition of peacebuilding, the point on which they all concur is that they all consider peacebuilding clearly to be a post-conflict activity. There is also a broad agreement on the need to address the 'underlying causes', and not just the visible effects of a violent conflict. Beyond this premise, peacebuilding continues to be a highly contested paradigm. However, while scholarly definitions set the broad contours of the core responsibilities, peacebuilding has been gradually evolving from below, through actual peacebuilding operations on the ground. This is particularly so as the actual practice of peacebuilding has become a regular and acceptable activity in international relations. Not surprisingly then, peacebuilding is often used as a catch-all term to describe all the actors and elements of post-conflict stabilising and rebuilding efforts that may include preventive diplomacy, institution building, engaging and empowering local populations, ensuring local ownership, capacity building which makes it almost akin to nation-building. Thus according to Roland Paris, "there is no universally accepted definition of peacebuilding", while Charles-Philippe David considers that there are "as many visions of peacebuilding as there are experts on the issue and actors on the field."

Given these aforesaid limitations, one comprehensive definition of peacebuilding is provided by Rebecca Spence in her chapter on "Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Who Determines the Peace" in Bronwyn Evans-Kent edited volume on *Transformative peacebuilding in post-conflict reconstruction: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001)*. To quote her, peacebuilding includes –

...those activities and processes that focus on the root causes of the conflict, rather than just the effects; support the rebuilding and rehabilitation of all sectors of war-torn society; encourage and support interaction between all sectors of society in order to repair damaged relations and start the process of restoring dignity and trust; recognize the specifics of each post-conflict situation; encourage and support the participation of indigenous resources in the design, implementation and sustainment of activities and processes; and promote processes that will endure after the initial emergency recovery phase has passed.

In recent years there has been a trend in favour of adopting a multi-faceted, multi-agency, system-wide approach to peacebuilding. These approaches share common aspects and are convergent in nature. However, often experts may tend to privilege one or another element in order to make their favoured approach more viable than others. While there have been multiple ways to categorising approaches to peacebuilding some of the well-known approaches to peacebuilding are given below.

INTEGRATED OR WHOLE OF GOVERNMENT (WOG) APPROACH

A few governments have begun to realise that post-conflict security sector reforms, as the foremost sector of peacebuilding, needs an integrated or Whole of Government (WoG) approach in order to align development agencies with military, intelligence agencies, police, prisons and civil society. This approach has lately become popular and has come to be defined as one where a government actively uses formal and informal networks across different agencies for effective coordination of both the design and implementation of the peacebuilding agreements. The focus clearly remains on greater ‘coordination’ amongst various governmental agencies, both in the theatre of post-conflict operations as also amongst donor governments and other international agencies.

Establishment of inter-departmental organisations in major states like United Kingdom and United States in 2004 characterises this approach. The UK had set up the Post- Conflict and Reconstruction Unit (PCRU) which is now known as Stabilization Unit. Similarly in the USA, the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) was created within the State Department. Similarly, Australia too adopted this approach in 2006 through a White Paper on its Aid Programme and inception of Office of Development Effectiveness. However encouraging these initiatives are, the promise of the WoG approach might be severely tested in fragile and unstable states where no formal structures and clear division of labour exist.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY APPROACH

One lesson learnt from the experience of peacekeeping operations in the past two decades concerns the value of local-level governance and related institutions in sustaining peace after ceasefire has been signed. Increasingly, democratic validation of peace agreements between authorities and rebels, and later by masses has come to be seen as essential for peacebuilding. This approach is also called war-to-democracy approach to peacebuilding.

At one level, this approach has positive elements, especially as it signifies a departure from the ‘great powers’ persistent tendency in the cold war decades to embrace dictators for strategic reasons. However, the ‘war to democracy model’ is not without its criticism, for it has often meant creating from ‘above’ democratic political regimes in postwar settings by the international community, recreating the core institutions of state and society largely along Western lines of thought, and opening post conflict societies to market forces of liberalization.

The implementation of the political democracy model has also come up with problems in a number of fragile states such

‘Institutionalization Before Liberalization’

In the West African State of Côte d’Ivoire, as part of democratic peace building at the end of a civil war, elections were held in 2010. Violence erupted and after the country lapsed into another civil war which lasted until 2011.

In 2015, Côte d’Ivoire held another election without an eruption of violence. This is largely attributed to notable changes made in this interim period in the electoral institutions as well as the civil society

as Afghanistan, Central African Republic (CAR), among others. Roland Paris after exploring the challenge of democratic peace building in fourteen countries after civil wars in the 1990s from Namibia to East Timor found that rapid transformations of war-shattered states into liberal democracies with market economies can backfire badly. He argued that absence of effective local institutions in such contexts can increase rather than decrease the danger of renewed fighting.

Paris laid out an alternative 'Institutionalization Before Liberalization' strategy for post-conflict peacebuilding that emphasised construction of foundational economic and political institutions as the essential first step before gradual introduction of electoral democracy and market oriented adjustment policies in war-torn states.

Charles Call and Susan Cook in their book *Reconstructing Justice and Security after War* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2007) examine this 'political democracy' approach. After studying experiences of post-conflict democracy and peacebuilding in places like Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan, they conclude that 'patience' must be the hallmark of both peacebuilding and good governance processes.

PEACE VERSUS JUSTICE APPROACH

There are some who conceive peacebuilding exclusively in terms of either 'peace' or 'justice' driven approaches. The 'peace' driven approach puts emphasis on 'saving lives' and allows accommodation, even appeasement, of aggressor to swiftly achieve cessation of hostilities and violence in a conflict. Elizabeth Cousens calls it 'political peacebuilding' which seeks to create authoritative and eventually legitimate mechanisms which may empower the polity to handle conflict without violence and to apply established procedures for resolving rival claims and grievances. Though this approach is normally effective in ensuring negative peace, they lack the appreciation of 'victim's perspective' since the protagonists of the peace approach tend to treat victim and aggressor as equals. Furthermore, this approach could threaten to fuel the aggressor's appetite for more conflict.

On the other hand, the 'justice' driven approach to peacebuilding sees building 'negative peace' as job only half done which may not go far in building a sustainable peace. This approach seeks to go beyond cessation of violence and explore issues of reconciliation, truth and justice. So, in addition to hard-nosed bargain for mutual benefits it seeks to evolve provisions that appeal to the sense of fairness in the eye of parties as well as their respective support bases and therefore worth honouring. In the context of peacebuilding, justice for them embodies four components: truth, fairness, rectitude and retribution/requital. While truth involves an accurate understanding and recording of the causes of conflict, fairness implies impartiality without any undue pressure on either of the parties to conflict. Similarly, rectitude relates to a sense of integrity and righteousness, whereas and retribution/requital means compassion for victims and punishment for aggressors.

Key Points

- Peacebuilding is a shift from short term peacekeeping, to long term peacekeeping and engagements of peacebuilding operations.
- Peacebuilding an expansive concept that begins after violence has ended and ceasefire agreement signed. It includes not only relapse of violent conflict, but also addressing the root causes of conflict and fostering an enabling environment for sustainable peace.
- Peacebuilding is a regular practice in international relations. Hence, to a large extent it is still evolving from below, through actual peacebuilding operations on the ground.
- Whole of Government peacebuilding approach is mostly practiced by states with robust institutions. Its emphasises is on better ‘coordination’ amongst various governmental agencies in design and implementation of the peacebuilding agreements.
- Political Democracy approach links peacebuilding with democractic governance, with increasing recognition of the value of strong political and economic institutions in sustaining peace.
- Peace versus Justice approach: Peace driven approach gives greater attention to ‘saving lives’ and quickly ending the violence and achieving negative peace.
- Justice approach to peacebuilding seeks to go beyond cessation of violence and explore issues of reconciliation, truth and justice. It embodies four components: truth, fairness, rectitude and retribution/requital.

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

- Note:** i) Use of the space given below for your answer.
 ii) See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Discuss the main characteristics of peace and different approaches peace building.

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RECONSTRUCTIVE VERSUS TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACHES

Prof. Bronwyn Evans-Kent in his book Transformative peacebuilding in post-conflict reconstruction: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, dwells on peacebuilding strategies – which he identifies as ‘reconstructive’ in approach – as applied in multilateral initiatives under international institutions like the UN. As opposed to this is the ‘transformative’ approach often adopted by the civil society actors and NGOs as part of their bottom-up initiatives. According to

Kent, both these sets of approaches are two sides of the same coin and complement each other if balanced appropriately. Hence, too much focus on one is not going to be effective, as for instance excessive focus by the UN on reconstruction activities has undermined its transformative capacities.

Reconstructive approaches concern themselves with more tangible aspects of peacebuilding such as addressing infrastructure needs like roads, communications, healthcare and public institutions where benefits and outcomes are immediate and easily measurable. Usually the UN post-conflict reconstruction involves (a) monitoring ceasefire, (b) disarming and demobilising rebels and ensuring their reintegration through security sector reforms, and (c) supervising or conducting elections. But given this 'tool-kit' of peacebuilding, it often begins to become too rigid and therefore vulnerable to donor agencies' expansive reporting processes and preferences. Instead, these need to be locally rooted, intensive and contextualised. Moreover, these efforts of the UN peacebuilding have often been accused of being driven by major powers' desire to implant democracy and free-market economy.

Transformative approach, on the other hand, seeks to address exactly these lacunae i.e. less focus on physical reconstruction and more focus on transforming social relationship within and amongst the given conflict-prone communities. As the very first thing, their outcomes remain less measurable and its processes normally time-taking. But then transformative approach seeks to address not only manifest but also latent triggers of conflict that impel the conflict protagonists to see violence as only means of redress. It also believes that parties to conflict are not necessarily homogenous social entities. Therefore, the focus would be on addressing both the manifest and the felt needs for recognition of respective collective identities - and doing so in such a manner that this recognition does not appear to threaten other parties.

Lisa Schirch in her book *Rituals and Symbols in Peacebuilding* (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2005) believes that rituals and symbols may be useful for reducing direct violence. Rituals and symbols, she says, are widely used either to symbolically communicate commitment to nonviolence or to heal trauma or to transform relationships. However, it may be noted that symbols and rituals are not the mainstay of peacebuilding but only complement real tools and processes of peacebuilding like dialogue or mediation. On their own, rituals and symbols cannot adequately address conflict and peacebuilding.

TOP, MIDDLE AND GRASSROOT APPROACHES

Peacebuilding scholars John Paul Lederach, Luc Reyhler and Thania Paffenholz in their book *Peacebuilding: A Field Guide*, have classified a three level approach to peacebuilding as top, middle and grassroots level approaches.

At the top level, peacebuilding normally involves a top-down approach which has the following salient features. First, it normally involves very eminent and influential yet singular personalities. These are people with a visible public profile, working as peace-builders or norm-entrepreneurs, and who operate as intermediaries or mediators. They often have strong backing from governments of major powers, important international agencies as also from the parties to the

conflict. Second, it usually involves very high-level leaders from amongst parties to the conflict and these peace-builders generally act on their own to facilitate a dialogue between these high profile protagonists of the given conflict. Such negotiations are normally arranged by these high-profile peace-builders at some neutral venue and they also help facilitate setting up the tone (sometimes even agenda) for a successful mutual bargaining amongst major protagonists in the given conflict.

At the middle level, there remains a whole range of middle ranking leaders (including identifiable policy- and opinion-makers). If integrated properly, these mid-ranking leaders can provide key to creating 'infrastructure' or atmospherics for achieving an effective peacebuilding by the top level. There are several practical and professional approaches that are applied in this category of interactions amongst mid-ranking protagonists of conflict. These include (a) problem-solving workshops, (b) conflict resolution training programmes, and (c) setting up of peace commissions and/or truth and reconciliation commissions. These approaches have been particularly emphasized in conflict-resolution discourses as an addition; these mid-ranking protagonists may also become useful contact point to reach out to the wider masses that form the core of grass-root approaches to peacebuilding.

The grassroots approaches remain distinct as they focus not on protagonists but on victims of a given conflict and these normally involve massive numbers. Grassroots approaches deal with only those protagonists who may be working with local (victim) communities and can facilitate peacebuilders' access to people. At this level, issues in survival-mode, such as providing them with food, shelter and safety, assume the top priority. From this perspective, although their miseries flow from an unresolved larger conflict, conflict resolution efforts might appear to be a diversionary luxury. Guided by the immediate needs and priorities, the grass roots approaches could often remain focused on ad hoc fire-fighting rather than evolving long-term planning which is the essence of peacebuilding.

CIVIL SOCIETY OR TRANSFORMATIONAL APPROACH

The civil-society or transformational approach to peacebuilding and conflict resolution involves the development of an interactive, interdependent web of activities and relationships amongst elite and grass roots to build, what Louis Kriesberg calls 'culture of peace'. It is widely accepted that non-governmental organisations are a prominent component of the civil society.

As Jonathan Goodhand notes, non-governmental organisations further the goals of peacebuilding in both indirect and direct ways like supporting local leadership, human rights monitoring and protection, facilitating good governance, constitutional reforms, local capacity building, and development of alternative livelihoods. While activities that could have direct bearing on peacebuilding include conflict monitoring, mediation, security sector reforms, advocacy, education and building peace constituencies, those of indirect category tend to mainstream peacebuilding into ongoing activities.

Thania Paffenholz and Christoph Spurk, in their monograph *Civil Society, Civil Engagement, and Peacebuilding* (Social Development Paper No. 36, October

2006), suggest the need for a holistic and comprehensive approach to relate civil society to post-conflict peacebuilding. At the same time they caution us against expecting miracles from the civil society's role. Among the points made in this regard are the following: (1) Civil society comprises of not just non-governmental organisations but other bodies which together have important roles to play in peacebuilding. (2) The acknowledgement of the importance of civil society does not mean that state is any less important. (3) Enthusiasm over support to the civil society role has to be based on full understanding of its imprecise character and composition. (4) It may not be accurate to assume that all civil society functions are equally effective in all post-conflict phases. (5) For a critical assessment of civil society's impact on peacebuilding, the timing and sequencing of various civil society functions need to be borne in mind.

FEMINIST APPROACH

In the past few decades, feminist scholarship in the area of conflict and peacebuilding, have brought to the fore women's daily struggles and experiences of conflict and peacebuilding that are distinct from men, and call for inclusion of previously marginalised feminist and women's perspectives to peacebuilding. There is also growing recognition that long before formal cease fire and negotiations begin, women on the ground are the first to take informal steps to restore peace, initiate peace dialogues at the community level to end violence, build peace villages. However, formal peacebuilding and conflict resolution initiatives continue to ignore or marginalise issues of gender, and women's involvement in formal missions and talks remains low.

At its core, the feminist approach considers war as a form of a highly militarised patriarchy that is fought among men, who make the rules, decide when, why and how wars are to be fought. Wars further reinforce militarized notions of masculinity which has detrimental impact on women. Often, when the violence of conflict is seen to have ended and ceasefire agreements are signed, the violence instead emerges inside homes and community. For example domestic violence in post conflict society is found to increase manifold as men return from the brutal experience of conflict. Feminists thereby looks at peacebuilding as gendered, meaning that perceptions of peace and approaches to peace differ based on different experiences of men and women in conflict. A feminist approach is guided by the concern for gender equity, touches upon questions of identity, power asymmetry, and is closely allied to notions of positive peace.

However, men tend to dominate the formal roles in any peacebuilding process; there are mainly male peacekeepers, male peace negotiators, and male politician and formal leaders. Power is unequally distributed between men and women and the majority of women do not have a voice in local and national decision making processes. This inequity of normal times is heightened manifold during conflict as power becomes centralized and the male dominated military takes more control (Byrne, 1995). However, as highlighted earlier, women play an important role in building peace in informal spaces and build a holistic notion of peacebuilding that seeks an end to the continuum of violence from the home to the street, but their vision goes unrecognized. A report by Mazurana and McKay brings out examples of women's peacebuilding activities, illustrating that women play a very active and crucial role in peacebuilding and reconstruction at the local, regional, national, and international levels (1998).

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

Note: i) Use of the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

- 1) Explain the salient points of constructive versus transformative approach and peace versus justice approach.

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- 2) Discuss the advantages and disadvantages do the civil society actors have in the context of the peace building and conflict resolution.

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LET US SUM UP

It is clear from the discussion so far in this Unit that there is no single approach that is either universally accepted or uniformly applicable across a wide spectrum of conflict situations. Each conflict is unique in its own way; therefore a right mix of approaches would be naturally necessary. We have learned that scholars and thinkers have come up with a variety of approaches to highlight different aspects in peacebuilding. For example, the top, middle and grassroots approaches identify the interlinkages among the three levels at which peacebuilding needs to be pursued for the best results. On a different note, another approach emphasizes the need to adopt an integrated, coordinated approach for peacebuilding. Peace and justice is the essence of another approach. Similarly, the role and relevance of civil society and/or non- governmental organisations have become the prime concerns of transformational approach. The feminist approach highlights the need to include women’s experience, concerns and voices for transformative and sustainable peacebuilding. Notably, these approaches share many commonalities amongst them. Hence, it may not be advisable to stress only on one approach and reject other approaches.

In the end, two things distinguish peacebuilding from other similar activities. Firstly, it is an activity located in post-conflict context. Secondly, it seeks to address deep-rooted, underlying causes of conflict rather than deal only with the visible violence. An effective peacebuilding approach, therefore, has to be grounded on deeper understanding about the parties to conflict and their contexts. This requires peacebuilding effort to be sensitive to, and show an understanding towards, the warring parties’ history and society as also their political and strategic culture. At the same time, successful peacebuilding requires national ownership

by local people on the one hand, a clear division of labour between national and international actors and agencies on the other. Given its evolutionary nature, it also needs to be innovative to keep evolving in the face of real time challenges. This requires huge staying power in terms of commitment and resources as also patience; peacebuilding processes will continue to be really long- drawn as they seek to ensure building a sustainable peace.

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9.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOU PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

- 1) Your answer should include conceptions of Peace Building, Integrated Approach. Political Democracy Approach and Peace versus Justice Approach.

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

- 1) Your answer should have the following points:

Peace Building

- a) Constructive versus Transformative Approach and
 - b) Top, Middle and Grass-root Approach.
- 2) Your answer should have the following points:
- a) Civil Society Approach and
 - b) Feminist Approach



UNIT 10 POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION*

Structure

Introduction

Aims and Objectives

Defining Post-conflict Re-construction and Rehabilitation

Actors and Stakeholders

Post-conflict Fund and the Role of World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB) and Africa Development Bank (AfDB)

Case Study: Re-construction and Rehabilitation of the Tamils in Sri Lanka

Let Us Sum Up

Some Useful References

Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

10.0 INTRODUCTION

Conflict has been a feature of human history and has shaped civilizations. It emerges from political differences, or ideological, religions and ethnicities divides, over resources. Conflicts among societies and people also arise from failed political institutions resulting in poor governance, lack of political and social justice, accountability and transparency of the government, corruption, abuse of political power and high levels of poverty. These deficiencies in governance have resulted in civil war that threatened the stability of states.

At another level, conflicts arise due to clash of interests over national values among states, groups of states, organisations, organised groups who are ever so aggressive to uphold their views and interests and win their cases. In contemporary times, conflicts have become transnational in nature and its actors have challenged state authority. At another level, nature-based cause such as climate change has further contributed to conflicts among humans. These varying forms of conflicts leave societies destroyed with long and lasting adversarial impacts on the lives of people.

According to “Global Conflict Barometer”, a report published by the Institute for International Conflict Research at the University of Heidelberg, conflicts of low and medium intensity have grown steadily over the years. In 2017, the HIIK recorded 222 violent conflicts, **five** fewer than in the previous year. While the number of wars (**20**) increased by **two**, the number of limited wars (**16**) decreased by four. Overall, the HIIK recorded **385** violent and nonviolent conflicts worldwide in 2017, excluding the currently **22** inactive but still potential conflicts. Six new conflicts were observed in Ethiopia, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Iraq, as well as Qatar. Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates.

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The report clearly reflects that the contemporary world continues to be less peaceful. and violent force is repeatedly used in an organised way. Therefore there is a need for greater engagement by the international community to prevent conflicts, wars, and crisis among the people. In the above context, post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation is a critical step for longer-term peace and stability and requires the responsiveness of a variety of actors, state and non-state, either unilaterally or multilaterally.

Aims and Objectives

This Unit would enable you to understand

- The dynamics of post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation in order to achieving the overarching goals of sustainable peace and prosperity.
- The definition of the post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation
- The identification of the actors and stakeholders.
- The process of re-construction and rehabilitation of the Tamils in Sri Lanka in the post-LTTE period (case study).

10.1 UNDERSTANDING POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION

Although the Cold War ended the great power rivalry, it witnessed large number of intrastate conflicts particularly among the developing countries. During the 1990s, nearly one third of the world's countries were afflicted with armed conflict and nearly two-thirds of these experienced conflict particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These entailed international attention and global collective action in post-conflict reconstruction.

The World Bank defines post-conflict reconstruction as “the rebuilding of the socioeconomic framework of society” and the “reconstruction of the enabling conditions for a functioning peacetime society [to include] the framework of governance and rule of law.” It is noted that post-conflict reconstruction is a process of rebuilding war-affected communities and ‘includes the process of rebuilding the political, security, social and economic dimensions of a society emerging from conflict. It also includes addressing the root causes of the conflict and promoting social and economic justice as well as putting in place political structures of governance and the rule of law in order to consolidate peace building, reconciliation and development.’ This entails delivering social and economic development, providing governance and the rule of law including justice and reconciliation and longer-term development assistance. It has also been argued that there is ‘no definition for post-conflict rehabilitation and peace- building that has been agreed to by the consensus needed in order for them to be used by the different actors that participate in the process.’

For the purpose of this chapter, post- conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation can be defined as the process of developing long-term programs that are designed for improving the economic well being of the affected societies and people, and also developing institutions that can deliver governance, and political and social justice.

In the aftermath of any violent conflict and military interventions, the need for post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation becomes central. A variety of

agencies including international organisations and coalitions of countries are in the forefront to bring in their respective capacities for restoration or transformation of the fragile social capital. There is also a need for a greater commitment to post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation in areas and societies to develop strategies that close the gap between humanitarian assistance and development, and help to organise cooperation and partnership.

At another level, the economic penalty of conflict includes capital flight, economic decline, high defence spending, and structural changes to the economy. Post-conflict economic recovery is also dependent on the responses by the private sector.

In its broad sense, reconstruction entails rebuilding of governance structures, institutions, and conditions that had existed prior to war. It also includes the rehabilitation and restoration of basic services like health and education. However, the biggest challenge facing countries is to define the priority areas in the post-conflict reconstruction programme and how to reconstruct. This issues gains salience due to the fact that all peacetime conditions, though desirable, cannot be reconstructed in short time and would need to be prioritised. In 2002 a consortium of international actors, including the Center for Strategic and International Studies, published the Post Conflict Reconstruction Framework. The framework envisages identifies three phases of activity between the cessation of violent conflict and the return to normalization

Post Conflict Reconstruction Framework

The Framework identifies three phases of activity between the “cessation of violent conflict and the return to normalization”

- 1) *The initial phase* response comes immediately after the end of widespread violence. It involves provision of emergency humanitarian services, stability and military interventions to provide basic security. Internationally such responses also include the deployment of peacekeepers.
- 2) *The transformation or transition phase* is a period in which legitimate local capacities emerge and should be supported, with particular attention needed for restarting the economy, including physical reconstruction, ensuring functional structures for governance and judicial processes and laying the foundations for the provision of basic social welfare such as education and health care.
- 3) *The final phase* or the period for fostering sustainability is a time when recovery efforts should be consolidated to help prevent the resurgence of conflict. Military actors—particularly international peacekeepers—withdraw and society begins to “normalise” during this phase.

ACTORS AND STAKEHOLDERS

It is an acknowledged fact that no single actor can manage the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation and requires the assistance and support of a variety of actors both at the government and non-government level. Among these, the governments are the most important players and without their support, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts will yield little in improving the well-

being of the affected people. Multilateral institutions such as the United Nations and financial institutions such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank emerged as significant stakeholders in the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation by providing fiscal support outside the national budget process. The non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other development agencies too are critical for the purposes of relief and emergency assistance.

At the societal level, women play a critical role in the post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation process. Though the military is a coercive tool of the state, it has an important role in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of war torn societies. It has an important role in ensuring a viable and an effective domestic security system through the civil police agencies and ensure that democratic civilians are able to ensure law and order.

Role of the State: The state is the primary actor in the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts. It should formulate and lead the development strategy and be in the driver's seat. The government must undertake economic recovery and structural adjustment programmes to restore macroeconomic stability and bring down inflation. It must be noted that the private sector has an important role to play and be an effective instrument that can support the government deliver sustained growth. Also, economic growth requires the active participation of the population.

The task of rebuilding the nation and reconstructing social and physical infrastructure is critical for post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation. The post-conflict period requires major health sector reforms and investments in education, investment with smooth flow of funds reaching to the grass root level. It should also define the objective of post-conflict reconstruction process, identify institutional and human resource development needs, and clearly spell the capacity building strategy.

At another level, there must be close collaboration between the government and the international community including international financial institutions for availability of fiscal resources, grants and loans. The externally funded investments must be controlled by the Government and these must fit well into the national development programme to achieve fruition over the longer term. Further, aid cannot be effective unless the state has a robust institutional framework that allows the rule of law to prevail. The government must evolve long term plans for development that are fully integrated in national development policies, plans and strategies. For that it must have in place an efficient institutional and administrative machinery to formulate, coordinate, and implement policies, strategies, programmes, and projects. The focus should be on good governance and sound economic management. In essence, the government must promote security and human development, rebuild infrastructure for economic growth, and create conditions for private sector participation for a sustainable and inclusive economic growth.

Role of the UN: During the Cold War period, the UN mandate for international governance entailed supporting states to monitor borders and ceasefires, and in the conduct and monitoring of elections. However, in the post Cold War period, the UN has been increasingly engaged in post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation missions. In 1992, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Former UN Secretary-General, in the landmark *An Agenda for Peace* set out an international

strategy for conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, post-conflict reconstruction and peace building. Since then post-conflict reconstruction has been an agenda for the UN in its efforts to rebuild war-affected communities. In 2005, Kofi Annan's, then Secretary-General, report, *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All* recommended that UN member states 'establish a Peace building Commission to fill the institutional gap that exists with regards to assisting countries to make the transition from war to lasting peace.' In September 2005, during the UN world summit and the 60th session of the General Assembly, the recommendations of the report were reviewed. Kofi Annan noted "Our record of success in mediating and implementing peace agreements is sadly blemished by some devastating failures. Indeed, several of the most violent and tragic episodes of the 1990s occurred after the negotiation of peace agreements ... if we are going to prevent conflict we must ensure that peace agreements are implemented in a sustained and sustainable manner."

Role of Military: The role of military in the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation has been an acknowledged factor. In that context, it has been noted that the 'use of military force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin rapid and fundamental societal transformation ... [including] comprehensive efforts ... aimed to engineer major social, political, and economic reconstruction'.

The military is an important tool for post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation in at least three areas: (a) Establishing a secure and safe environment for the people at large and for the development agencies to commence their activities, (b) restoring essential services to an acceptable standard, and (c) creating stable conditions for development and economic growth. The militaries are also critical for security sector reforms in the post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation environment. Their role can be envisaged in both defensive and offensive domains. The military is trained and equipped to address contingencies arising from chaos, lawlessness, reappearance of violence, human rights violations, untrustworthiness and mutiny.

The military is also crucial for disarming violent groups and their demobilisation, recovery of arms from the public, quelling violence and emergency stabilisation, and preventing relapses into anarchy. At another level, the military should prepare and train the police forces to take on the responsibility of post-conflict situations and develop capacities for establishing rule of law. Its primary aim is to demilitarise the society and ensure civil control.

Several militaries have developed comprehensive strategies and developed capacities to respond to post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation and have constituted specialised units for such purposes. Some militaries are engaged in addressing human security issues in the post-conflict environment. The UN too is engaged in transforming its capability to address issues of security, development and democratisation, notably in fragile and post- conflict states in a comprehensive manner.

Role of Civil Society Organisations and Non-governmental Organisations : The Civil Society Organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are important stakeholders and have assumed a crucial role in the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation dynamics. These entities play a pivotal role by setting up and maintaining essential services, assisting the refugee and internally displaced populations in remote areas. They help to strengthen societies through

their deep understanding of local needs and culture which acts as a catalyst for fast and effective aid. Further, they fill the gap when political circumstances prevented multilateral and bilateral activities inside the country.

It is true that any violent conflict results in the polarisation of social relationships that can have long term devastating effects on societies. The circumstances of uncertainty contribute to the creation of a long-lasting social mistrust. It is this reason that the communication bridges must be restored among the social groups and encourages participation in political life for social reconciliation. The civil society must contribute to resolving differences of interests of the different groups over the long-term. However it is important that the actors of the civil society drive the mechanisms that are critical for strengthening peace and reconciliation within the communities and avoid supporting the forces that were responsible for the war.

Civil societies can also help manage the tensions in the community by influencing the political leaders and creating unofficial mechanisms for the resolution of disputes. Traditional institutions and mechanisms for peace-building such as advice from elders or religious leaders can play a significant role in peace-building and reconciliation processes thereby creating a connection of trust with local partners. In general, the NGO's and civil society must explain the idea of their work and the processes they chose to the people who should develop trust in their activities. Also they must have a network with the society, public authorities and other social sector actors. Their efforts can be instrumental for improving the quality of people's lives.

Role of Media: The media has a major role to play in the post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation process. Experiences show that media can play a positive role in promoting peace and reconciliation. However, the flip side is that media can also act as tool that can generate hatred leading to disintegration. Be that as it may, if democratic social actors have access to the media it can establish connectivity among all the stakeholders i.e. governments, financial institutions, civil society and NGOs and provide information about the society, economic and political structures, and generate social cohesion and enhance social human capital. Therefore a well-functioning media can help promote democratisation.

As a result, international organisations, bilateral donors and NGOs have begun to explore opportunities for media as a tool for enhancing their activities. For instance, the UN has developed a sophisticated strategy to harness the tool of media in almost every UN intervention and the media's role in sustaining peace and democratic transitions continues to increase.

The media can also have a role in terms of social education, addressing many issues of concern to the target audience, and in the process helping to reduce tensions and build trust within the society. Important information can be relayed to the populations regarding health, literacy, the environment; in areas of conflict or post-conflict, this can include information on landmine awareness, war trauma, the Geneva Conventions or the peace accords and demobilisation processes, and it may also ensure that each side to a dispute is allowed to hear the other's position, thereby opening lines of communication between them. On their part, the media should train the local staff in reporting on conflicts, to help develop high quality and accurate coverage, establish autonomous national and local media institutions and create a gene pool of professionals with high ethical standards.

Some of the successful media ventures in the post-conflict and rehabilitation process are (a) The Center for Conflict Resolution, Uganda, which conducts workshops for media persons and outlets to examine their roles in peace-building, develop conflict resolution skills, including sensitizing reporters to traditional African mechanisms of dealing with peace and reconciliation; (b) Studio Iamb, created by Search for Common Ground to specifically counter recurrence in Burundi of genocidal hate radio, as in Rwanda. (c) Radio Blue Sky, established by UN in Kosovo, to specifically open dialogue and democratic debate in Albanian, Serbian and Turkish communities, (d) UNTAC Radio, Cambodia, to inform people about United Nations Transitional Authority and promoting reconciliation.

Role of Women: The discourse on the role of women in the post-conflict re-construction and rehabilitation has gathered some recognition. However, while women's contribution is getting recognized, it is important to go beyond conventional images of women as victims of war, and to document the many different ways in which they contribute to the rebuilding of countries emerging from armed conflicts. Feminist scholars like Brigitte Sorensen draw attention to

Women's Role in Rebuilding Rwanda

Post the civil war and genocide in 1994, women constituted a high proportion of the population.

Impoverished and challenged to take charge of their destiny, women came to play a key role in reconstructing the country's economy, and its moral fabric.

Many women entrepreneurs emerged, and have helped build Rwanda's economy and their communities. In the coffee industry, today women constitute half of Rwanda's farmers and produce over 90% of its exported coffee beans. Throughout the country, women today own 41% of businesses.

girls and women's unique post conflict needs and concerns, to their resources and capacities, and to structural and situational factors that may reduce their participation in reconstruction processes. Special attention is given to women's priority concerns, to their resources and capacities, and to structural and situational factors that may reduce their participation in reconstruction processes'. Further, the post-war reconstruction processes influence the reconfiguration of gender roles and positions in the wake of war, and how women's actions shape the construction of post-war social structures. Illustration of this can be seen in Rwanda, which after four years of civil war, followed by the 1994 genocide of nearly a million people- was an economically ravaged and socially divided country. Rwandan women, compelled to take on new roles and responsibilities out of sheer necessity, were central to Rwandan reconstruction

It is an acknowledged fact that women are the primary civilian victims of war; yet they are generally excluded from the decision-making process. Significantly, they are powerless to prevent wars and are excluded from the discussions and negotiations when it comes to their resolution. They are restricted to a secondary and unimportant role in the post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation efforts. This is notwithstanding the fact that the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 of October 2000 on women, peace and security calls upon the member states 'to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-

making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts.’

Women are also critical in conflict prevention and ensuring establishment of a democratic and lasting peace. For example, in the conflict in Nagaland, the Naga peace process in 1997 called for ceasefire between the two armed parties, the NSCN and the GOI, and overlooked concerns about civilian security as infighting between Naga factions escalated. It was civil society groups, including influential women’s groups, who insisted that the ceasefire must be about transforming the difficult, insecure lives of civilians too. They compelled the two parties to redefine the ceasefire agreement to include civilian security issues and accept the need for a monitoring mechanism that had independent non-partisan observers in the 2001 parley.

In Afghanistan, the peace process initially sought to empower women and enhance their roles in Parliament and society. The Afghan government’s National Development Framework (NDF) also acknowledged that national development cannot be realized without the participation of women in policies, resource allocation, and also without specific programmers for women. However, the peace process which was internationally maneuvered and militarily buoyed up stands threatened as it has been making compromises and trading people’s and women’s rights to negotiate and bring in groups like the Taliban.

Key Points

- Post-conflict reconstruction implies rebuilding the socio-economic fabric of society emerging from conflict; addressing the root of conflict, ensuring justice and putting in place governance and the rule of law.
- Post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation requires assistance from variety of government and non-government actors that include the state, its Military, United Nations, Civil Society, Media, international financial institutions.
- The state is the primary actor. It must collaborate with the diverse stakeholder, communities to promote good governance human security and development.
- The focus should be on good governance and sound economic management. In essence, the government must promote security and human development, rebuild infrastructure for economic growth, and create conditions for private sector participation for a sustainable and inclusive economic growth.
- The role of the UN in post post-conflict reconstruction relatively new, since 1992 *An Agenda for Peace*. In 2000, the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO).
- Women have played critical role in post conflict reconstruction, but their contribution remains invisible. Democratic and lasting peace requires participation of women, and inclusion of their special needs in rebuilding and rehabilitation process.

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

Note: i) Use of the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Explain the dynamics of post conflict reconstruction and re-habilitation in order to achieving the overarching goals sustainable peace and prosperity.

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POST-CONFLICT FUND AND THE ROLE OF WORLD BANK, ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (ADB) AND AFRICA DEVELOPMENT BANK (AFDB)

States engaged in war divert substantial resources from productive activities to acquiring destructive tools. This diversion of resources to the war effort often results in decrease in other public expenditures for infrastructure, health and education. During the war, the opposing forces often target physical infrastructure such as telecommunications, airports, ports, roads and bridges. They also destroy housing, schools and health facilities. Post- conflict reconstruction therefore involves the repair and reconstruction of physical and economic infrastructure and rebuilding weakened institutions. Funds for the post-conflict reconstruction activities can be broadly divided as one requiring funds for relief and the other for the long-term development. The immediate post-conflict situation requires large amounts of aid to a conflict-ridden country on an urgent basis and the long term development funds can be made available over a period of time.

At the end of World War II, The World Bank was established for reconstruction and development activities in its member countries and since then it has been in the forefront of post-conflict reconstruction. In the initial stages, it concentrated on providing financial capital and rebuilding physical infrastructure through country assistance programmers. The increase in intrastate and regional conflicts in the 1980s and early 1990s highlighted the need for the Bank to rethink its role and shift away from providing physical capital to rehabilitating social capital and institutions of conflict-affected countries.

With its successful track record in the post-conflict reconstruction and development activities, in July 1997, the Executive Board of the World Bank decided to constitute and establish the Post-Conflict Fund (PCF) ‘to increase knowledge and improve available instruments within the Bank tenable early engagement and ensure an appropriate role for the Bank in the crucial transition from relief to rehabilitation, and reconstruction activities.’ The programmed envisages ‘constructive engagement in conflict-affected countries where normal instruments and budget provisions cannot apply.’

In 2009, the Post-Conflict Fund (PCF) was superseded by the State and Peace-Building Fund (SPF) and the Low Income Countries under Stress (LICUS) Implementation Trust Fund. The SPF also serves as an entry point to countries that have had limited or no involvement with the World Bank, or piloting an approach that is later scaled up with IDA funding. The SPF allows the Bank to evaluate the programmed performance in the concerned country, region, or theme and offers strategic direction for effective implementation of the programmed. It is planned to make available about \$100 million for the SPF over the three-years of FY09 to FY11 with three equal installments of \$33.3 million. Since 2009, 28 grants, of which 22 have been signed with the recipients and 11 are effective and commenced disbursing.

Like the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has been actively engaged in the post-conflict reconstruction activities in the Asian countries. For instance, the ADB began post-conflict reengagement in Afghanistan with a disaster and emergency relief programmed in Afghanistan. The 2004 Performance-Based Allocation (PBA) Policy provided a framework for ADF allocations to post-conflict countries. In the case of Afghanistan, ADB set aside \$400 million during two biennial periods, 2005–2006 and 2007–2008.

The African Development Bank (Fad) programmed of assistance to fragile countries aims to support socio-economic development and fighting poverty in its Regional Member Countries (RMCs). The bank has recognized the huge challenges faced by post-conflict countries and fragile states and the criticality of providing basic services and restart economic activity. The Bank's point of entry into a country's post-conflict reconstruction and development effort begins after the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of a transitional government authority supported by stakeholders within the country and the international community.

CASE STUDY: RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION OF THE TAMILS IN SRILANKA

The twenty five year old civil war in Sri Lanka that has claimed nearly 70,000 civilian lives came to end in 2009. The United Nations estimated that over 7,000 people were killed and about 300,000 people displaced in the final phase of the war. By early 2010, about two thirds of the displaced population had returned to their homelands and communities and were confronted with total destruction of the infrastructure including their homes.

The genesis of the civil war lies in the discrimination meted out to the minority Tamil community, who during the course of the civil war, wanted complete autonomy for Tamil- dominated areas under their control in the north and the east of the country as part of the devolution of powers at the Provincial level. Over the years, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) which led the demand for Tamil Eelam or independent Tamil homeland had developed extensive military capability and had challenged the Sri Lankan government forces with great success.

However, with the civil war over, the Sri Lankan government faced major challenges to ensure that the conditions was conducive for more than 2,50,000

internally displaced people (IDP) who wished to return to their homes. The northern and eastern part of Sri Lanka require reconstruction of infrastructure such as roads, hospitals, houses, churches, temples, schools, etc.

The Sri Lankan President Rajapaksha has made several assurances and commitments and noted that “there are still some aspects of security of the IDPs that had to be taken care of in view of the likely presence of LTTE infiltrators among the IDPs, who had come to the Government controlled areas. When conditions improve, especially with regard to security, there would be no objection to such assistance from organisations that are genuinely interested in the well being of the IDPs and the needs of rehabilitation and reconstruction. He said that there is a plan to resettle most of the IDPs within 180 days, under internationally accepted norms.”

Further, the UN Secretary General appealed to the international community to assist Sri Lanka in its Common Humanitarian Action Plan (CHAP) jointly launched by the Sri Lankan Government and the UN, to support the relief, shelter and humanitarian needs of those in the IDP sites. The Sri Lankan President has also undertaken demilitarisation, rehabilitation and re-integration of ex-combatants into civilian life with the assistance of the UN and other international organisations. It has also been acknowledged that reconciliation is critical for promoting peace though it is a long drawn process. Further, having won the war, it is important for the government to win the hearts and minds of the Sri Lankan Tamils that would pave the way for reconciliation and peace.

Several NGOs are engaged in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the IDP. For instance, the North-East Rehabilitation and Development Organisation (NERDO) is playing a key role in the rehabilitation, reconstruction and resettlement processes and is engaged in various activities in support of the Tamil speaking people. Similarly, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, the largest community based organisation in Sri Lanka has been actively engaged in supporting people displaced by the war. In 2008, it began coordinating relief programmes in the north and east of the country and provided services in 23 IDP camps. It provided Sarvodaya’s water, sanitation and medical services and over 200,000 people benefitted from their services. It provided a mobile library for children and also offered legal services to help families obtain birth certificates and other legal documents. The Community Health Unit took care of malnourished children with a high-energy diet and brought them to normal health. Overall, people benefitted from the Sarvodaya’s assistance.

Likewise there has been a call on the media to play a positive role in reconstruction and rehabilitation of the IDP and also strengthen the ongoing reconciliation efforts. Negative reporting should be avoided and the focus should be on development and peace building efforts such as rebuilding, swift resettlement of the IDP and rehabilitation of the former combatants.

The Tamil community women living in the conflict ridden areas had witnessed violence and brutality and there have been reports of them being killed, injured, raped, tortured, trafficked, harassed and physically and sexually assaulted. They are now taking on the responsibility for their families’ economic and emotional survival, taking on new roles to enhance family income in the face of economic hardship.

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

- Note:** i) Use of the space given below for your answer.
 ii) See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

1) Explains the role of International Financial Institutions equipped to support Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Re-habilitation of States? If so, how?

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LET US SUM UP

Post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation is a critical step in the longer-term development process. Its success is based on a number of factors such as the political will, the legitimacy of the state, support from international organisations, financial institutions, and other non-state actors such as the civil society, NGOs and the media. These institutions should identify the gaps and constraints of capacity in their strategies for post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation. They also need to undertake sound political analysis and international responses should be adapted to country and regional contexts.

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ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercises 1

- 1) Your answer should include Understanding Post Conflict Reconstruction and Re-habilitation and actors and stakeholders.

Check Your Progress Exercises 2

- 1) Your answer should have the following points:
 - a) Role of World Bank, Asian Development Bank and Africa Development Bank.
 - b) A case Study: Reconstruction and Re-habilitation on the Tamils in Srilanka.

