

# **CHAPTER 4: RECOVERING FROM VIOLENT CONFLICT**

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## Humanitarian Aid, Early Recovery and Stabilisation

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### Introduction

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The term 'post-conflict' is widely used, yet can be difficult to define. The term is also contradictory in nature as conflict is inherent in every society; thus, there can theoretically be no 'post-conflict' period. Nonetheless, this term is widely used in practice to refer to the period after large-scale violence has ended. This is often considered to be the phase that begins following a ceasefire or a peace agreement.

There is consensus, however, that hostilities and conflict dynamics do not end abruptly. There is never a clear transition from war to peace or conflict to post-conflict. Rather, low level or sporadic fighting may continue; violence may persist in other forms, such as violent crime, organised crime and gender-based violence; and peace agreements can be derailed. In addition, compromises made to appease belligerents in order to secure peace agreements may in some cases institutionalise conflict dynamics. Many conflict analysts have critiqued the Dayton Peace Agreement, for example, for institutionalising 'ethnic cleansing' with the partition of the country based on ethnic grounds.

Given the complexities of 'post-conflict' settings, it is essential that actors seeking to engage in recovery efforts conduct comprehensive assessments. The aim of such assessments is to assist actors to understand the environment in which they will be operating, to determine country priorities and needs, and to plan recovery strategies and activities.

Evaluations of prior international interventions in conflict-affected countries have found that although the international community was effective in ending armed conflict, it was less successful in its post-peace agreement efforts. Weaknesses identified include: insufficient engagement with civil society; failure to prioritise development from the outset; failure to mainstream gender; insufficient attention to the regional dimensions of conflict; the undermining of national structures through the creation of parallel structures; and an excessive preoccupation with security (see UNDP 2006).

[Brown, G., Langer, A., Stewart, F., 2008, 'A Typology of Post-Conflict Environments: An Overview', Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity \(CRISE\) Oxford University, Oxford](#)

Which policies to promote sustainable peace-building and socio-economic development are needed in different types of post-conflict environment? This paper, from the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, offers a typology of post-conflict environments, suggesting that policy choice should be informed by three key variables: the state of economic development; the presence of high-value natural resources; and the existence of sharp horizontal

inequalities. Four enabling conditions are also important in determining policy options and effectiveness - the state of security, the commitments of the international community to the country, state capacity and the inclusivity of government.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Keen, D., 2000, 'War and Peace: What's the Difference', \*International Peacekeeping\*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 1-22](#)

What do war and peace have in common, and how can understanding this help in understanding transitions between the two? This article from *International Peacekeeping* suggests that the conventional model of war as 'a fight to win' is often misleading. War may in fact offer a promising environment for the pursuit of aims that are also prominent in peacetime. Peacebuilding interventions therefore need to influence the cost-benefit calculations of conflict parties so that peace becomes the more attractive option.

[Access full text: available online](#)

UNDP, 2006, Evaluation of UNDP Support to Conflict Affected Countries, United Nations Development Programme, New York

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Kievelitz, U. and Schaef, T., 2004, 'Practical Guide to Multilateral Needs Assessments in Post-Conflict Situations', a joint project of the United Nations Development Program, the World Bank, and United Nations Development Group, New York](#)

How can post-conflict needs assessments (PCNAs) be enhanced? Generally, PCNAs are jointly carried out by the UN and the World Bank, sometimes in conjunction with other key donor agencies. This guide aims to support current efforts among these agencies to further enhance their engagement in the PCNA by learning from available experience. It draws strongly on material from recent needs assessments in Timor-Leste, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Iraq and Liberia.

[Access full text: available online](#)

## **Humanitarian assistance and transition to development**

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Debates about linking humanitarian assistance and development emerged in the 1990s and the term 'relief-development continuum' was then coined. This approach aimed to identify complementary objectives and strategies in relief and development aid, and to promote the concept that humanitarian assistance could provide a foundation for recovery and the development of sustainable livelihoods. The adoption of the continuum concept also focused attention on the need to bridge the funding and operational gap that typically arose between emergency aid and development programming. The concept of a chronological continuum was subsequently rejected by international aid actors as over simplistic, leaving the problems of the humanitarian-development gap unaddressed. Attempts to fill this gap have re-emerged with the concept of 'early recovery' (see [early recovery](#)).

New debates about humanitarian assistance have arisen in the post-9/11 context, with growing emphasis on linking humanitarian aid, development and security. Although integrated missions can be beneficial and serve the aims of coherence and coordination (see the section on [coherence, coordination, sequencing and funding mechanisms](#)), there are concerns about the securitisation of aid and challenges to

the neutrality of humanitarian assistance (see [stabilisation](#) and [peacekeeping and peace support operations](#)).

[Harmer, A. and Macrae, J., 2004, Chapter 1 in Beyond the Continuum: The Changing Role of Aid Policy in Protracted Crises, HPG Report 18, Overseas Development Institute, London](#)

Until recently, assistance to countries in protracted crises was seen only in terms of humanitarian aid. How has this changed? This review by the Overseas Development Institute argues that there has been a shift in the linking of relief and development. It suggests that policy has moved towards areas of shared responsibility. However, it warns that humanitarian actors must communicate more clearly and fully the distinctiveness of their experience in these environments and work with development actors to explore common ground.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Stoddard, A. and Harmer, A., 2005, 'Room to Manoeuvre: Challenges of Linking Humanitarian Action and Post Conflict Recovery in the New Security Environment', Human Development Report Occasional Paper, United Nations Development Programme, New York](#)

What role should humanitarian actors play in conflict and post-conflict situations? Should humanitarian and development actors pursue distinct or shared agendas? This report from UNDP examines some of the challenges facing humanitarian operations in the new global security environment. Challenges relate to the large number of actors and mandates involved in situations of conflict and protracted crisis - and a lack of clarity over how humanitarian, development and security actors should work alongside each other. This lack of clarity has resulted in a blurring of roles, which has in some cases undermined the concept of neutrality in humanitarian assistance.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Buchanan-Smith, M. and Fabbri, P., 2005, 'Links between Relief, Rehabilitation and Development in the Tsunami Response: A Review of the Debate', Tsunami Evaluation Coalition, London](#)

The challenge of linking relief, rehabilitation and development (LRRD) has preoccupied aid organisations for over a decade. What does it mean? How can it be done? This paper from the Tsunami Evaluation Coalition gives an overview of the literature and informs LRRD-themed evaluations. While much has been written about LRRD, shifts in agency approach and practice do not appear to have matched recommendations.

[Access full text: available online](#)

## **Early recovery**

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The Cluster Working Group on Early Recovery (CWGER), lead by the UNDP Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, defines 'early recovery' as: "a multidimensional process of recovery that begins in a humanitarian setting. It is guided by development principles that seek to build on humanitarian programmes and catalyze sustainable development opportunities. It aims to generate self sustaining, nationally owned, resilient processes for post crisis recovery. It encompasses the restoration of basic services, livelihoods, shelter, governance, security and rule of law, environment and social dimensions, including the reintegration of displaced populations".

Early recovery is a concept that seeks to resolve the strategic, operational, financing and coordination gaps that have existed in the past between relief and development work. Rather than treating relief and development as separate interventions that occur sequentially, early recovery requires that development work is integrated into relief efforts and begins as early as possible (in the case of conflict, often before the peace process is complete).

There are multiple requirements for establishing the foundations of longer-term recovery at an early stage. These include: early needs assessment, planning and resource mobilisation for recovery that takes into account the different needs, resources and vulnerabilities of women and men; early efforts to develop state capacity, including training of civil servants; the reestablishment of essential services and rebuilding of livelihoods; the integration of emergency shelter, transitional shelter and permanent shelter into one reconstruction process; and the creation of strategic alliances between communities and local authorities ensuring the participation and inclusion of vulnerable, marginalised and discriminated groups. At all stages of the early recovery process, donors should seek to understand existing local recovery mechanisms and to build upon them.

[Cluster Working Group on Early Recovery \(CWGER\), 2008, 'Guidance Note on Early Recovery', Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, UNDP, Geneva](#)

What is early recovery? How can early recovery activities be best coordinated with humanitarian and development activities in post-crisis situations? This United Nations Development Programme guidance note outlines how to implement early recovery in areas affected by natural disaster or conflict. It argues that early recovery coordination can be an interface between the humanitarian and development communities, bridging the gap between crisis response and longer-term recovery.

[Access full text: available online](#)

United Nations, 2009, 'Report of the Secretary-General on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict', Report, no. A/63/881-S/2009/304, United Nations, General Assembly, Security Council, New York

[Access full text: available online](#)

Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, 2008, 'UNDP Policy on Early Recovery'

[Access full text: available online](#)

Cluster Working Group on Early Recovery (CWGER), 2006, 'Implementing Early Recovery', Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC)

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Chandran, R., Jones, B. and Smith, N., 2008, 'Recovering from War: Gaps in Early Action', A Report by the NYU Centre on International Cooperation for the UK Department for International Development, New York University, New York](#)

How can international support for early recovery following conflict be improved? This report from the New York University Centre on International Cooperation recommends measures to bridge three key gaps in the international response in the early recovery phase: gaps in strategy, financing and capacity. Work across all three areas is needed, and must start with an assessment of national capacity, or 'the state of the state'. The deeply political nature of post-conflict recovery cannot be overemphasised.

[Access full text: available online](#)

### ***Livelihoods and employment***

The restoration of livelihoods is often a key goal of relief efforts. In conflict situations however, livelihoods cannot be restored simply by restoring assets - a common approach adopted in relief efforts. Rather, as argued in the case of Darfur, systemic issues such as insecurity, land rights, unequal access to resources, and the lack of public infrastructure are closely connected to livelihoods and need to be addressed in early recovery efforts.

Livelihoods and employment are crucial in post-conflict environments for the success of reintegration programmes for demobilised combatants and refugees and internally displaced persons; as well as for conflict-affected populations more generally. Certain sectors, such as the construction sector, have high growth potential in post-conflict environments, as much infrastructure needs to be rebuilt. It is essential, however, that jobs created in these sectors are directed at local populations and not just contracted out to international workers.

Young, H. and Osman, A. M., 2006, 'A Situation Analysis of the Ongoing Conflict and its Continuing Impact on Livelihoods', Feinstein International Centre, Tufts University, Medford Massachusetts

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Collier, P., 2007, 'Post-Conflict Recovery: How Should Policies be Distinctive?' Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, Oxford University, Oxford](#)

Should post-conflict economic policies be distinctive from other developing country policies? This paper by Paul Collier examines available evidence from post-conflict countries to assess the applicability of various economic policies in such settings. It concludes that post-conflict environments are distinctive situations and require different interventions to stimulate economic recovery and, ultimately, long-term peace.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For additional discussion and resources on employment and livelihoods, see the [socioeconomic recovery](#) section of this guide.

### ***Refugees and internally displaced populations***

Refugees and IDPs require not only immediate humanitarian assistance but also interventions to help secure durable solutions, such as livelihoods and employment. Assessments of refugee and IDP needs should be conducted as early as possible in the displacement cycle. The participation of refugees, IDPs and affected populations is essential as a right in itself and also to ensure that interventions are effective in meeting their needs. Effective participatory assessments should provide for separate, structured discussions with women, girls, men and boys of diverse ages and backgrounds in order to understand their specific protection risks, capacities, priorities and solutions.

Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) - Protection Cluster and Cluster Working Group on Early Recovery, 2007, 'Protection of Conflict-Induced IDPs: Assessment for Action', UNHCR, Geneva

[Access full text: available online](#)

Mailer, M., 2008, 'From Emergency to Recovery: Rescuing Northern Uganda's Transition, Oxfam Briefing Paper, Oxfam International

[Access full text: available online](#)

For additional discussion and resources on refugees and IDPs, see the [refugees and IDPs](#) section of this guide.

## Stabilisation

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Stabilisation, as defined and developed by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), is "an approach used in violent situations where it is difficult or impossible to pursue conventional programmes. Its aims are explicitly political: to help establish and sustain a legitimate government. And it often involves a degree of military coercion to reduce violence sufficiently to allow recovery, development and peacebuilding programmes" (DFID 2008)

Stability requires a political settlement between local actors (see [political settlements](#) in the GSDRC's fragile states guide). International intervention is often necessary, however, to compensate for weak domestic institutions and political processes. The 'exit plan' for stabilisation is for the state to provide the functions, in particular security, essential for long-term stability.

Diplomatic and development actors play important roles in supporting the political process and helping government to fulfil its functions. In the absence of security, however, the military often plays a critical role in stabilisation efforts – providing the essential security that allows non-military actors to operate. Should the military have to play a counterinsurgency role, there is a risk that humanitarian and development work that occurs alongside may be perceived as political in nature as well and targeted. Guidance on stabilisation stresses that it is essential to assess and address such risks.

[Stabilisation Unit, 2008, 'The UK Approach to Stabilisation: Stabilisation Unit Guidance Notes', Stabilisation Unit, London](#)

What lessons have been learned from UK experience in stabilisation interventions? This document from the UK Government's Stabilisation Unit outlines emerging best practice guidance on how to assess, plan, resource and carry out stabilisation operations. Major lessons of experience so far are to: recognise the complexity and uncertainty of the action required; ensure an integrated, comprehensive approach between local authorities and external partners; and build on as much understanding and sensitivity to the local environment as can be generated.

[Access full text: available online](#)

### *Socioeconomic programming*

The importance of economic well-being in the immediate period after hostilities is increasingly emphasised in the conflict literature. Livelihood creation, however, is still often relegated to a lower priority. This has been the case even in Iraq, where only US\$805 million of the nearly US\$20 billion of U.S.-appropriated funds to reconstruct Iraq was directed at jump-starting the private sector (Mendelson-Forman and

Mashatt 2007). There should be more consistent efforts in immediate 'post-war' situations to provide for employment and income generation.

Quick Impact Projects (QIPs) are a tool that is increasingly relied upon to deliver timely and noticeable effects on the ground. They can include delivering basic services (such as water, health or education), improving employment and income generating opportunities or contributing to local security. They are particularly necessary as community contribution mechanisms may be limited. There is, however, also a danger of creating aid dependencies. Hence, such an approach has to be subject to sound assessment of the transition to more development-oriented approaches. In Nepal, for example, some development agencies integrated quick impact measures to promote livelihoods into their existing development projects in the immediate aftermath of war (Paffenholz 2006).

Donors often take the lead in the delivery of services in stabilisation contexts due to weak state capacity. At the same time, however, one of the goals of stabilisation is to enhance state legitimacy. In order to resolve this discrepancy, literature on stabilisation advises that irrespective of the state's capacity, public information should seek to maximise the state's association with programmes, as this can help enhance its legitimacy.

[Mendelson-Forman, J. and Mashatt, M., 2007, 'Employment Generation and Economic Development in Stabilisation and Reconstruction Operations', Stabilisation and Reconstruction Series, No. 6, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC](#)

What role can employment generation play in stabilisation and immediate post-conflict environments? Is it appropriate to focus on livelihood creation in the first year after the cessation of fighting? This report from the United States Institute of Peace suggests that employment generation and economic development should be given a high priority in reconstruction efforts.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[GSDRC, 2009, Service Delivery and Stabilisation, Helpdesk Research Report, Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, Birmingham](#)

The most commonly cited potential benefits of service delivery in post-conflict environments are that visible delivery enhances state legitimacy, strengthens the social contract and hence, promotes state building. Delivery of services can also address underlying causes of conflict, i.e. social exclusion, and services such as health can be used as entry points for wider peace-building processes. American military experts often use the term 'health diplomacy' when talking about health interventions as a means of achieving strategic objectives in stabilisation contexts such as Afghanistan and Iraq, while at the same time aiming for a positive impact on the health sector as a whole. However, various commentators argue that there is little evidence to suggest that even major improvements in health services delivery have proved a singularly important factor in the consolidation of the peace process or in the successful passage from transitional government to a more stable political environment. This may be because, as other experts suggest, the legitimacy of the state depends on much more than the delivery of services and that stabilisation, therefore, requires a more multi-pronged and multi-layered approach.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Specker, L., 2008, 'Integrating Socio-economic Recovery into Post-Conflict Stabilisation Programmes', CRU Policy Brief, no. 7, Clingendael Institute, The Hague  
[Access full text: available online](#)

Paffenholz, T., 2006, 'Nepal: Staying Engaged in Conflict: Experiences and Lessons Learned from Conflict Sensitive Programme Management in Fragile Contexts with Armed Conflict', Asia Brief: Approaches, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, Bern  
[Access full text: available online](#)

For additional materials on socioeconomic programming, see the [socioeconomic recovery](#) section of this guide.

### ***Media***

The capacity of the media to influence progress in conflict-affected countries has been increasingly explored in recent years. A coherent and effective media strategy may contribute to the mitigation of post-war tensions by elevating moderate voices and dampening extremist ones, and allowing peaceful outlets for ongoing conflict management and dialogue. If media plans are not well designed, however, there is a risk that the media could reinforce divisions or that a weak media sector could be vulnerable to exploitation by warlords, political patrons, and spoilers.

[Bajraktari, Y. and Hsu, E., 2007, 'Developing Media in Stabilisation and Reconstruction Operations', United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC](#)

What strategies, tool and methods work best in the development of post-war media institutions? In war-torn societies, the development of independent, pluralistic, and sustainable media is critical to fostering long-term peace and stability. This report from the United States Institute of Peace aims to provide guidance by drawing on best practices from past and present post-war media development efforts. A permanent, indigenous mechanism dedicated to monitoring media development is critical to fostering a healthy, independent media sector. It is particularly important to monitor hate speech.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For further discussion and resources on the media in conflict and peacebuilding contexts, see [the media](#) section in this guide.

### ***Cultural preservation***

The protection of cultural heritage is another area that requires greater attention. The looting of Iraq's museums and archaeological sites in the immediate aftermath of the 2003 invasion has resulted in the devastating loss of Iraqi history and common heritage, essential for nationhood. The capacity to protect cultural sites during and after armed conflict must be strengthened. Military doctrine needs to incorporate concern for cultural property, possibly through training and awareness campaigns. Some analysts recommend that international police units, which may be better able to deal with civil disturbances and illicit activities than the military, should be deployed during armed conflict and in post-conflict stability operations.

Detwiler, E., 2008, 'Iraq's Cultural Heritage: Preserving the Past for the Sake of the Future', United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC

[Access full text: available online](#)

For further discussion and resources on cultural preservation in conflict contexts, see 'cultural heritage' in the [socioeconomic recovery](#) section of this guide.

### ***Role of women***

The participation and leadership of women in the immediate stabilisation period can serve as a 'window of opportunity' to empower women, promote gender equality, and advance women's position in society. Initiatives, funding, and projects that incorporate women, however, have largely been *ad hoc* and limited. There needs instead to be an overarching strategy with corresponding resources that ensures the inclusion of women in stabilisation operations.

[Conaway, C.P., 2005, 'Charting Progress: The Role of Women in Reconstruction and Stabilisation Operations', United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC](#)

To what extent are women included in reconstruction initiatives after conflict? This report from the United States Institute of Peace argues that despite progress within the United States (US) government to recognise the importance of women's inclusion in stabilisation and reconstruction operations, no overarching strategy or programme exists to ensure implementation. An ongoing capability must be institutionalised within the US government to enhance the role of women. Action taken prior to an intervention will improve the success of the mission.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For further discussion and resources on women in conflict and peacebuilding contexts, see the section on [women in conflict-affected areas](#) in this guide.

### ***Monitoring and evaluation***

Research on monitoring and evaluation practices caution that individual agencies often judge progress in large part on the basis of resources spent or the implementation of projects rather than their impact on stabilisation. This has made it difficult to determine the actual impact of interventions.

Devising indicators is also difficult in stabilisation contexts, as changes sought often relate to the attitudes and perceptions of local populations. Still, there are simple monitoring and evaluation tools that can be used to provide some indications, such as the use of proxies. The amount of travel along key routes, for example, may be a reliable indicator of how secure people feel.

[Cohen, C., 2006, 'Measuring Progress in Stabilisation and Reconstruction', Special Report, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC](#)

Measuring progress is essential to the success of stabilisation and reconstruction efforts. This report, published by the United States Institute of Peace, examines the shortcomings of current processes, including the tendency to measure implementation rather than impact. Proper assessment tools and reliable measures of progress are needed to enable policymakers to take stock of the challenges before intervening and to continuously track the progress of their efforts towards stabilisation. Political will is also essential to ensure leadership and cooperation across organisational boundaries.

[Access full text: available online](#)

### ***Case Study: Afghanistan***

The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) is a security and stabilisation force, with combat units that conduct joint security operations with the Afghan government's forces. It has provided security necessary for the implementation of diplomatic and development programmes and the strengthening of a new political order, under President Hamid Karzai. Much of the conflict literature on Afghanistan highlight however that the focus of ISAF operations in Kabul has left the rest of Afghanistan vulnerable to takeover by non-state actors, including armed militias, drug barons and traffickers, who have sought to undermine the central government.

Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) are civil-military organisations that were established in 2002 to provide security and reconstruction outside of Kabul and to extend the reach of the Afghan government beyond the capital. PRTs have been controversial, however. Their attempts to build up good will with local populations through the construction of schools, clinics, wells, and other small village improvements have been criticised for securitising aid. Relief agencies have argued that blurring the distinction between combatants and humanitarian workers has put them at risk. In addition, research has found that "Afghan populations are sceptical about military intentions, and are not fooled by simplistic material incentives designed to 'win hearts and minds'" (Azarbaijani-Moghaddam, Wardak, and Zaman 2008: 8).

[Saikal, A., 2006, 'Afghanistan's Transition: ISAF's Stabilisation Role?', \*Third World Quarterly\*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 525-534](#)

What role has the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) played in Afghanistan? This article from *Third World Quarterly* provides an overview of conditions in Afghanistan and discusses the expanding structure and function of ISAF. It argues that the ISAF has made important contributions to stabilisation and reconstruction. Yet it has also suffered shortcomings, arising mainly from tensions between the US and NATO allies. Nonetheless, the ISAF model is worth studying for future international deployments in conflict zones.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Azarbaijani-Moghaddam S., Wardak, M., Zaman, I., 2008, 'Afghan Hearts, Afghan Minds: Exploring Afghan Perceptions of Civil-Military Relations' Research conducted for the European Network of NGOs in Afghanistan (ENNA) and the British and Irish Agencies Afghanistan Group (BAAG)

[Access full text: available online](#)

USAID, 2006, 'Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan: An Interagency Assessment, USAID, Washington, DC

[Access full text: available online](#)

Perito, R. M., 2005, 'The U.S. Experience with Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan: Lessons Identified', Special Report, no. 152, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC

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## Peacebuilding

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### Introduction

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Peacebuilding, as defined by the United Nations, involves “a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict, to strengthen national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritised, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives”.

This understanding of peacebuilding reflects the growing consensus that peace requires more than the absence of direct or physical violence (‘negative peace’ as defined by Johan Galtung). Instead, it is a long-term process that should aim to achieve the absence of indirect or structural violence (‘positive peace’ as defined by Galtung). Positive peace incorporates notions of social justice and social cohesion.

Peacebuilding has come to be seen as the collective, strategic framework under which security, humanitarian, governance, development, social cohesion and social capital, and reconciliation dimensions can be brought together to address the causes and impact of conflict and build mechanisms for non-violent conflict management. Recognition of the importance of local context and capacities, and the participation of a wide range of local actors in peacebuilding is essential.

United Nations, 2009, ‘Report of the Secretary-General on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict’, Report, no. A/63/881-S/2009/304, United Nations, General Assembly, Security Council, New York

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Barnett, M., Kim, H., O'Donnell, M., and Sitea, L., 2007, 'Peacebuilding: What is in a Name?', \*Global Governance\*, 13, pp. 35-38](#)

How is peacebuilding interpreted in meaning and practice? To what extent has it been institutionalised? Peacebuilding is generically defined as external interventions designed to prevent armed conflict. This article, published in *Global Governance*, surveys twenty-four governmental and intergovernmental bodies that are active in peacebuilding. It analyses how they conceptualise and operationalise their peacebuilding mandate, along with mapping areas of potential concern. It finds that

most programmes have focused on the immediate or underlying causes of conflict, to the relative neglect of state institutions.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For resources on coherence and coordination of peacebuilding missions, see the section on section on [coherence, coordination, sequencing and funding mechanisms](#) in this guide.

## Peacebuilding models

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### *The liberal peace model*

The liberal peace model, which emerged at the end of the 1980s, is premised on the belief that the promotion of a liberal democracy and market-oriented economy in post-conflict countries will create the conditions for lasting peace. Democratisation, under this model, is considered essential for creating the space for non-violent conflict management and resolution, and market economics is seen as the best method of promoting economic growth.

While still perceived as the dominant model, the liberal peace model has been subject to much criticism. Some theorists and practitioners portray it as top-down, formulaic and ethnocentric. They argue that the imposition of an external model that is disconnected from societies will undermine the legitimacy of institutions and participation in such institutions. The liberal peace project is not equally foreign to all countries, however. Post-conflict societies in which some form of democratic institutions may have already existed, for example, may fare better under this model.

The liberal peace model has also been criticised for failing to address societal tensions, fear and distrust that persist from the conflict, resulting in an unstable peace. In some cases, political and economic liberalisation processes may even exacerbate tensions. High levels of societal competition, sparked by liberalisation, and the absence of a state that can peacefully manage disputes, may increase the risk of renewed violence. Economic stabilisation processes can also intensify social exclusion, inequality and marginalisation. A more gradual approach has been proposed, which delays democratic and market reforms until a basic network of domestic institutions are in place. These institutions include social-safety nets, moderate media channels and cross-cutting associations that can build social capital.

[Paris, R., 2004, 'Introduction', in \*At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict\*, Cambridge University Press, pp.1-10](#)

What is the relationship between liberalisation, institution building and peace in countries that are just emerging from civil conflict? Roland Paris' book examines post-conflict operations between 1989 and 1999. This introductory chapter outlines the author's argument that while peacebuilders should preserve the broad goal of converting war-shattered states into liberal market democracies, peacebuilding strategies need to build effective institutions before liberalisation takes place.

[Access full text: via document delivery](#)

[Kurtenbach, S., 2007, 'Why Is Liberal Peace-building So Difficult? Some Lessons from Central America' GIGA Working Paper, no. 59, German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Institute of Latin American Studies](#)

Has the liberal peace-building model been successful in addressing the challenges faced by post-war societies? This paper from the German Institute for Global and Area Studies examines peace processes in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. It finds that outside of the historical example of Western Europe, the termination of war does not necessarily represent a critical juncture for pacification, democracy and market liberalisation. Central American post-war societies do not provide proof for a self-enforcing cycle of peace, democracy and development assumed by liberal peace-building, but demonstrate instead a negative cycle of social exclusion, criminality and weak governance and development.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Suhrke, A., 2007, 'Reconstruction as Modernisation: The Post-conflict Project in Afghanistan?', \*Third World Quarterly\*, 28:7, pp. 1291-1308](#)

How successful has the recent post-war reconstruction of Afghanistan been in the light of historical experiences of similar reforms? This *Third World Quarterly* article argues that the conflation of post war reconstruction with a broader agenda for development and modernisation has brought out a wide range of tensions associated with social change. The entire project shows signs of severe contradictions that are adding to the problems caused by the growing insurgency.

[Access full text: available online](#)

### ***Alternative contextual approaches to the liberal peace***

Despite criticisms of the liberal peace model, a viable full-fledged alternative model has yet to emerge. There have, however, been different adaptations of and approaches to the liberal peace model.

In the Middle East, both the Gulf States and Jihad Al Bina (the reconstruction wing of Hezbollah) adopted a model in Lebanon that had aspects that were similar and different to the Western model. A key divergence was the reliance by Jihad Al Bina and Gulf States on unconditional cash transfers to affected families. These were considered to be beneficial as they were instantaneous and unencumbered by bureaucracy and gave recipients choice and a sense of autonomy.

In Africa, the African Union and NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) have identified the dismantling of exploitative war economies as a priority for promoting peace. This has resulted in the articulation of a 'developmental peacekeeping' model that seeks to achieve sustainable political and economic development that will promote the advancement of democracy and the dismantling of war economies and conflict systems.

[MacGinty, R., 2007, 'Reconstructing Post-war Lebanon: A Challenge to the Liberal Peace?', \*Conflict, Security and Development\*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 457-482](#)

In the aftermath of the 2006 Israeli-Hezbollah War in Lebanon, the Gulf States and Jihad Al Bina, Hezbollah's reconstruction wing, undertook significant post-war reconstruction activities. This article from *Conflict, Security and Development* examines the extent to which these reconstruction activities constitute an alternative to the liberal peace. While they do not have the critical mass or ambition to constitute a fully-fledged alternative, they reveal limitations in the liberal peace approach to reconstruction.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Neethling, T., 2005, 'The Security-Development Nexus and the Imperative of Peacebuilding with Special Reference to the African Context', African Journal on Conflict Resolution, vol. 5, no. 1, pp.33-60](#)

How is the link between security and development influencing peacebuilding activities in post-conflict countries? This article reviews case studies from Kosovo, Sierra Leone, and Angola and finds that international actors are already adapting their post-conflict strategies to integrate issues of human security and welfare. It contends that further efforts should be made to embrace the link between security and development, including the implementation of 'developmental peacekeeping'.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[NEPAD, 2005, 'African Post-conflict Reconstruction Policy Framework', New Partnership for Africa's Development \(NEPAD\) Secretariat, Governance, Peace and Security Programme, South Africa](#)

What constitutes an African framework for post-conflict reconstruction? This policy framework has been developed by the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and aims to provide a common frame of reference and conceptual base for the assessment, planning, coordination and monitoring of post-conflict reconstruction systems across Africa.

[Access full text: available online](#)

### ***Alternative conceptual approaches to peacebuilding: transformative peacebuilding***

A broader understanding of peacebuilding that incorporates the need to address structural causes of violence and to engage in deeper social transformation has not necessarily resulted in a new way of doing things. Recent research advocates for an evolution from the technical peacebuilding approach that has dominated thus far to a 'transformative peacebuilding' approach. This latter approach seeks to mainstream transformative elements into project designs, in particular a deliberate focus on building relationships as an adjunct to addressing other content and tasks.

Other research calls for a move away from a debate focused on whether international actors or local actors are best placed to engage in peacebuilding. What is considered more useful is developing a nuanced understanding of how international and domestic forces interact in post-conflict situations, and what relationship between the two is most likely to be conducive to the goals of sustainable peace.

[Fisher, S. and Zimina, L., 2009, 'Just Wasting Our Time? Provocative Thoughts for Peacebuilders' Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin](#)

Whose peace are peacebuilders working for? Should peacebuilders be working to transform or reinforce the status quo? This paper from the Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management argues that the impact of the peacebuilding community has been stunted by factors including lack of clarity about values, deference towards political leaders, organisational rivalry and lack of competent practitioners. The authors argue for and outline an approach to transformative peacebuilding.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Bozicevic, G., 2009, Reflections on Peacebuilding from Croatia, Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Donais, T., 2009, 'Empowerment or Imposition? Dilemmas of Local Ownership in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Processes', \*Peace & Change\*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 3-26](#)

Local ownership is accepted in theory but rarely practised in post-conflict peacebuilding. This paper from the journal *Peace and Change* explores understandings of 'local ownership' in contemporary peacebuilding and considers the challenges of operationalising it. New efforts are needed to bridge the international-local divide in the name of sustainable peacebuilding.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Lederach, J. P., Neufeldt, R. and Culbertson, H., 2007, 'Reflective Peacebuilding', Catholic Relief Services and Joan B. Kroc, Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame

[Access full text: available online](#)

For further resources and discussion on transformative peacebuilding, see 'social renewal processes and coexistence programming' in the [reconciliation, social renewal and inclusiveness](#) section, as well as 'economic recovery' in the [socioeconomic recovery](#) section of this guide.

## **State-building and peacebuilding**

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State-building is not synonymous with peacebuilding, but represents an integral part of peacebuilding. State-building interventions seek to build functioning and self-sustaining state structures that re-establish the social contract between the state and citizens and promote state legitimacy.

State-building has gained prominence in the past decade in the context of state fragility and has developed as an independent discipline outside of peacebuilding. There are attempts now to explore how support for state-building and peacebuilding can be integrated. While coming from different angles, peacebuilding and state-building converge in their aim to strengthen the relationship between the state and society and to promote a representative and inclusive political system.

A common problem in post-conflict countries is the existence of different frameworks aimed at achieving similar goals. In Sierra Leone, for example, there is a government-led development framework under a National Poverty Reduction Strategy and at the same time a peacebuilding strategy lead by the UN peace support office. This has constrained the development of a coherent strategic approach to state and peacebuilding.

[DFID, 2009, 'Building the State and Securing the Peace', Department for International Development, London](#)

How can support for state-building and peace-building be integrated? This Emerging Policy Paper from the UK Department for International Development (DFID) outlines a strategic framework for DFID's engagement in situations of conflict and fragility, plus operational implications. DFID's integrated approach to state-building and peace-building aims primarily to promote inclusive political settlements. This

facilitates the further goals of: (i) addressing causes of conflict and building resolution mechanisms; (ii) developing state survival functions; and (iii) responding to public expectations. Support across all four of these interrelated areas is necessary to help create a positive peace- and state-building dynamic.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Van Brabant, K., 2008, 'Peacebuilding and Statebuilding. An Invitation for Reflection: Interpeace's Experiences', Interpeace, Geneva](#)

How can international actors accelerate the socio-political processes of state formation in fragile states? This paper from Interpeace examines the experience of the organisation in state-building, focusing on state-society relations as the core concept of state formation. Building democratic culture to support long-term socio-political negotiations is the most effective means of securing peace and building strong states.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Schwarz, R., 2005, 'Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: The Challenges of Security, Welfare and Representation', *Security Dialogue*, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 429-446

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Suhrke, A. and Wimpelmann, T., 2007, 'Peace Processes and State building: Economic and Institutional Provisions of Peace Agreements', Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen](#)

To what extent have recent civil war peace agreements included state-building provisions? This paper, prepared for the World Bank and the UNDP by the Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), reviews the academic literature and examines recent peace agreements to assess the degree to which they make provision for future state operations. State-building provisions may involve a trade-off between the goals of ending hostilities and setting norms for peace-building. The characteristics of a conflict may determine the effectiveness of peace agreement provisions.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Call, C.T., E.M. Cousens, 2007, 'Ending Wars and Building Peace?', Working with Crisis Working Paper Series, International Peace Academy, New York](#)

How effective are international efforts to build peace? This paper, published by the International Peace Academy, assesses the status of international peace efforts and highlights chronic weaknesses in peacekeeping processes. In recent years, international and bi-lateral institutions have made efforts to fine-tune their peacebuilding processes. However, systemic issues of international political will and attention, resource allocation and a failure to recognise local contexts continue to affect the ability of international and national actors to establish enduring peace.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For discussion and resources on state-building, see the [state-building](#) section of the GSDRC's fragile states guide.

## **Governance programming**

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Restoring governance is crucial in post-conflict countries. There are varying perspectives of what this entails. A narrow perspective of governance focuses on improving public management and strengthening government capacity to perform

essential functions. A broader perspective looks at expanding the capacity of government, the private sector, and civil society organisations to exercise political and economic authority to manage a nation's affairs (see UNDESA and UNDP 2007).

Ultimately, the aim of governance programming is to shape a society's capacity to manage conflicting interests peacefully. This aim is facilitated through a range of donor activities, including assistance with: drafting constitutions, the electoral process, the development of inclusive institutions, public sector reform, justice sector reform, anti-corruption initiatives, the promotion of civil society, and conflict resolution projects.

Governance reforms cannot be viewed as technocratic exercises. They aim to reshape a society and are political in nature. In order to be effectual, reforms require public support for change, a sense of local ownership, political commitment to implement reforms and the administrative and financial capacity to do so.

[UNDESA and UNDP, 2007, 'The Challenges of Restoring Governance in Crisis and Post-Conflict Countries', United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs and United Nations Development Programme](#)

International assistance organisations are crucial to helping governments increase their capacity to perform essential functions during post-conflict recovery. This book, from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), examines the challenges of restoring effective governance in crisis and post-conflict countries. Because the challenges facing these countries are complex and varied, governments and international organisations cannot rely on universally applicable approaches to restoring governance.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Chr. Michelsen Institute, 2004, Governance Interventions in Post-War Situations: Lessons Learned, Research Paper, UNDP & Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen Seminar Series, 5–7 May](#)

Which democratic systems are most likely to be successful in different post war contexts? What has been learned in the last ten years of peace building in countries such as Guatemala and Afghanistan? This paper, from the Chr Michelson Institute in Norway, looks at the recent experience in internationally assisted transitions from war to peace. Governance is a process, not a product, a long-term perspective is necessary and social engineering has distinct limits. External actors need to be conscious of the dilemmas of ownership and assistance that a post war situation presents. The dilemma is inherent in all aid activities, but is accentuated in a post war situation by the imbalance in resources and administrative capacity that typically exist.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Hesselbein, G., Golooba Mutebi, F. and Putzel, J., 2006, 'Economic and Political Foundations of State-Making in Africa: Understanding State Reconstruction', Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics, London](#)

How can the process of state reconstruction be understood? This working paper from the Crisis States Research Centre examines state reconstruction in Uganda, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo in light of Tanzania's experience of establishing a stable state. Overall, it argues that a 'state in the making' lies somewhere between 'traditional' forms of organisation and the modern state and

formal economy. Its conclusions cast doubt on the idea that state-making is best pursued through modern liberal democracy.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Wassara, S. S., 2009, 'The Comprehensive Peace Agreement in the Sudan: Institutional Developments and Political Trends in Focus Areas', Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway

[Access full text: available online](#)

For discussion and resources on (re)building governance institutions, see the [state-building](#) section of the GSDRC's fragile states guide.

### ***Elections, electoral systems and political institutions***

The objectives of post-conflict elections are generally to move the conflict from the military battleground to the political arena; to legitimise the power of a government; and to instigate the democratisation process.

The sequencing and timing of elections is highlighted as a key issue in much conflict and governance literature. Elections may be held before the necessary accompanying conditions have been met. Holding elections before a society is demilitarised, for example, increases the risk of renewed violence by those who lose in the political arena. In cases where elections need to be deferred, other instruments of vertical accountability (e.g. civic organisations and media) and horizontal accountability (e.g. 'watchdog') organisations can fill the void and contribute to the establishment of the necessary conditions.

The design of electoral systems and political institutions should be informed by a clear understanding of groups that have traditionally been excluded (e.g. women and minority groups). Research on constitutional design in emerging democracies suggests that parliamentary democracy is preferable to presidentialism as the latter tends to promote zero-sum competition and personalistic leadership. In post-conflict contexts, particularly in divided societies, such factors may increase the risk of renewed tension and violence. Parliamentary democracy is considered instead to encourage compromise and coalitions, and to provide a forum for concerns of diverse members of society. In reality however, studies indicate that parliaments have often fallen short of these ideals. Weak parliaments have suffered from the dominance of the executive, armed groups and other non-state actors, and have been unable to generate support from the public.

[Reynolds, A., 2006, 'Electoral Systems and the Protection and Participation of Minorities', Report, Minority Rights Group International, London](#)

In every successful case of peaceful and democratic conflict avoidance in the world, minority communities have been included and protected by the legislative process. This report by Minority Rights Group International focuses on the electoral system and makes a number of recommendations for best practice in minority representation and electoral system design. The participation of minorities in the legislative process at the stage of electoral reform is a key tool, both in peace building and in future conflict prevention.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Matlosa, K., 2004, 'Electoral Systems, Constitutionalism and Conflict Management in Southern Africa', *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 11-54

[Access full text: available online](#)

[GSDRC, 2008, 'Election-related Conflict', Helpdesk Research Report, Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, Birmingham](#)

Election-related conflict or violence can occur at any stage of the electoral process – from pre-election registration, candidate nomination and campaigning to election day balloting to post-election results. Although election-related conflict is an under-researched area, there is a small body of literature that addresses its potential causes and methods of prevention and mitigation. This response considers electoral system choice, electoral administration, consultation, political parties and the disarmament of armed groups and the question of whether to include them in the political process, civic education, media and election monitoring.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[UNDP, 2007, 'Parliaments, Crisis Prevention and Recovery: Guidelines for the International Community', UNDP, New York](#)

What is the role of parliaments in peacebuilding and crisis management? How can the international community best support them? These guidelines from the United Nations Development Programme suggest that assistance by external actors underestimates the productive role that parliamentary institutions can play. The formulation of peacebuilding strategies and power-sharing arrangements should consider impacts on democratic governance development. Electoral assistance must be backed by investments in long-term parliamentary strengthening in order to achieve human development and to avoid public disillusionment with the democratic process.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For further discussion and resources on elections in conflict contexts, see the [Elections in post-conflict or fragile environments](#) section of the GSDRC's Political Systems guide

For discussion and resources on the role and impact of power-sharing arrangements in peacebuilding, see 'power-sharing' in the [peace agreements](#) section of this guide.

### ***Participation and Inclusion***

Sustainable peace requires public trust in government, in particular among societal groups that had previously been excluded from political or administrative participation. Academics and practitioners alike argue that the inclusiveness of political institutions is of key importance, particularly in post-conflict contexts. It can also result in other forms of inclusion. Political voice and the ability to influence decision making facilitates forms of socioeconomic inclusion, such as land rights, educational and employment opportunities. It also facilitates notions of citizenship.

In addition to being an important end in itself, participation and inclusion can also be vital for peacebuilding and conflict prevention. Ghana serves as an important case study for the successful peaceful management of horizontal inequalities. Successive Ghanaian regimes have sought to reduce regional developmental gaps and to maintain a culturally and religiously inclusive state. This commitment, studies indicate, has diffused grievances and prevented ethno-regional political mobilisation.

A common tool to promote inclusion is the use of a quota system/reservations for government posts and seats in Parliament for women and minority groups, for example. The efficacy of this tool has been widely debated. Some argue that it can be tokenistic and may detract from the need to address underlying problems like systematic discrimination. Others see it as a necessary step that will allow for gradual social transformation and changes in attitudes. Minority-based political parties are another tool that gives voice to groups that have been excluded. This approach is also debated. Although sometimes genuinely desired by communities, there is a risk that the promotion of separate political outlets for different groups will detract from the promotion of long-term understanding and coexistence. In addition, all issues may be increasingly seen through the lens of ethnicity or religion, exacerbating the perception of group differences. This risk, some argue, can be countered if such mechanisms are accompanied by cultural and education policies that promotes inter-group cohesion.

[Stewart, F., undated, 'Policies Towards Horizontal Inequalities in Post-Conflict Reconstruction', Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity \(CRISE\), Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford](#)

Horizontal Inequalities (HIs) are a major potential source of conflict. In cases where they are identified as a significant cause of conflict they must be addressed to avoid further outbreaks of violence. What types of policies reduce HIs in post-conflict settings? What are the potential risks of such policies? This working paper, from the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE), considers the types of policies likely to reduce HIs and discusses evidence of how far post-conflict policies in Mozambique and Guatemala have taken HI considerations into account.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Langer, A., 2009, 'Living with Diversity: The Peaceful Management of Horizontal Inequalities in Ghana', *Journal of International Development*, vol. 21 no. 4, pp. 534-546

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Baldwin, C., Chapman, C., and Gray, Z., 2007, 'Minority Rights: The Key to Conflict Prevention', Minority Rights Group International, London](#)

Minority issues lie at the heart of many of the world's conflicts. Yet minority rights are often marginalised in peace processes and conflict prevention programmes. This study, by the Minority Rights Group, looks at Chechnya, Darfur, Kashmir, Kosovo and Sri Lanka. Understanding the warning signs provided by minority rights violations could prevent conflicts. Groups should not be separated along ethnic, religious or linguistic lines as a way of creating peace, as such divisions can entrench old hatreds and wounds in the long term.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Lyytikäinen, M., 2009, 'Building Inclusive Post-Conflict Governance: How the EU Can Support Women's Political Participation', Initiative for Peacebuilding, International Alert, London](#)

How can the EU and other donors support increased women's political participation in post-conflict situations? What can be done to ensure that this results in meaningful change for women in general? This paper from the Initiative for Peacebuilding recommends practical strategies for the EU and other donors to guide the consideration of gender issues into their post-conflict governance interventions.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[GSDRC, 2008, 'Quotas for Women's Representation in Africa', Helpdesk Research Report, Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, Birmingham](#)

The success of quota systems in many African countries is largely attributed to: strong and active women's movements; regional bodies such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) that have adopted gender balanced representation and set quota targets for member countries; and opportunities in post-conflict and transition societies, which allowed for advances in women's representation.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For discussion and resources on the role and impact of power-sharing arrangements in peacebuilding, see 'power-sharing' in the [peace agreements](#) section of this guide.

### ***Combating Corruption***

Corruption is a symptom of dysfunctional state-society relations. Policies to counter corruption may include: redesigning programmes to limit the underlying incentives for pay-offs, for example through streamlining and simplifying regulations; and creating mechanisms for accountability and transparency of government actions, such as a freedom-of-information law. A key challenge for peacebuilders is to develop and enforce standards for public office that are sufficiently linked to local norms and expectations to generate support.

Combating corruption is especially challenging when it extends to criminal networks and organised crime. In some cases, corruption and criminal networks were incorporated in the strategies of rule of pre-war regimes. In other cases, corruption and illicit networks emerged as a part of war economies. In either case, they involve powerful actors, who are likely to undermine governance reforms and prescriptions for change.

[Rose-Ackerman, S., 2008, 'Corruption and Government', \*International Peacekeeping\*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 328-343](#)

How does corruption affect post-conflict states? This article from the journal *International Peacekeeping* surveys cross-country evidence to consider how the weakness of institutions and leadership in post-conflict states make them a haven for both low-level and high-level corruption. It argues that although it is difficult and risky to include counter-corruption in post-conflict peacebuilding, if corruption is allowed to fester, it can undermine other efforts to create a stable, well-functioning state with popular legitimacy. International assistance can help, but it needs to be carefully tailored to avoid exacerbating the underlying problem created by the mixture of corruption and violence.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Philp, M., 2008, 'Peacebuilding and Corruption', \*International Peacekeeping\*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 310-327](#)

This article from *International Peacekeeping* suggests an understanding of corruption that combines 'core' universal features (actions, decisions and processes that subvert or distort the nature of public office and the political process) with acknowledgement of the importance of local norms. A primary task of peacebuilding is to create a shared set of rules and norms that will govern the exercise of public office in a context where multiple sets of rules compete. In post-conflict situations, corruption

cannot always be either avoided or prioritised. While it should not be tolerated, strategic focus is required, and interventions must be realistic about what is achievable.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Reno, W., 2009, 'Understanding Criminality in West African Conflicts', \*International Peacekeeping\*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 47-61](#)

What are the links between illicit commerce and political relationships in West Africa? How can a contextualised understanding of social relationships improve approaches to post-conflict statebuilding? This article from *International Peacekeeping* critiques the automatic criminalisation of armed networks, some of which have strong societal roots. It argues for a more nuanced understanding of the connection between illicit economic activities and violent conflict and a more pragmatic approach to post-conflict statebuilding. A strategy that selectively incorporates some networks, and targets the more predatory, is likely to be most effective.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Looney, R., 2008, 'Reconstruction and Peacebuilding Under Extreme Adversity: The Problem of Pervasive Corruption in Iraq', \*International Peacekeeping\*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 424-440](#)

How can corruption in Iraq be controlled? What forces are driving domestic corruption in the country? This article from the *Journal of International Peacekeeping* argues that corruption in Iraq is the product of three interrelated forces: the growth of the informal economy, the deterioration of social capital, and the evolving relationship between tribes, gangs and insurgents. To reduce the impact of corruption, oil revenues could be distributed directly to the public.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Further discussion and resources on corruption can be found in the [political and institutional factors](#) section in the causes of conflict component in this guide, as well as under 'war and shadow economies' in the [socioeconomic recovery](#) section of this guide.

### ***Rule of law and justice reform***

Rule of law commonly refers to "the principle of the supremacy of the law, equality before the law, fair and impartial application of the law, legal certainty and procedural transparency" (Hansen, and Wiharta 2007: xvi). It serves to safeguard against arbitrary governance and is essential for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict between different actors in society.

Conflicts are often preceded by a weakening or breakdown in the rule of law. Conflict in turn destroys existing justice and security systems. Post-conflict rule of law programming comprises various aspects, such as the promotion of human rights, constitution-making, justice sector reforms and working with traditional justice mechanisms. Rule of law programming cannot be implemented uniformly, but should instead incorporate local frames of reference and local systems of dispute resolution in order for local populations to have confidence in the system. It is important, however, that such local systems do not reinforce local power inequities or patterns of social exclusion.

[Bassu, G., 2008, 'Law Overruled: Strengthening the Rule of Law in Post-Conflict States', \*Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism\*, vol. 14, no.1, pp. 21-38](#)

What is meant by 'the rule of law', and how can it most effectively be promoted in post-conflict states? This article from *Global Governance* considers definitions, and outlines lessons from Kosovo and Haiti. Donors need to recognise rule of law reform as a political activity, and to harmonise as much as possible potentially contradictory elements: (a) local narratives and resources; and (b) the historical connection of the traditional 'thick' version of the rule of law with a liberal democratic state.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Hansen, A. S. and Wiharta, S., 2007, 'The Transition to a Just Order: Establishing Local Ownership after Conflict - A Policy Report', Folke Bernadotte Academy, Sweden](#)

The rule of law must be addressed as part of any effort to prevent, manage or resolve conflict. This report, by the Folke Bernadotte Academy, argues that local stakeholders should be given as much authority as possible in establishing the rule of law. Although the shape and pace of reform will vary in different areas of the justice and security sector, popular and political acceptance is indispensable to all stages of the transition in order for it to be consolidated.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Hansen, A. S., Wiharta, S., Claussen, B. R., and Kjeksrud, S. 2007, 'The Transition to a Just Order: Establishing Local Ownership after Conflict - A Practitioners' Guide', Folke Bernadotte Academy, Sweden](#)

How should local ownership be promoted as part of justice and security sector reform? This handbook, by the Folke Bernadotte Academy, suggests ways of putting the principle of local ownership into practice. Transferring the responsibility for rule of law to local stakeholders is complicated but essential. It is important to build the capacity of local people to drive change and sustain efforts to strengthen the rule of law.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For more discussion and resources on rule of law, justice sector reform, and transitional justice, see the [conflict-affected and fragile states](#), [non-state justice and security systems](#) and [transitional justice](#) sections of the GSDRC's justice guide.

## **Socioeconomic Recovery**

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There is consensus that recovery does not mean rebuilding pre-conflict structures and dynamics, or a return to pre-conflict economic trends. Instead, recovery should be seen as a process of socioeconomic transformation. The ultimate aim is to establish the conditions for self-sustaining equitable growth and human development while addressing key risk factors for the renewal of violence.

Socioeconomic recovery thus covers a broad range of activities spanning reconstruction of physical infrastructure, livelihood and employment generation, rehabilitation of public health and educational systems, development of social safety nets, legal and regulatory reforms, private sector development, the creation of markets and transparent banking and financial institutions.

[Brown, G., Langer, A., Stewart, F., 2008, 'A Typology of Post-Conflict Environments: An Overview', Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity \(CRISE\) Oxford University, Oxford](#)

Which policies to promote sustainable peace-building and socio-economic development are needed in different types of post-conflict environment? This paper, from the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, offers a typology of post-conflict environments, suggesting that policy choice should be informed by three key variables: the state of economic development; the presence of high-value natural resources; and the existence of sharp horizontal inequalities. Four enabling conditions are also important in determining policy options and effectiveness - the state of security, the commitments of the international community to the country, state capacity and the inclusivity of government.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Lewarne, S. and Snelbecker, D., 2004, 'Economic Governance in War Torn Economies: Lessons Learned from the Marshall Plan to the Reconstruction of Iraq', Long Report Prepared for USAID:

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Gueli, R., Liebenberg, S., and Van Huyssteen, E., 2007, 'Integrated Development Planning in South Africa: Lessons for International Peacebuilding?', African Journal on Conflict Resolution, vol. 7, no. 1, pp.89-112](#)

How can international peacebuilding efforts be better integrated? This article assesses the efforts of the UN to improve donor coordination in post-conflict settings and finds that, in spite of recent reform efforts, peacebuilding missions still often lack integrated systems of planning and implementation. It recommends that the international community draws lessons the post-apartheid South African experience on developing an integrated approach to governance that both meets immediate needs and lays the foundation for lasting peace. Multi-agency planning requires structured and systematic interaction, alignment of different planning instruments, and targeted interventions.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For discussion and resources on service delivery, see the [service delivery and state-building](#) section of the GSDRC's fragile states guide and the [service delivery in conflict and fragile contexts](#) section of the GSDRC's service delivery guide.

### ***Transformation of war economies***

There are typically three types of war economies: the combat economy, shadow or parallel economy, and coping economy. The combat economy concerns the exploitation of natural resources and illicit goods by individuals and groups to finance armed conflict. The shadow or parallel economy refers to opportunistic activities outside of the formal economy. While actors in this economy benefit from conflict conditions that allow for their activities, they are not necessarily committed to the pursuance of war. The coping economy refers to survival tactics adopted by individuals in the absence of a functioning state.

These distinctions should be recognised when devising strategies and policies aimed at transforming war economies. Shadow economies that are not conflict-oriented could potentially be brought into the formal sector, for example. The combination of different types of economies also needs to be considered. International actors and

the Afghan government have targeted the poppy industry in Afghanistan in order to stem funding for the Taliban. This industry, however, as highlighted in much current literature on Afghanistan, also provides coping livelihoods for a vast number of Afghans. In the absence of alternatives, this policy of eradication could alienate local populations from government officials and local tribal elites who support the policy.

[Studdard, K., 2004, 'War Economies in a Regional Context: Overcoming the Challenges of Transformation', International Peace Academy, New York](#)

What is the relationship between the regional dimensions of war economies and peacebuilding in post-conflict situations? This report, published by the International Peace Academy, argues that the failure to consider the regional dynamics of war economies undermines peacebuilding efforts. Policy-makers should distinguish between economic activities that pose a threat to peace processes and activities that contribute to social and economic stability. Certain informal regional economic activities that are presently ignored or criminalised should be incorporated into peacebuilding and reconstruction strategies.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Wennman, A., 2005, 'Resourcing the Recurrence of Intrastate Conflict: Parallel Economies and Their Implications for Peacebuilding', *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 36, No. 4, 479-494

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Felbab-Brown, Vanda, 2009, 'Peacekeepers Among Poppies: Afghanistan, Illicit Economies and Intervention', \*International Peacekeeping\*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 100-114](#)  
[What have been the effects of counter-narcotics policies in Afghanistan since 2001?](#)

Have eradication campaigns been successful? This article from the *Journal of International Peacekeeping* argues that aggressive opium poppy eradication programmes have been premature and counterproductive. They have not increased stability or undermined the counter-insurgency. It concludes that the most important role peacekeeping forces can play is providing security. The term peacekeeping is used to refer not only to UN missions, but also to other international missions.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For discussion and resources on corruption, see the [governance programming](#) section of the peacebuilding component of this guide.

For resources on organised crime, see 'serious crimes' in the [conflict-affected and fragile states](#) section of the GSDRC's justice guide.

### ***Livelihoods and Employment***

Livelihoods are "the means by which households obtain and maintain access to the resources necessary to ensure their immediate and long-term survival" (USAID 2005: 2). It is acknowledged that livelihoods and employment require sustained attention beginning early in the recovery process. Meeting these needs is essential to ease suffering and help people in conflict-affected societies to re-establish their lives. Active employment is also considered crucial for occupying demobilised combatants and unemployed civilian youth, and committing them to the peace process. Nonetheless, economic strategies for international assistance interventions still seem to fail to direct sufficient attention and funding to livelihood and employment

generation. It is often assumed instead that long-term growth through macroeconomic stabilisation can be relied upon for job creation.

Livelihoods and self-employment can be supported through grants for small and medium enterprises, access to microfinance and credit institutions, and the establishment of infrastructure to facilitate remittances. These mechanisms are usually not sufficient, however, for generating significant employment. Large public works projects may be needed to jump-start employment. Ultimately though, long-term employment generation will likely rely heavily upon private sector development (see private sector development below).

United Nations, 2009, 'United Nations Policy for Post-Conflict Employment Generation, Income Generation and Reintegration', United Nations, Geneva

[Access full text: available online](#)

[USAID, 2005, 'Livelihoods and Conflict: A Toolkit for Intervention', USAID, Washington, DC](#)

The failure of livelihoods can contribute to conflict by weakening society's social fabric and forcing people to resort to violence in order to obtain necessary resources. This toolkit, published by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), examines the relationship between conflict and livelihoods and presents lessons learned from programmes promoting sustainable livelihoods. Rebuilding infrastructures and agricultural inventories, fostering market linkages and rebuilding trust among agricultural communities all constitute legitimate livelihood programmes.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Justino, P., 2009, 'The Impact of Armed Civil Conflict on Household Welfare and Policy Responses', HiCN Working Paper, no. 61, Households in Conflict Network, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton](#)

How does armed conflict impact on households and how do they respond to and cope with it? This paper from the Institute of Development Studies examines the direct and indirect effects of conflicts and shows that the indirect effects are channelled through markets, political institutions and social networks. Until there is more research on the fundamental processes linking armed civil conflict and household welfare, it will be difficult to develop effective policies for preventing and resolving conflicts.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Woodward, S.L. 2002, 'Economic Priorities for Peace Implementation', Policy Paper Series on Peace Implementation, International Peace Institute, New York](#)

What issues should policymakers consider when creating a post-conflict economic strategy? This paper from the International Peace Academy highlights five important lessons that have emerged from experience of peace implementation. These are the need for: (1) broad-based impact assessments; (2) early emphasis on employment; (3) investment in building institutional and social capital; (4) donor awareness of the political impacts of funding decisions; and (5) recognition that an international presence introduces economic distortions.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For further discussion and resources on livelihoods and employment, see 'livelihoods and employment' in the [early recovery](#) section of this guide and 'socioeconomic programming' in the [stabilisation](#) section of this guide.

### ***Economic recovery and growth***

Although aid can address the needs of populations in conflict-affected countries in the short-term, countries need to develop the capacity to generate sufficient resources on their own. This requires economic recovery and sustained growth. A strengthened state, particularly an effective civil service, is essential for promoting growth. The pattern of growth should be one that aims to lower the risk of renewed conflict. Indeed, many analysts argue that conflict prevention should take precedence over growth, because macroeconomic growth policies such as low inflation and balanced budgets may create societal tensions.

Key recovery priorities for conflict-affected countries are to expand employment rapidly, reduce horizontal inequalities, build a sustainable fiscal basis for the state, and seek to lessen rent-seeking associated with the presence of valuable natural resources (UNDP 2008). How these priorities are fulfilled will differ from country to country. It is important to understand local coping mechanisms and drivers of recovery and to build on these social dynamics and institutional processes.

Given the importance of economic activity, it is possible to incorporate specific attention to transformative peacebuilding in economic processes (see the [peacebuilding models](#) section of this guide). These activities may include for example agricultural cooperatives that incorporate divided groups, multi-ethnic workforces, and procurement and business links across ethnic groups. Working together can create an entry point for dialogue and may facilitate relationship building.

[UNDP, 2008, 'Strengthening the Indigenous Drivers of Post-Conflict Economic Recovery', Chapter 3 in Post-Conflict Economic Recovery: Enabling Local Ingenuity, Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery \(BCPR\), UNDP, New York, pp. 48-105](#)

How can the international community best support economic recovery after conflict? This book chapter from the United Nations Development Programme examines a community-based approach to stimulating economic activities in countries emerging from conflict. It contends that economic recovery is quicker and more sustainable when it is built on 'indigenous drivers'; local actors have the strongest long-term incentive to engage in activities conducive to sustained economic recovery. The indigenous drivers approach allows people and communities, as well as national institutions, to establish the priorities for post-conflict recovery and for reforming institutions.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Urbensky, R., 2009, 'Can Development Prevent Conflict? Integrated Area-Based Development in the Western Balkans', \*Conflict, Security and Development\*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 75-110](#)

How successful is the area based development approach (ABD) in contributing to conflict prevention and linking reconstruction and development? This article from *Conflict, Security & Development* discusses the strengths and limitations of the approach, drawing on two ABD programmes in South and Southwest Serbia. It argues that although ABD is often effective in responding to complex conflict characteristics on sub-national levels, under its current conceptualisation, it responds ineffectively to the full complexity of issues related to conflict and development on multiple levels.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[UNDP, 2008, 'Macroeconomic Policy Considerations in Post-Conflict Recovery', Post-Conflict Economic Recovery: Enabling Local Ingenuity, Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery \(BCPR\), UNDP, New York, pp. 106-143](#)

How can post-conflict macroeconomic planning prevent conflict relapse and support recovery? This section from the 2008 UNDP Crisis Prevention Report investigates how to craft post-conflict macroeconomic policy as part of an effective post-conflict recovery and reconstruction process. Data available from post-conflict countries since 1989 reveals that macroeconomic recovery measures can decrease the chance of conflict recurrence by addressing deep, structural issues of inequality and distribution. Increasing growth rates evens out economic disparities and helps people rebuild their lives.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For further discussion and resources on transformative peacebuilding through economic activity, see 'social renewal and coexistence programming' in the [reconciliation, social renewal and inclusiveness](#) section of this guide.

### ***Private sector development***

Private sector development is essential for sustainable, self-sufficient economies and employment generation. In immediate post-conflict contexts, however, domestic and international investment is usually limited. The state plays a key role in creating the enabling environment for the private sector. This includes basic economic infrastructure and a regulatory framework, the development of credit markets, stimulation of investment and promotion of exports, and human resource development.

Donor strategies for private sector development in conflict-affected countries have been the subject of debate. Donors have focused in large part on support for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), access to credit and financial services and policies of economic liberalisation. While some have found this to be an effective strategy, others argue that it is limited in its growth and employment potential. Instead, they argue that greater attention needs to be paid to the development of employment-creating sectors, such as industrial production.

Private sector development in conflict-affected countries should involve consultation with a broad range of actors, including political factions, social groups, state actors, displaced populations and other conflict-affected groups, and local and international private sector actors. International actors may include members of the diaspora, regional players and major transnational companies. This process can help to identify particular needs and products and services that can be tailored to meet these needs. The financial sector, for example can offer new products in conflict-affected societies, such as remittance transfers services, microfinance, and reconstruction loans.

[Bray, J., 2009, 'The Role of Private Sector Actors in Post-Conflict Recovery', \*Conflict, Security and Development\*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 1-26](#)

What role does business play in post-conflict recovery? How can policymakers ensure private sector actors play a positive, rather than a negative, role? This article from *Conflict, Security and Development* argues that it is essential to differentiate between different types of business. Each type will play a different role depending on how it assesses risk and opportunity in the aftermath of conflict.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Mac Sweeney, N., 2009, 'Private Sector Development in Post-Conflict Countries: A Review of Current Literature and Practice', Secretariat of the Donor Committee on Enterprise Development, Cambridge, UK

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Joras, U., 2008, "Financial Peacebuilding" – Impacts of the Nepalese Conflict on the Financial Sector and its Potential for Peacebuilding', Working Paper, no. 3, Swisspeace, Bern](#)

How can the local financial sector contribute to peacebuilding in countries emerging from violent conflict? This paper from Swisspeace explores the issue, with a focus on Nepal. The Nepalese private commercial financial sector is relatively healthy and should have the economic flexibility to support national peacebuilding efforts. External encouragement and awareness-raising is required for the financial sector to appreciate how it can influence conflict and peacebuilding and to increase understanding of the economic long- and short-term benefits of peace its their own operations.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Divjak, B. and Pugh, M., 2008, 'The Political Economy of Corruption in Bosnia and Herzegovina', International Peacekeeping, vol.15, no. 3, pp. 373 – 386](#)

Governance structures instituted in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) by the Dayton Peace Accord and the United Nations Office of the High Representative (OHR) have facilitated widespread corruption. This paper analyses structural and cultural factors which affect the relationship between corruption and the constitutional arrangements based on the Accords. Incentives such as social protection and income generation are needed to redress local level clientelism and ethno-national loyalties and replace social contracts forged by political elites.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For resources on the private sector and its role in peacebuilding, see the [private sector](#) section of the peace and security architecture component of this guide.

### ***Natural resource governance and the environment***

It is increasingly recognised that peacebuilding efforts should extend to developing mechanisms to manage natural resources such that resource use is sustainable and can support stability, livelihoods and long-term development.

Mechanisms such as the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights, involving companies in the extractive and energy sectors, governments and NGOs; and the Extractives Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI), which sets a global standard for transparency in oil, gas and mining, indicate that it may be possible to reduce the risk of extractive sector-related conflicts through corporate social responsibility and multi-stakeholder initiatives.

Sustainable management of scarce resources cannot be solved unilaterally. It requires cooperative processes, which have the potential to contribute to transformative peacebuilding see [peacebuilding models](#)). Regional water cooperation in the Middle East, for example, is considered essential for health security, livelihoods, and to peacefully manage water disputes that might otherwise fuel

conflict. Water discussions can potentially provide an entry point for broader dialogue.

[Godnick, W., Klein, D., González-Posso, C., Mendoza, I., and Meneses, S., 2008, 'Conflict Economy, International Cooperation and Non Renewable Natural Resources', Initiative for Peacebuilding, International Alert](#)

What is the relationship between the management of non-renewable natural resources and conflict? This report from the Initiative for Peacebuilding analyses the political and economic contexts of Colombia, Ecuador and Peru to assess government and donor policies for mitigating conflict in the exploitation of non-renewable natural resources. It concludes that the EU and other donors should adopt and encourage its companies to adopt more conflict-sensitive business practices to ensure more mutually beneficial development for communities and corporations.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[UNEP, 2009, 'From Conflict to Peacebuilding: The Role of Natural Resources and the Environment', United Nations Environment Programme, Nairobi](#)

Conflicts associated with natural resources are twice as likely to relapse into violent conflict. Yet, less than a quarter of peace negotiations for conflicts linked to natural resources have addressed resource management mechanisms. This study from the United Nations Environment Programme argues that the recognition of the contribution of environmental issues to violent conflict underscores their potential as pathways for cooperation and the consolidation of peace. Integrating environment and natural resources into peacebuilding strategies is now a security imperative.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Kramer, A., 2008, 'Regional Water Cooperation and Peacebuilding in the Middle East', Initiative for Peacebuilding, International Alert](#)

What impact can cooperation in water resource management make on peacebuilding efforts? This paper from the Initiative for Peacebuilding reviews case studies of two water cooperation initiatives in the Middle East to determine whether such efforts can act as pathways for building peace. It concludes that while cooperation over water resources may serve as a starting point for dialogue, further support from external actors is needed to overcome existing inequalities and political obstacles that obstruct progress toward peace.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[GSDRC, 2009, 'Community-based Approaches and the Extractives Sector in Situations of Fragility and Conflict', Helpdesk Research Report, Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, Birmingham](#)

This report identifies a number of recommendations on community engagement in the extractives sector with a particular focus on fragile and conflict-affected countries. It also explores the use of the Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) model in such contexts.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For further discussion and resources on transformative peacebuilding through economic activity, see 'social renewal and coexistence programming' in the [reconciliation, social renewal and inclusiveness section](#) of this guide.

### *Cultural heritage*

Cultural heritage is significant to cultural identity and a sense of nationhood. Its preservation is linked to nation-building processes. Recovery and peacebuilding interventions need to incorporate the rehabilitation of cultural heritage. A broad perspective of culture heritage goes beyond cultural property and includes traditions, customs, values and methods of ensuring the continuity of a community.

Studies have shown, however, that oftentimes international interventions have not only failed to protect cultural heritage, but have contributed to their destruction. A common failure is the refusal by international donors to support the repair and reconstruction of traditional vernacular housing. This housing represents not only built heritage but a 'way of life', encompassing traditional building skills. Instead, generic and standardised housing have been imposed that do not address the needs of local inhabitants.

The literature on cultural heritage stresses the importance of involving local communities in rehabilitation efforts: only efforts that incorporate local needs and draw on local values, building technologies and skills will be sustainable. In addition, it is important to involve local actors in inventorying heritage as their definition of heritage items may differ from national and international actors.

[Cultural Emergency Response, 2006, 'Culture is a Basic Need: Responding to Cultural Emergencies', Conference Report, 25-26 September, Prince Clause Fund, The Hague](#)

How do disasters and violent conflict affect culture and cultural heritage? How can policymakers and practitioners seek to protect and preserve culture during humanitarian emergencies? This conference report published by the Prince Claus Fund for Culture and Development argues that any humanitarian emergency is a cultural emergency and any cultural emergency is a humanitarian emergency. Yet, the role of culture and the protection and preservation of culture are largely neglected in humanitarian assistance, emergency preparedness, and post-disaster and post-conflict recovery. There needs to be greater awareness among policymakers and those working in relief and recovery organisations of the imperative of saving culture and greater advocacy and training by international heritage workers to make these issues prominent and well understood.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Manhart, C., 2004, 'UNESCO' s Mandate and Recent Activities for the Rehabilitation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage', RICR/IRRC, vol. 86, no. 854, pp. 401-414

[Access full text: available online](#)

Mumtaz, B. and Noschis, K., eds., 2004, 'Development of Kabul: Reconstruction and Planning Issues', Papers from 10th Architecture and Behaviour colloquium, 4-7 April, Ticino, Switzerland

[Access full text: available online](#)

For further discussion and resources on cultural heritage, see 'cultural preservation' in the [stabilisation](#) section.

## **Reconciliation, social renewal and inclusiveness**

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### ***Reconciliation***

The term 'reconciliation' is frequently used by academics and practitioners. There is consensus that it should be an important component of dealing with violent conflict and divided societies. There is limited consensus, however, on what reconciliation entails and how it should be promoted. For some, reconciliation is about justice in its many forms, including but not limited to transitional justice (see the [transitional justice](#) section of the justice guide). For others, reconciliation is about truth-telling – learning about what materialised during the conflict and what happened to loved ones. Proponents of this approach advocate for truth commissions as a way to promote reconciliation (see [transitional justice](#)). Yet others believe instead that reconciliation is about dialogue and forgiveness, where perpetrators acknowledge and apologise for their wrongs and victims may choose to forgive. These various elements of reconciliation are considered to contribute to the healing of individuals who have suffered the devastating consequences of violent conflict, including those who committed acts of violence.

'Reconciliation' has been critiqued as representing an unrealistic utopian goal in post-conflict divided societies. It may be more appropriate to view it not as an end state, but as a continuing process and way in which to re-engage with and reframe the 'other'. From a transformative peacebuilding perspective, reconciliation may be seen as the process of overcoming hostility and mistrust between divided peoples and facing the past. Overcoming hostility and mistrust is a complex process that involves re-humanisation of the 'other' through personal contact and dialogue; confidence building, the dispelling of myths and the lessening of fear; and the development of empathy - recognition of shared suffering. Facing the past implies the re-examination of historical narratives, developing a common understanding of the causes and nature of the conflict, as well as shared notions of responsibility. This facilitates the evolution of new identities of citizenship and helps reduce the potential for renewed conflict.

Reconciliation processes should take place at various levels. While there is broad consensus that reconciliation is a 'bottom up' process that cannot be imposed on populations, the state and external actors can still play important roles. Political leaders can give support and legitimacy to reconciliation programmes. Their engagement in reconciliatory processes such as public apologies, public ceremonies and commemorations with representatives from across the divides, and reform of divisive education systems can open up the space for community and individual level processes. External support can also be essential, particularly in situations where communities remain staunchly divided and unstable, and local populations and political leaders are unable or unwilling to initiate reconciliation processes. Despite the recognised importance of reconciliation processes, however, they have not featured as a priority in peace processes and in international assistance plans and funding. This may be due in part to the challenging, costly and long-term nature of the task – and the difficulty in assessing impact of programmes. This should not be a deterrent though – reconciliation processes should be considered in early stages of recovery and peacebuilding and in conflict prevention interventions.

Automatically including reconciliation in a peacebuilding menu, however, should also be avoided. It is important to always take into account the local context and to assess whether a society is ready to engage in reconciliation.

[Rosoux, V., 2009, 'Reconciliation as a Peace-Building Process: Scope and Limits', in \*The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution\*, eds., J. Bercovitch, V. Kremenyuk, and I. W. Zartman, SAGE, London, pp. 543-560](#)

How is reconciliation understood? What is its role in peacebuilding? This chapter from the *SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution* surveys the study of reconciliation and analyses the Franco-German and South African cases. While not universally applicable models, these two examples hold lessons for both the scope and limitations of reconciliation. Reconciliation has too many ambiguities and shortcomings to serve as the key concept in peacemaking and stabilisation.

[Access full text: via document delivery](#)

Huyse, L., 2003, 'The Process of Reconciliation', Chapter 2 in *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict*, Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, pp. 19-33

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Lederach, J.P., 1997, \*Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies\*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, DC](#)

How can peacebuilding adapt to the realities and dilemmas posed by contemporary conflicts? This United States Institute of Peace Press publication argues that building peace requires a comprehensive approach. It provides strategic and practical suggestions to help establish an infrastructure for sustainable transformation and address the immediate and deep-rooted needs of divided societies.

[Access full text: via document delivery](#)

[Franovic, I., 2008, 'Dealing with the Past in the Context of Ethnonationalism. The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia' Berghof Occasional Paper 29, Berghof Research Centre, Berlin](#)

What is the role of ethnonationalism in hindering sustainable peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia, and how can it be addressed? This paper, published by the Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, argues that ethnonationalism complicates the peacebuilding process by preventing reconciliation and allowing individuals to blame entire ethnic groups. Three steps are needed to pursue the twin, interrelated goals of both dealing with the past constructively and furthering peacebuilding in the region: (1) public acknowledgment; (2) deconstructing the myth of ethnic war; and (3) reconstructing identities and de-victimisation.

[Access full text: available online](#)

### ***Traditional approaches to reconciliation and healing***

People often acquire their sense of meaning from their culture. Consideration of and learning from local contexts and cultures is essential in the design and implementation of reconciliation processes. Often, traditional and local customs and rituals already exist to promote healing, reconciliation and social solidarity. Although some traditions may have been altered in form and substance by the impact of colonisation, modernisation and wars, they may still resonate with local populations.

Traditional approaches often focus on the psycho-social and spiritual dimensions of violent conflicts. These aspects, while usually underemphasised by Western actors, are significant to the psychological healing of people deeply traumatised by the experiences of violent conflict. Traditional approaches are also often inclusive, with the aim of reintegrating parties on both sides of the conflict into the community.

Much research cautions, however, that while it is essential to explore traditional approaches, they should not be idealised. Attention should be paid to ensure that reliance on local traditions does not reinforce structural causes and dynamics of conflict, in particular the exclusion of women. Recent research recommends that a hybrid model should be adopted that combines local traditions and modern principles such as gender equity.

[Murithi, T., 2006, 'African Approaches to Building Peace and Social Solidarity', \*African Journal on Conflict Resolution\*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp.9-34](#)

What role should indigenous approaches to peace-building play in post-conflict reconstruction in Africa? How can these be harnessed more effectively? This article from the African Journal on Conflict Resolution argues that indigenous value systems can contribute to the peaceful reconstruction of Africa. However, it is important to find a balance between traditional values and progressive values such as gender equality.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Huyse, L., 2008, 'Introduction: Tradition-based Approaches in Peacemaking, Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Policies' in eds. Huyse, L. and Salter, M., \*Traditional Justice and Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: Learning from African Experiences\*, International IDEA, Stockholm, pp. 1-22](#)

What role does traditional justice play in dealing with legacies of human rights abuses? How can interpersonal and community-based practices interrelate with state-organised and internationally sponsored forms of retributive justice and truth telling? This International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) report provides a comparative analysis of traditional justice mechanisms in Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Mozambique, Uganda and Burundi. Most of the countries studied combine traditional justice and reconciliation instruments with other transitional justice strategies.

[Access full text: available online](#)

### ***Social capital, social cohesion and inclusiveness***

The weakening or destruction of social capital and social cohesion can be a cause, dynamic and impact of violent conflict (see the section on [conflict dynamics and impact](#) in this guide). Peacebuilding and the ability to engage in non-violent everyday conflict management require the strengthening or (re)building of positive social capital across groups and social cohesion. These are long-term and challenging processes. Where possible, they should rely on existing bases for social capital.

Research on social capital in conflict-affected areas finds that positive social capital requires the promotion of social relations across ethnic, religious, cultural, geographic, class, age and gender divides, recognising the multiple identities that people have. Such relations can be facilitated for example through cross-cutting community groups and associations, such as associations of widows and female heads of household. Community-driven development projects have been adopted

as a mechanism that may not only unite diverse groups within communities, but may also link communities to the state through decentralisation, thus strengthening social cohesion (see 'community-led development and reconciliation' in [non-state actor and peacebuilding](#) section below).

The restoration of society-state relations may also be facilitated through the development of representative state institutions. The inclusion of those formerly excluded from political, economic, social or cultural power and participation can contribute to new or restored trust in the state and the reconciliation of individuals with state actors and state institutions (Mani 2005).

[Colletta, N. J. and Cullen, M. L., 2000, 'The Nexus between Violent Conflict, Social Capital and Social Cohesion: Case Studies from Cambodia and Rwanda', World Bank, Washington DC](#)

What is the interaction between social capital, social cohesion and violent conflict? How can governments and international actors foster the socially cohesive relations necessary for conflict prevention, rehabilitation and reconciliation? This World Bank report uses data from two communities in Cambodia and Rwanda, in high and low intensity conflict areas. It is argued that the higher state responsiveness and cross cutting network relations intersect, the more likely society will have the inclusion and cohesiveness necessary to mediate conflict and prevent violence.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Mani, R., 2005, 'Rebuilding an Inclusive Political Community After War, Security Dialogue, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 511-526](#)

A peaceful future for post-conflict societies depends on their ability to build an inclusive political community. Does transitional justice as it is currently practiced facilitate reconciliation and inclusion? Experience to date suggests that transitional justice measures do not fulfil the central intention of reconciliation. This paper from the journal 'Security Dialogue' proposes reparative justice as an alternative and broader framework. The reparative justice approach aims to facilitate individual and societal reconciliation towards the goal of regenerating an inclusive political community.

[Access full text: via document delivery](#)

### ***Social renewal and coexistence programming***

The transformation and (re)building of relationships requires the development of innovative approaches and methods of creating space within which different groups can engage with one another. In some cases, socialisation processes have to begin first within groups, before seeking to bring former adversarial groups together. An approach that is gaining attention in peacebuilding and reconciliation literature and practice is the mainstreaming of coexistence and relationship transformation into the design of projects that serve other needs. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in its report *Helping to Prevent Violent Conflict*, recommends development initiatives designed explicitly to facilitate contact and dialogue between members of conflict groups as a means of breaking down social barriers, overcoming mistrust and creating a positive peacebuilding environment. The assumption is that participation in common projects, such as service delivery, livelihood and community development projects, and structured interaction among previously divided communities will help to reframe perceptions of the 'other' and

facilitate changes in perceptions and attitudes. It also provides a safe space to engage in dialogue that can potentially extend beyond the task at hand.

There is evidence that such projects have been effective in transforming individual relationships. There have been shortfalls, however. In order to transform individual ties into meaningful 'bridging social capital' – comprised of networks of civic engagement across identity fault-lines, long-term engagement is required. Donors and other international and local actors, however, have often failed to provide sufficient commitment, funding and collaboration that would allow for this. Such transformation processes have also been limited by the persistence of the structural causes of conflict. Relationship-building does not occur in a vacuum. If the structural causes of violent conflict, such as horizontal inequalities remain, social tensions will likely persist. In addition, the failure to connect micro-level coexistence processes to broader political levels can hinder the reach of such projects.

[Broome, B. J., 2009, 'Building Relational Empathy Through an Interactive Design Process', in \*Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution\*, eds., D. J. D. Sandole, S. Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, and J. Senehi, Routledge, Oxon and New York, pp. 185-200](#)

How can opposing groups move beyond their differences to develop a shared agenda for building peace? This chapter from the *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution* discusses an example in which Greek and Turkish Cypriots collaborated to develop a shared strategy for civil society peacebuilding. Structured dialogue supported the development of 'relational empathy' between them, allowing new understanding to emerge and creative approaches to be developed.

[Access full text: via document delivery](#)

[Haider, H., 2009, '\(Re\)Imagining Coexistence: Striving for Sustainable Return, Reintegration and Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina', \*International Journal of Transitional Justice\*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 91-113](#)

How can international and local actors facilitate the sustainable return of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) to societies that have experienced violent inter-group conflict? What steps can be taken to renew coexistence and rebuild trust in areas of return? This article published in the *International Journal of Transitional Justice* explores initiatives designed to repair social relationships and provide for durable return in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). It finds that projects designed to promote livelihoods, community development and coexistence concurrently in BiH have been successful in rebuilding trust and facilitating return. In particular, inter-group collaboration around shared goals allowed for a reframing of the 'other' and triggered dialogue among former 'enemies'.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Chigas, D. et al., 2006, 'Has Peacebuilding Made a Difference in Kosovo? A Study of Peacebuilding and the March 2004 Riots', CARE International and CDA-Collaborative Learning Projects, Pristina](#)

Did deficiencies in peacebuilding programmes contribute to the March 2004 riots in Kosovo? This paper, published by Care International and CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, reports on a study conducted in the aftermath of the riots to determine any peacebuilding programme gaps that inadvertently contributed to the recurrence of violence. While the riots should not be the only benchmark for assessing peacebuilding in Kosovo, peacebuilding programmes need to re-consider their heavy focus on multi-ethnicity as the core of their strategy.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Kramer, A., 2008, 'Regional Water Cooperation and Peacebuilding in the Middle East', Initiative for Peacebuilding, International Alert](#)

What impact can cooperation in water resource management make on peacebuilding efforts? This paper from the Initiative for Peacebuilding reviews case studies of two water cooperation initiatives in the Middle East to determine whether such efforts can act as pathways for building peace. It concludes that while cooperation over water resources may serve as a starting point for dialogue, further support from external actors is needed to overcome existing inequalities and political obstacles that obstruct progress toward peace.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For additional discussion and resources on transformative peacebuilding through economic activity, see 'economic recovery' in the [socioeconomic recovery](#) section of this guide.

For resources on media initiatives in coexistence and social renewal, see the [media](#) section of this guide.

### ***Education systems and peace education***

There is growing awareness of the important role that education can play in dividing or connecting societies. As such, the focus of post-conflict education rehabilitation should extend beyond rebuilding infrastructure and restoring basic education to the provision of a safe space for psycho-social healing and dialogue; for challenging and changing perceptions of the 'other' and transformation of attitudes.

Much literature on reforming education systems and peace education emphasises that teachers should foster an environment in which historical events can be explored and questioned from multiple points of view. The aim is to help students see events through their enemies' eyes and to facilitate empathy; as well as to teach how narratives can be used to promote fear, mistrust and hate. In addition, peace education can seek to promote new forms of identity that are not based on conflict fault-lines but based instead on respect for cultural diversity and citizenship. In order to promote such transformation, much research advocates for a shift in teaching methods from a focus on 'rote learning' and 'transmission of knowledge' to one based on critical thinking and open debate.

A key problem in the current practice of peace education is that it takes place mainly outside important education institutions and thus is limited in its reach. The integration of peace education into regular curricula should therefore be the strategic approach.

[Weinstein, H. M., Freedman, S. W., and Hughson, H., 2007, 'School Voices: Challenges Facing Education Systems After Identity-based Conflicts', Education, Citizenship and Social Justice, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 41-71](#)

Since the mid-1990s, increased attention has been paid to the role of schools in post-conflict societies. There has been more focus on how schools contributed to identity-based conflicts and how schools might address the socially constructed schisms that led initially to the conflicts. Moreover, there is increasing recognition of the importance of community processes in contributing to social identity formation.

Schools, in particular, are among the major influences on young people's identities and on their attitudes towards the 'other'. They thus have the potential to contribute to reconciliation processes.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Nelles, W., 2006, 'Bosnian Education for Security and Peacebuilding?,' \*International Peacekeeping\*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 229-241](#)

How do education systems reinforce ethno-cultural differences? What role can education play in conflict-prevention and peace building? This paper published in the journal *International Peacekeeping* examines education as a security issue in Bosnia Herzegovina (BiH) and reflects on the prospects for a sustainable peace aided by education.

[Access full text: available online](#)

McGlynn, C., Niens, U., Cairns, U. and Hewstone, M., 2004, 'Moving out of Conflict: The Contribution of Integrated Schools in Northern Ireland to Identity, Attitudes, Forgiveness and Reconciliation', *Journal of Peace Education*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 147-163

[Access full text: available online](#)

Zembylas, M., 'The Politics of Trauma: Empathy, Reconciliation and Peace Education', *Journal of Peace Education*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 207-224

[Access full text: available online](#)

[GSDRC, 2009, 'Post-conflict Rehabilitation of Education Services', \*Helpdesk Research Report, Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, Birmingham\*](#)

Education systems can contribute to conflict. In Rwanda, for example, the education system was used as an instrument in fomenting exclusion and hate. In many post-conflict settings, rehabilitation of the education sector requires not re-establishing the system that existed prior to the conflict but rather reforming the whole system. Education rehabilitation goes beyond rebuilding infrastructure and restoring basic education to rebuilding the social fabric of society and developing inclusive education systems. As such conflict-sensitivity must be incorporated into rehabilitation efforts.

[Access full text: available online](#)

For further discussion and resources on social renewal and relationship building, see the sections on [peace agreements and conflict transformation](#) and [non-violence and local conflict management](#) in this guide. For additional resources on reconciliation, see the [non-state actors and peacebuilding](#) section.

## **Non-state actors and peacebuilding**

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### *Civil Society*

There is a vast amount of research that discusses the strong potential of civil society to contribute to peacebuilding processes. Civil society actors can play various roles at different stages of conflict, spanning a large range of activities. These activities include: monitoring and early warning analysis; conflict analysis; advocacy and education; protection; two-track mediation and facilitation; alternative media, war and peace reporting; service delivery and livelihood generation; youth work;

initiatives to foster social cohesion and social capital; psycho-social support; documentation and initiatives for dealing with the past.

The effectiveness of civil society in promoting peacebuilding varies from function to function at varying phases. Its effectiveness depends also on the nature and severity of the conflict itself and the role of political actors. Recent research has found that the role of civil society is supportive and that the central impetus for peacebuilding comes primarily from political actors and conflict parties. Civil society thus cannot be seen as a substitute for state-building. The attitude of government and local politicians to civil society is also relevant. Donors and peacebuilding agencies could provide incentives for the government to cooperate with civil society actors.

Other research warns that funding the NGO sector does not automatically result in the development of a strong civil society. This is especially the case when funding is uncoordinated, resulting in a proliferation of projects and duplication. In order to foster a strong civil society, members of society need to see themselves as citizens and to get involved in local community organisations and associations. This may take time in the aftermath of conflict.

Much research on civil society engagement emphasises the need to consider the composition of civil society. Donors should adopt an inclusive approach and seek to fund a broad array of civil society organisations. This can allow for broader perspectives and needs assessments and promote participation of marginalised groups. It is also important to recognise that civil society actors may not necessarily be dedicated to peace and peacebuilding. Civil society groups may be linked with political groups, and there have been cases where academics, media, diaspora groups and religious leaders have contributed instead to violent conflict.

[Paffenholz, T., 2009, 'Civil Society and Peacebuilding', Working Paper, no. 4, The Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding, The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva](#)

How can civil society most effectively work for peacebuilding? This paper presents the findings of a comparative research project which analysed the performance of civil society in regards to protection, monitoring, advocacy, socialisation, social cohesion, facilitation, and service delivery in situations of war and armed conflict. It concludes civil society can play an important supportive role, but the effectiveness of its activities varied substantially. Contextual factors may limit or strengthen its ability to contribute to peacebuilding.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Fischer, M., 2006, 'Civil Society in Conflict Transformation: Ambivalence, Potentials and Challenges', Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin](#)

What are the comparative advantages, and limitations, of civil society in contributing to peace-building? This paper from the Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management discusses definitions of civil society (CS); outlines examples of CS peace-building activities; and discusses the positive contribution and potential limitations of CS involvement, with particular reference to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Civil society can play a key role in peacebuilding, but cannot compensate for state-building deficits: the strengthening of the state, economy and society must proceed simultaneously.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Colvin, C., 2007, 'Civil Society and Reconciliation in Southern Africa', \*Development in Practice\*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 322-337](#)

How has the concept of reconciliation been understood in Southern Africa? How have government policy and civil society initiatives supported reconciliation? This article from *Development in Practice* presents findings from the Southern African Reconciliation Project (SARP). This collaborative investigation into reconciliation activities involved five NGOs in Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Sustainable and effective reconciliation initiatives require the strengths of both formal and informal processes.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Poulin, B., 2005, 'Civil Society and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Ambiguities of International Programmes Aimed at Building 'New' Societies', \*Security Dialogue\*, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 495-510](#)

How should international agencies work with local civil society during peacebuilding operations? This article from *Security Dialogue* analyses the relationship between aid agencies and local NGOs and communities to identify problems in the way the international community has traditionally undertaken peace operations. It argues that international bodies need to reform their understanding of local civil society in order to foster better local ownership of peacebuilding projects.

[Access full text: via document delivery](#)

Barnes, C., 2006, 'Agents for Change: Civil Society Roles in Preventing War and Building Peace', Issue Paper, no. 2, European Centre for Conflict Prevention, Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, The Hague

[Access full text: available online](#)

Van Tongeren, P. and Van Empel, C. eds., 2007, 'Joint Action for Prevention: Civil Society and Government Cooperation on Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding', Issue Paper, no. 4, European Centre for Conflict Prevention, Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, The Hague

[Access full text: available online](#)

### ***Community-led development and reconciliation***

Community-led development is an approach that empowers local community groups and institutions by giving the community direct control over investment decisions, project planning, execution and monitoring through a process that emphasises participatory planning and accountability. The basic premise for demand-led approaches is that local communities are better placed to identify their needs and the actions necessary to meet them. Studies find that community-led projects have generally been effective in establishing or expanding essential social services and physical infrastructure at the local level.

The community approach has been adopted in conflict-affected societies. It is considered to be additionally useful in such environments to build social cohesion and social capital. Since public institutions are often weak in conflict and post-conflict settings, community-led development can be used to connect the state with its citizens. Community-led processes, for example reliance on local community councils, can also be used to build social capital in divided societies by providing safe

forums for interaction, communication and joint decision-making. Such processes can help to overcome mistrust and set a precedent for peaceful and constructive management of local disputes.

Community-led projects must pay careful attention to issues of inclusion and representation, as a goal in itself, but also to ensure in conflict-affected societies that the lack of inclusion does not exacerbate divisions and result in missed opportunities to build social capital. Studies have found, however, that poor and socially excluded groups may find it difficult to respond to the opportunities created by such projects.

[World Bank, 2006, 'Community-Driven Development \(CDD\) in the Context of Conflict-Affected Countries: Challenges and Opportunities', Social Development Department, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network, World Bank, Washington, DC](#)

What are the challenges and opportunities of community-driven development (CDD) in conflict-affected countries? This paper from the World Bank reviews 13 case studies of countries affected by current or recent conflict that have specifically incorporated CDD in their development efforts. The authors find that CDD is effective in facilitating rapid implementation and cost-effective project delivery, promoting participatory models of governance, and rebuilding social capital.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Pottebaum, D. and Lee, C., 2007, 'In Control of Their Future: Community-Led Reconciliation and Recovery', Paper presented at the World Bank Workshop, 'Moving out of Poverty in Conflict Affected Areas', 16 April, World bank, Washington, DC](#)

How can community-led reconciliation and recovery (CRR) programmes foster peace among conflict-affected populations? What challenges confront such initiatives? This working paper builds on lessons learnt in a CRR programme in Aceh, Indonesia to establish general principles for effective CRR strategies. Strengthening leadership capacity, reforming the mindset of war-torn communities and encouraging co-operation between communities in conflict are central to the success of CRR programmes.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Haider, H., 2009, 'Community-based Approaches to Peacebuilding in Conflict-affected and Fragile Contexts', GSDRC Issues Paper, Governance and Social Development Resource Centre \(GSDRC\), Birmingham UK](#)

The 'community' has often been resilient in conflict-affected and fragile contexts, providing survival and coping mechanisms for violence, insecurity and fragility. Growing attention has thus been paid to the adoption of community-based approaches to help address the extensive needs in these contexts. This paper from the GSDRC explores the principal aims of community-based approaches and key challenges and considerations in designing and implementing such approaches, particularly in environments of conflict and fragility.

[Access full text: available online](#)

### ***Religious Actors***

Religious actors can play an important role in peacemaking (see 'religious peacemaking' in [direct prevention mechanisms](#)) and peacebuilding. Their contributions range from mediation and inter-faith dialogue to advocacy and

education to the provision of emotional and spiritual support and reconciliation activities.

Faith-based peacebuilding actors do not confine their activities to conflicts with religious elements, but also engage in secular conflicts. They may also work alongside secular peacebuilding actors. Their assistance often extends to beneficiaries of different religions and to secular communities. Studies have found that where faith-based actors seek to assist only their followers, this can alienate non-followers and deepen divisions in society, as occurred in the DRC.

The potential strengths of religious actors in carrying out peacebuilding activities include: strong faith-based motivation, moral and spiritual authority, ability to mobilise others for peace, long-term commitment and long-term presence on the ground. In some cases, as in Afghanistan, religious actors may be more deeply engrained in society than NGOs. Weaknesses of religious actors in carrying out peacebuilding include: risk of proselytisation, lack of focus on results and a possible lack of professionalism (Tsjeard, Kadayifci-Orellana, and Abu-Nimer 2005).

Tsjeard, B., Kadayifci-Orellana, S. A., Abu-Nimer, M., 2005, 'Faith Based Peace Building: Mapping and Analysis of Christian, Muslim and Multi-Faith Actors', Clingendael - Netherlands Institute of International Relations, The Hague  
[Access full text: available online](#)

[Wardak, M., Zaman, I., and Nawabi, K., 2007, 'The Role and Functions of Religious Civil Society in Afghanistan: Case Studies from Sayedabad and Kunduz', Co-operation for Peace and Unity, Kabul](#)

To what extent have Afghan religious leaders been involved in the post-2001 efforts to build a new state and foster development? What are their perspectives on the unfolding process, and on the various actors that are driving it? This paper from the Co-operation for Peace and Unity (CPAU) explores the possibilities for engaging Afghan religious leaders more thoroughly in the work for stability and development. Most religious leaders have a positive view of development. Thus, both the government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) should make greater efforts to forge links with them.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Whetho, A., and Uzodike, U. O., 'Religious Networks in Post-Conflict Democratic Republic of the Congo: A Prognosis', African Journal on Conflict Resolution, vol. 8, no. 3, pp.57-84

[Access full text: available online](#)

For discussion and resources on the role of religion and religious actors in conflict and mobilisation, see the section on [identity politics](#), and 'ethno-religious mobilisation' in the [mobilisation](#) section.

### *Diaspora*

Diaspora groups form an important part of civil society. Development agencies, NGOs and academics have increasingly recognised the potential positive contributions diaspora communities can make to economic development in their homeland countries, for example through remittances and investment. There have been minimal attempts however to understand and recognise the contribution that

such groups can also make to peacebuilding. Most existing research focuses instead on the negative role that diaspora groups can play in fuelling violent conflict in their homelands, particularly in financing armed groups and engaging in oppositional politics (see [transnational politics and role of diaspora](#)).

Diaspora groups, however, can also be actively involved in peace processes and peacebuilding. They can be effective agents of change and have sought to mitigate tensions and divisions within their homelands. While often neglected, there is evidence that diaspora groups have, for example, provided financial assistance to promote non-violence, through cross-community cooperation, development and reconciliation projects. Nonetheless, it is important not to idealise the role of diasporas in this respect as many diaspora members are not engaged in these forms of activity.

Diaspora groups can also promote transnational ties, act as bridges and mediators between home and host societies at various levels of society. They may have the capacity to draw on talents, skills, education, imagination and resources of different networks and target outputs to address specific needs of their conflict-affected homeland. As this is still a relatively new area of study, further research is necessary to examine in more depth diaspora contributions and how they can be beneficial partners in reconstruction and peacebuilding.

[Cochrane, F., 2007, 'Civil Society beyond the State: The Impact of Diaspora Communities on Peace Building', \*Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition\*, vol. 2, no. 2](#)

Diaspora communities are key aspects of civil society, but what are their potential positive contributions to peacebuilding? This journal article by Feargal Cochrane identifies diaspora as a neglected aspect of existing literature on the role and impact of civil society in divided societies. As seen in the case of the Irish diaspora in the Northern Ireland conflict and peace process, diaspora communities have the potential to impact both positively and negatively on peacebuilding efforts.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Kent, G., 2006, 'Organised Diaspora Networks and Homeland Peacebuilding: The Bosnian World Diaspora Network as a Potential Development Actor', \*Conflict, Security and Development\*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 449-469](#)

How connected with the homeland are existing diaspora networks? What factors limit and promote strong relationships? How effective have diaspora networks been in assisting the transformations required for peacebuilding? This journal article assesses the potential of diasporas to contribute to post conflict reconstruction in the homeland, looking at the case of the Bosnian World Diaspora Network (BiH Network). It suggests that many factors are necessary for diaspora contributions to take place, and that 'victim' diasporas (who fled war in the homeland) may not be able to prioritise peacebuilding and reconstruction without host land support.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Oussama S., 2007, 'Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation in the Arab World: The Work of Civil Society Organisations in Lebanon and Morocco', Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin

[Access full text: available online](#)

Berndt, H., 2006, 'People Building Peace - Transforming Violent Conflict in South Asia', Church Development Service (EED), Bonn

[Access full text: available online](#)

Waldman, 2008, 'Community Peacebuilding in Afghanistan – The Case for a National Strategy' Oxfam International Research Report, Oxfam International

[Access full text: available online](#)

For discussion and resources on women and peacebuilding, see the chapter on [women in conflict-affected areas](#); for the role of private sector the media in peacebuilding, see the section on [the private sector and the media](#).

## **Refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs)**

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There is an increasing amount of research that stresses the link between the resolution of forced migration and internal displacement and sustainable peace. Ongoing or protracted exile and displacement signals unresolved conflict issues and undermines peacebuilding processes. It also increases the risk of regional instability if refugees are hosted in neighbouring countries, stemming in part from tensions between refugees and local populations.

Long periods of exile and displacement are a growing challenge for the international refugee protection regime and the international community. The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) has outlined three durable solutions for refugees: voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement in a third location. Designed originally with refugees in mind, these solutions have been extended to IDPs, through the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. The options are adapted to: return to their former homes, integration at the location they were displaced to, or resettlement to another part of the country.

Support for these solutions extends beyond the humanitarian community and necessarily involves as well development and peacebuilding actors. Durable solutions, in particular repatriation or return, requires a wide range of assistance interventions in order to provide for security, property restitution and conditions for sustainable return - particularly inclusive governance, livelihood and employment generation and social renewal.

### ***Involvement of refugees and IDPs in peacebuilding and development***

Despite the acute needs of refugees and IDPs, they are rarely consulted in peace processes. In addition, policy makers and practitioners often overlook the need to target support to host countries and those suffering from protracted displacement, focusing their attention on governments and populations solely within the border of the country of origin and/or in communities with returnees, in the case of internal displacement. Broader regional dynamics should be considered in peacebuilding and development efforts. In addition, research and studies find that early engagement with refugee and displaced populations may contribute to conflict transformation.

Angola serves as a case study for targeted involvement of IDPs in conflict management and peacebuilding processes. Theatre, media and training activities were implemented among IDP groups to facilitate dialogue and trauma healing; to

teach peacemaking and non-violent conflict management skills; to engage in discussion of tough issues, such as structural causes of conflict and sustainable development; and to mobilise demand for peace. In Uganda, as well, efforts were made to address the socioeconomic, political and legal problems faced by refugees in protracted exile through the integration of services to refugees into regular government structures and policies. The aim was to move from relief to development. Such programming, however, can be controversial as host countries that are keen on repatriation may fear that it will be mistaken for the promotion of 'local integration'.

There is some limited research that considers the contributions that refugees can make to peace processes, recovery and peacebuilding in their country of origin. These contributions may result from new skills that they acquire in exile. This recognition has resulted in recommendations that special attention be paid to providing refugees and IDPs with training opportunities, such as language training, vocational training, professional development and peace education. Recent research advocates that the UN Peacebuilding Commission should take up these issues and mainstream consideration for refugees and IDPs in peace processes and peacebuilding efforts.

[Loescher, G., Milner, J., Newman, E., and Troeller, G., 2007, 'Protracted Refugee Situations and the Regional Dynamics of Peacebuilding', \*Conflict, Security and Development\*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 491-501](#)

What are the links between the prolonged presence of refugee populations and fragile states? How can protracted refugee situations contribute to conflict, instability and effective peacebuilding? This article explores the challenges posed by protracted refugee situations to human rights and security. The question of refugees has been largely absent from the international political agenda and recent debates on peacebuilding. As a result, protracted refugee situations have mainly become the domain of humanitarian agencies.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement, 2007, 'Addressing Internal Displacement in Peace Processes, Peace Agreements and Peace-Building', \*Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement\*](#)

How can internal displacement best be integrated into peace processes, peace agreements and peacebuilding? This report from the Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement contends that resolving displacement is strongly connected to achieving peace, especially in cases of large-scale displacement. Assisting displaced people to return and reintegrate has the potential both to address the root causes of conflict and to prevent further displacement. Durable solutions to displacement should form an integral part of effective peacebuilding.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Utterwulge, S., 2004, 'Conflict Management in Complex Humanitarian Situations: Peacemaking and Peacebuilding Work with Angolan IDPs', \*Journal of Refugee Studies\*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 224-244](#)

What is the role of internally displaced people (IDPs) in peacemaking and peacebuilding in complex humanitarian situations? This field report, published in the *Journal of Refugee Studies*, analyses the strategies used by the Luanda-based Centre for Common Ground (CCG) and IDPs in conflict resolution in Angola. IDPs must play a central role in conflict management and the construction of peace if national

reconciliation is to be sustainable. Peacemaking and peacebuilding that target and involve IDPs must occur before, during and after war-related complex humanitarian situations.

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Kaiser, T., 2005, 'Participating in Development? Refugee Protection, Politics and Developmental Approaches to Refugee Management in Uganda', \*Third World Quarterly\*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 351-367](#)

This article, published in the *Third World Quarterly*, examines the 'Self-Reliance Strategy' implemented by the Government of Uganda and UNHCR for long-term Sudanese refugees in Uganda, which seeks to move from a relief to a development approach. However, the prospects for success are limited by ongoing conflict in northern Uganda and the lack of rights of long-term exiles - in particular, freedom of movement. Developmental approaches must go beyond a narrow focus on material needs and incorporate an explicit focus on refugee protection.

[Access full text: available online](#)

### ***Refugee warriors***

The term 'refugee warriors' refers to organised elements of exiled communities engaged in armed campaigns against their countries of origin. Armed refugee warriors are usually intermingled with a refugee population – and challenge the conventional perception of refugees as victims. Their presence, particularly in refugee camps, has presented a tremendous challenge for humanitarian efforts. Humanitarian workers have been criticised for providing armed elements in camps with aid, as occurred in the case of the armed militia operating from the refugee camps in Eastern DRC in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide.

Recent research has also found that forced migration contexts are fertile grounds for mobilisation into violence. These contexts involve the loss of normal institutional anchors and produce feelings of powerlessness and exclusion. In addition, where refugees have been created by conflicts involving identity discrimination, camps can become prime places for the development of group hostilities and recruitment into militant groups. Such research has also extended to the exploration of returnees who were part of a military entity while in exile and return as part of this group – termed 'returnee warriors'. There is a risk that these returnees may not reintegrate peacefully but rather continue to engage in militant action.

[Harpviken, K. B., 2008, 'From "Refugee Warriors" to "Returnee Warriors": Militant Homecoming in Afghanistan and Beyond', \*Global Migration and Transnational Politics, Working Paper\*, no. 5, George Mason University, Fairfax County, Virginia](#)

Why do some refugees, upon return to their countries of origin, engage in violent action? This paper from George Mason University assumes that in some refugee situations a significant share of returnees engage in militant action. It examines three sets of explanatory factors (enabling environment, ideology and organisation) in order to contribute to an expanding analytical framework for refugee warrior phenomena, and to identify an agenda for future research.

[Access full text: available online](#)

Kahn, C., 2008, 'Conflict, Arms, and Militarization: The Dynamics of Darfur's IDP Camps', Sudan Working Paper, no. 15, Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

[Access full text: available online](#)

For further discussion and resources on the mobilisation into violence of children and youth in refugee/IDP camps, see [children and youth in conflict-affected areas](#).

### ***Reintegration***

It is increasingly acknowledged that in order for voluntary repatriation/return to represent a durable solution, the conditions necessary for successful reintegration must be supported. These conditions span a range of activities, including restoration of infrastructure and services; promotion of housing and property rights; human rights monitoring; livelihoods and employment generation; and efforts to rebuild social capital and social cohesion. These activities in turn require the active involvement of a range of actors beyond the humanitarian field, extending to development and peacebuilding actors. In addition, an important component of sustainable reintegration is the willingness and capacity of the state to reassume responsibility for the rights and well-being of all its citizens. As such, interventions may also need to address building the capacity of the state and the development of inclusive governance institutions.

Return and reintegration may be particularly challenging in the context of divided post-conflict societies, where political tensions and inter-group tensions are especially high. In such cases, attention needs to be paid at the outset to the facilitation of inter-group interaction, dialogue and rebuilding trust. Research has found that initiatives that are designed to bring populations together to collaborate around common needs; and that are aimed at broader community development that benefits not just returnees but also all residents of the community can be effective in reducing tensions and resistance to return. They can also create the foundation for the transformation of relationships.

UNHCR, 2004, 'Handbook for Repatriation and Reintegration Activities', The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva

[Access full text: available online](#)

The Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement, 2007, 'When Displacement Ends: A Framework for Durable Solutions', The Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement

[Access full text: available online](#)

[Haider, H., 2009, '\(Re\)Imagining Coexistence: Striving for Sustainable Return, Reintegration and Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina', \*International Journal of Transitional Justice\*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 91-113](#)

How can international and local actors facilitate the sustainable return of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) to societies that have experienced violent inter-group conflict? What steps can be taken to renew coexistence and rebuild trust in areas of return? This article published in the *International Journal of Transitional Justice* explores initiatives designed to repair social relationships and provide for durable return in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). It finds that projects designed to promote livelihoods, community development and coexistence concurrently in BiH

have been successful in rebuilding trust and facilitating return. In particular, inter-group collaboration around shared goals allowed for a reframing of the 'other' and triggered dialogue among former 'enemies'.

[Access full text: available online](#)

UNHCR, 2004, 'Quick Impact Projects (QIPs): A Provisional Guide', The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva

[Access full text: available online](#)

For additional resources on refugees and IDPs, see the [early recovery](#) section of this guide.

### **Additional resources**

For resources on monitoring and evaluation of peacebuilding interventions, see [monitoring and evaluation of interventions in conflict-affected areas](#).