CHAPTER 4:

RECOVERING FROM VIOLENT CONFLICT

Humanitarian Aid, Early Recovery and Stabilisation

Introduction

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 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.

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 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.

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

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.

Humanitarian assistance and transition to development

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 (ODI), London
Until recently, assistance to countries in protracted crises was seen only in terms of humanitarian aid. How has this changed? This review 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.

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 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.

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 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.

Early recovery

The Cluster Working Group on Early Recovery (CWGER), led 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, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Geneva

What is early recovery? How can early recovery activities be best coordinated with humanitarian and development activities in post-crisis situations? This 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.

Bailey, S. and Pavanello, S., 2009, 'Untangling Early Recovery', HPG Briefing Paper, No. 38, Overseas Development Institute, London
See full text

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
See full text

Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, 2012, 'UNDP and Early Recovery', UNDP
See full text

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

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 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.

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. Livelihood interventions risk having negative impacts on conflict if not conflict sensitive.

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
See full text

Collier, P., 2007, 'Post-Conflict Recovery: How Should Policies be Distinctive?' Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, University of Oxford
Should post-conflict economic policies be distinctive from other developing country policies? This paper 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.

Mallett, R. and Slater, R., 2012, 'Growth and Livelihoods in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Situations'. Working Paper 9, Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium, ODI, London
What do we know about the impacts of conflict on growth, economic activity and livelihoods? What is the evidence of the effectiveness of economic and livelihood interventions in conflict-affected situations? This review synthesises the available evidence on livelihoods and growth in fragile and conflict-affected situations. Evidence of the impact of livelihood and economic recovery interventions (livelihood provision, protection and promotion) on peace-building is weak. Livelihood interventions risk having negative impacts on conflict if not conflict sensitive. States and aid agencies can support livelihoods and promote economic activity through effective programming and creating enabling environments in post-conflict settings.
See full text

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
See full text

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

Kälin, W., 2010, 'Framework on Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons'
UNHCR, Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General on the human rights of internally displaced persons, Feb 2010, Human Rights Council Thirteenth session, A/HRC/13/21/Add.4
See full text

For additional discussion and resources on refugees and IDPs, see the **refugees and IDPs** section of this guide.

Stabilisation

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. Critics of stabilisation argue that its focus on security and order often comes at the expense of the emancipatory aspects of peace, such as fulfilling human potential.

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 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.

Mac Ginty, R., 2012, 'Against Stabilization', Stability: International Journal of Security & Development, vol. 1, no. 1
Why is 'stabilisation' being prioritized over peace and what is its impact? This article argues against the turn towards 'stabilisation' polices. Stabilisation policies have had negative consequences for peace, liberty and localised autonomy. Its focus on security and order often comes at the expense of the emancipatory aspects of peace, such as fulfilling human potential. Stabilisation maintains a controlled environment rather than allowing for societal transformation. It normalises the military and security forces in peacebuilding which has consequences for impartiality. Stabilisation policies risk preventing countries from understanding themselves and reaching a 'natural' equilibrium.
See full text

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, the 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. The literature also stresses the importance of understanding the complex bargaining processes that surround aid programmes in post-conflict contexts.

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 suggests that employment generation and economic development should be given a high priority in reconstruction efforts.

GSDRC, 2009, Service Delivery and Stabilisation, Helpdesk Research Report, GSDRC, 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.

Goodhand, J. and Sedra, M., 2009, 'Who Owns the Peace? Aid, Reconstruction, and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan', Disasters, Volume 34, Issue 1, pp. 78-102
See full text

Specker, L., 2008, 'Integrating Socio-economic Recovery into Post-Conflict Stabilisation Programmes', CRU Policy Brief, no. 7, Clingendael Institute, The Hague
See full text

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
See full text

For additional materials on socioeconomic programming, see the **socioeconomic recovery** section.

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 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.

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
See full text

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 argues that despite progress within the 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.

For further discussion and resources on women in conflict and peacebuilding contexts, see the GSDRC's **gender topic 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 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.

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 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.

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)
See full text

USAID, 2006, 'Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan: An Interagency Assessment, USAID, Washington, D.C.
See full text

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, D.C.
See full text

Peacebuilding

Introduction

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
See full text

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 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.

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

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.

The liberal peace model has been not been applied consistently. A range of actors are involved in these interventions, and they pursue multiple objectives using a variety of approaches. The model is often mediated by complex negotiations with local actors, leading to outcomes that often diverge sharply from intervening parties' stated objectives.

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? This 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.

Paris, R., 2010, 'Saving Liberal Peacebuilding', Review of International Studies, vol. 36, pp. 337-365
See full text

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 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.

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 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.

Goodhand, J. and Walton, O., 2009, 'The Limits of Liberal Peacebuilding? International Engagement in the Sri Lankan Peace Process', Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 303-323
See full text

Alternative contextual approaches to the liberal peace

Despite criticisms of the liberal peace model, a viable full-fledged alternative model has arguably yet to emerge. There are many types of hybridity along the continuum between an ideal type liberal state and illiberal institutions, norms, and practices. There have 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.

These locally-grounded approaches have been led some authors to present a 'popular' peacebuilding model as an alternative to liberal peacebuilding. This approach is deemed more locally legitimate because it is based on local, everyday realities. A variant of this 'popular peacebuilding' model is 'republican peacebuilding'. This approach emphasises representation and the fostering of legitimacy and stability in post-conflict settings. It is less concerned with the liberal principles of preserving the autonomy of the individual from the state and the promotion of civil society.

Jarstad, A. K. and Belloni, R., 2012, 'Introducing Hybrid Peace Governance: Impact and Prospects of Liberal Peacebuilding', Global Governance, no. 18
How can liberal and illiberal norms coexist in post-conflict countries? In the aftermath of conflict competing interests shape the future of the state. This results in a condition of *hybrid peace governance*. There are many types of hybridity along the continuum between an ideal type liberal state and illiberal institutions, norms, and practices. This special issue of *Global Governance* demonstrates the different these may take. International interventions can reinforce hybridity. Hybrid peace governance may reinforce patriarchal, feudal, sexist, and violent political and social systems. Yet it may also contain significant opportunities to make peace processes more stable and locally legitimate.
See full text

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 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.

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'.

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 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.

Barnett, M., 2006, 'Building a Republican Peace. Stabilizing States after War' International Security, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 87-112
How can liberal peacebuilding be improved upon? This article examines the core principles of republicanism – deliberation, representation and constitutionalism – and highlights the differences between liberal and 'republican peacebuilding'. It argues that liberal peacebuilding may be doing more harm than good, and that republican peacebuilding is better suited to promoting stability and legitimacy in post-conflict environments. Republican peacebuilding emphasises the necessity of institutional mechanisms of representation, constitutional arrangements that distribute political power, and deliberative processes that encourage groups to generalise their views. It helps to slow the peacebuilding process and ensures that those with the knowledge have the ability to shape their lives.

Roberts, D., 2011, 'Post-Conflict Peacebuilding, Liberal Irrelevance and the Locus of Legitimacy', International Peacekeeping, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 410-424

This article advances the idea of a 'popular peace' to address the lack of legitimacy that undermines orthodox peacebuilding projects. This concept would refocus liberal institution-building on local, democratically determined priorities, in addition to internationally favoured preferences (such as metropolitan courts and bureaucratic government). A popular peace approach could help to create social institutions around which a contract could evolve as a foundation for durable peacebuilding.

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 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.

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

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 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.

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.

Challenging state–centric approaches to peacebuilding

Recent literature has challenged the predominantly state-centric approaches to peacebuilding that have been practised by international agencies. These approaches are often ill-equipped to deal with cross-border conflict or violence that occurs in borderland regions. Another emerging criticism is that international peacebuilding efforts have failed to understand and tackle local

violence, which in some contexts is the primary cause of continued conflict. Donors need to think beyond the state, through regional engagement and below it, through cross-border community or trade networks.

Ramsbotham, A., and Zartman, W., 2011, 'Promoting "trickle-up": linking sub- and supra-state peacebuilding', in Paix Sans Frontieres: Building Peace Across Borders, Accord, Issue 22, Conciliation Resources, London
This article reviews peacebuilding strategies in Asia, Europe, the Caucasus, Africa, Central America and the Middle East. It shows that country-based analysis can produce flawed conflict responses. Instead, policy based on conflict *systems* can shape more flexible and comprehensive responses. It can identify actors and dynamics that exist outside state borders, such as narcotic networks that support insurgent groups, and incorporate these into peacebuilding interventions. Thus, cross-border peacebuliding needs to 'think outside the state' – both *beyond* it, through regional engagement, and *below* it, through sub-state cross-border community or trade networks. To work effectively, supra- and sub-state initiatives need to be strategically linked.

Autesserre., S., 2010, 'The Peacebuilding World' in The Trouble With The Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding, Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-40
Why did international peacebuilding in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) fail? This book focuses on the three and a half years considered as the transitional period from war to peace in the DRC, from June 2003 to December 2006. It finds that the causes of ongoing conflict in the country were local as well as national and regional. As a result, they could only be successfully addressed by combining bottom-up and top-down peacebuilding. However, the dominant international peacebuilding culture – embedded in social routines, practices, discourses, technologies and institutions – precluded action on local violence.

Statebuilding and peacebuilding

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. There is some evidence that a rhetorical commitment to integrated strategies from donors has not been matched in practice.

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.

Berdal, M. & Zaum, D. (Eds.) (2012). Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace. Abingdon: Routledge.

Have statebuilding efforts succeeded in transforming the political economy and power structures that have fuelled conflict and violence? How have they done so? This book examines and evaluates the impact of international statebuilding interventions on the political economy of conflict-affected countries over the past 20 years. International post-conflict statebuilding interventions have a fundamentally political character and have not been consistent in approach or results. The context and power dynamics pre- and during conflict affect post-war statebuilding. Statebuilding can serve to consolidate the power or wartime elites or facilitate their re-emergence after the conflict ends.

See publisher's web page

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 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.

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 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.

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 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.

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 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.

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

Faria, F. and Youngs, R., 2010, 'European conflict resolution policies: truncated peace-building', March 2010, FRIDE, Madrid See full text

For discussion and resources on state-building, see the **state-building** section of the GSDRC's fragile states guide.

State-building, patronage networks and economic rents

A good understanding of existing patronage relations is a critical prerequisite to effective state-building. State-building and peacebuilding strategies should consider the complex bargaining processes that surround international intervention and the perverse effects these processes can generate. Recent research has emphasised the importance of processes of rent creation and distribution in maintaining stability in conflict-affected countries. These processes are particularly influential in large conflict-affected countries such as Afghanistan, DR Congo and Sudan. This literature suggests that attempts to introduce more competition in the political system have the potential to undermine stability and security.

North, D., Wallis, J., Webb, S., Weingast, B., 2007, 'Limited Access Orders in the Developing World: A New Approach to the Problems of Development', Policy Research Working Paper 4359, World Bank, Washington, D.C.
See full text

See also **North, D., Wallis, J. and Weingast, B., 2013, 'Violence and Social Orders**
A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History', Cambridge University Press

De Waal, A., 2010, 'Fixing the Political Marketplace: How can we make peace without functioning state institutions?', The Chr. Michelsen Lecture, 1 January 2010
See full text

Governance programming

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.

Policymakers have placed growing importance on building institutions that are locally legitimate. The World Bank's 2011 World Development Report argues that 'strengthening legitimate institutions and governance to provide citizen security, justice, and jobs is crucial to break cycles of violence'.

Walter, B., 2014, 'Why Bad governance leads to repeat civil war', Journal of Conflict Resolution, pp. 1-31
How do you prevent civil wars recurring? Most contemporary civil wars are now repeats of earlier civil wars. This article uses statistical analysis to argue that political and legal institutions which ensure accountability play a key role in constraining elites in post-civil war states. Such constraints serve as a check on executive power, help incumbent elites credibly commit to political reform, and create a situation where rebels need not maintain militias as a supplementary mechanism to hold political elites in line. All of this reduces the odds of repeat civil war. Institutional weaknesses must be addressed in order to prevent civil wars recurring.
See full text

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 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.

UNDESA, 2009, 'Lessons Learned in Post-Conflict State Capacity: Reconstructing Governance and Public Administration Capacities in Post Conflict Countries', Report of the Expert Group Meeting, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
See full text

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 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.

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 paper 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.

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

World Bank, 2011, 'World Development Report 2011: Overview', World Bank, Washington DC

Some 1.5 billion people live in countries affected by repeated cycles of political and criminal violence. This report argues that breaking these cycles involves a) strengthening legitimate national institutions and governance to meet citizens' key needs; and b) alleviating international stresses that increase the risks of conflict (such as food price volatility and infiltration by trafficking networks). It is important to: refocus assistance on confidence building, citizen security, justice and jobs; reform the procedures of international agencies to accommodate swift, flexible, and longer-term action; respond at the regional level (such as by developing markets that integrate insecure areas and pooling resources for building capacity); and to renew cooperative efforts between lower, middle, and higher income countries.

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 promotes 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.

Brancati, D. and Snyder, J. L., 2013, 'Time to kill: the impact of election timing on postconflict stability', Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol. 57, no. 5, pp. 822-53
What is the impact of early elections on post conflict stability? Using quantitative data, this article argues that holding elections soon after a civil war ends generally increases the likelihood of renewed fighting. However, favourable conditions, including decisive victories, demobilisation, peacekeeping, power sharing, and strong political, administrative and judicial institutions, can mitigate this risk. International pressure in favour of early elections strengthens peace when it provides robust peacekeeping, facilitates the demobilisation of armed forces, backs power sharing agreements and helps build robust political institutions, but it undermines peace without them.
See full text

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 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.

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

GSDRC, 2008, 'Election-related Conflict', Helpdesk Research Report, GSDRC, 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.

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 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.

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 paper 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.

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
See full text

Domingo, P. and Holmes, R., 2013, 'Gender equality in Peacebuilding and Statebuilding', ODI, London
What might gender-responsive approaches that work look like? This Guidance Paper aims to provide practical programming guidance to mainstream gender into international efforts in support of peacebuilding and statebuilding processes. An understanding of the political economy conditions and gender realities in each context and each sector (and the relationship between them) needs to be central to guiding programming choices on entry-points and inputs, and to informing the implementation process. Gender responsive approaches add value to peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts as they embed inclusivity and participation in both the process and outcomes of these processes.
See full text

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 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.

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 recommends practical strategies for the EU and other donors to guide the consideration of gender issues into their post-conflict governance interventions.

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.

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. Donors often fail to prioritise measures to address corruption, generating problems later in the reform process.

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 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.

Philp, M., 2008, 'Peacebuilding and Corruption', International Peacekeeping, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 310-327
This article 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.

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 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.

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 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.

Doig, A., Tisne, M. 'A Candidate for Relegation? Corruption, governance approaches and the (re)construction of post-war states', Public Administration and Development, Volume 29, Issue 5, pp 374-386
See full text

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 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.

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 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.

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 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.

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

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 and social services, 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 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.

McCandless, E., and Rogan, J., 2013, 'Bringing Peace Closer to The People: The

Role of Social Services in Peacebuilding', Journal of Peacebuilding & Development, vol. 8, no, 3
Social services can fuel instability and conflict. Conversely they can play a unique role in fostering social cohesion, inclusive development and peaceful societies. This special issue of the *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* draws together a range of articles and policy and country briefs. It explores the potential of social services to contribute to peacebuilding and the challenges confronting policymakers and practitioners in adapting social services to deliver greater peacebuilding impact. The growing policy-level recognition of the links between social services, conflict and peace is catalysing policy and practice response. Social service related provisions are increasingly finding their way into peace agreements.
See full text

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:
See full text

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.

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 Afghanis. 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 argues that the failure to consider the regional dynamics of war economies undermines peacebuilding efforts. Policymakers 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.

Wennman, A., 2005, 'Resourcing the Recurrence of Intrastate Conflict: Parallel Economies and Their Implications for Peacebuilding', Security Dialogue, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 479-494
See full text

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 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.

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 See full text

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 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.

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 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.

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 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.

Strachan, A.L., 2013, 'Peacebuilding and economic growth', GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1044, GSDRC, University of Birmingham
See full text

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. Rapid economic reform may lead to narrow forms of development where only a small sector of the population benefit from growth, posing a significant threat to peace in post-conflict countries.

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.

Addison, T., Le Billon, P., and Murshed, S. M., 2001, 'Finance in Conflict and Reconstruction', Discussion Paper No. 2001/44, World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations University (UNU-WIDER), Helsinki
What role does finance play in war and post-conflict reconstruction? Domestic and foreign finance can determine who wins the war, the duration of the conflict and can contribute to increased post-conflict poverty and inequality. Action to reduce war finance (and to increase its cost) may encourage peace, provided such action is implemented across the international community. Financial liberalisation during reconstruction may foster economic instability and endanger peace. Strong financial regulation and supervision is important

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 chapter 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.

Jensen, D. and Lonergan, S. (Eds.), 2012, Assessing and Restoring Natural Resources in Post--- Conflict Peacebuilding, Earthscan, London
A country's natural resources are an important asset for kick-starting economic recovery after conflict. Yet they can also play a role in conflict. The international community's responses to the connections between natural resources, conflict, and peacebuilding have been mixed. What lessons have emerged from efforts to integrate post-conflict environmental assessment into peacebuilding? This book shares twenty post-conflict case studies which look at: post-conflict environmental assessments; remediation of environmental hot spots; restoration of natural resources and ecosystems; and environmental dimensions of infrastructure and reconstruction. The cases show that it is important to integrate natural resource management and environmental sustainability into peacebuilding.
See full text

Vrbensky, 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 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.

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.

Dahl, M. and Høyland, B., 2012, 'Peace on quicksand? Challenging the conventional wisdom about economic growth and post-conflict risks', Journal of Peace Research, no. 49
Does economic growth reduce the risk of post-conflict peace collapse? Using data from the UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Database, the authors of this article challenge Collier, Hoeffler and Söderbom's finding that economic growth reduces the risk of post-conflict peace collapse – particularly when the UN is present with a peace mission. At best the results of its risk-reducing effects are mixed. Some of the models even suggest that economic growth may *increase* the risk of post-conflict peace collapse. Policymakers should be aware that the effect of economic growth on the risk of post-conflict peace collapse may be ambiguous.
See full text

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 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.

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
See full text

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 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.

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 by the Dayton Peace Accord and the United Nations Office of the High Representative 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.

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 Resoures', Initiative for Peacebuilding, International Alert

What is the relationship between the management of non-renewable natural resources and conflict? This report 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.

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 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.

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 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.

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.

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 for Culture and Development, 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 report 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.

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
See full text

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
See full text

For further discussion and resources on cultural heritage, see 'cultural preservation' in the **stabilisation** section.

Reconciliation, social renewal and inclusiveness

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 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.

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

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 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.

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 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.

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 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.

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 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.

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, D.C.
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 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.

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 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.

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 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.

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 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'.

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 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.

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 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.

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.

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 examines education as a security issue in Bosnia Herzegovina and reflects on the prospects for a sustainable peace aided by education.

McGlynn, C. et al., 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
See full text

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

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.

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

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.
See also Paffenholz, T. (ed.), 2010 'Civil Society and Peacebuilding: A Critical Assessment', Lynne Rienner

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 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.

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 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.

Pouligny, 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 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.

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
See full text

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
See full text

Hofmann, C. and Schneckener, U., 2011, 'NGOs and Nonstate Armed Actors: Improving Compliance with International Norms', United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC
See full text

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 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.

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 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.

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 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.

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. NGOs, donors and academics have increasingly begun to engage with religious communities and institutions as partners in creating peace. Religious peacebuilding organisations have begun to professionalise their work.

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
See full text

Hayward, S., 2012, 'Religion and Peacebuilding: Reflections on Current Challenges and Future Prospects', USIP.
What are the current challenges and future prospects of religious peacebuilding? This report looks at the history and context of religious peacebuilding, with a focus on the United States, and identifies the particular challenges it faces in the future. NGOs, donors and academics have increasingly begun to engage with religious communities and institutions as partners in creating peace. Religious peacebuilding organisations have begun to professionalise their work. Challenges include integrating further with secular peacebuilding efforts, engaging women and youth and addressing their priorities, working more effectively with non-Abrahamic religious traditions, and improving monitoring and evaluation of religious peacebuilding. **See full text**

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-2001efforts 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 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.

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
See full text

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 article 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.

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 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.

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
See full text

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

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

For discussion and resources on women and peacebuilding, see the GSDRC's **gender topic guide** and the GSDRC's gender and conflict topic guide; 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)

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.

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 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.

Utterwulghe, 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 analyses the strategies used by the Luanda-based Centre for Common Ground 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.

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 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.

Refugee warriors

Refugees are actors who take independent political action. 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 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.

Lebson, M., 2013, 'Why refugees rebel: towards a comprehensive theory of refugee militarization'. International Migration, vol. 51, no. 5, pp. 133-48

Why do some refugee groups militarise while others do not? This article offers a comprehensive theory of refugee militarisation that emphasises the importance of their political and economic motivations, in the context of broader structural factors, including political opportunities and resource mobilisation, as well as the role militancy entrepreneurs sometimes play in mobilising them. Host states and other stakeholders need to have increased awareness and vigilance of when these personal and structural factors combine. They need to recognise that refugees are actors who take independent political action rather than passive objects.
See full text

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
See full text

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
See full text

Fagen, P.W., 2011, 'Refugees and IDPs after Conflict: Why They Do Not Go Home', United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC
National and international programmes to return refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) to their homes after conflict frequently leave far too many without viable futures. Using Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq and Burundi as case studies, this paper argues that the effects of protracted conflict and displacement means that, for many, returning home is not a viable solution. Greater flexibility in determining the best solutions and more investment in alternative and longer-term forms of reintegration are needed.

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

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 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'.

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

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**.