



# Building Sustainable Peace

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# The Challenge

- ▶ How to shift the logic of dominance to the logic of love, reciprocity, community and equality? How to build mutuality across boundaries of difference?
  - ▶ In Levinas' aphorism how do we get the balance right between "The love of wisdom and the wisdom of love?" – Athens and Jerusalem
  - ▶ How do we work with others at home and abroad to develop peaceable and virtuous processes to replace violent and vicious ones?
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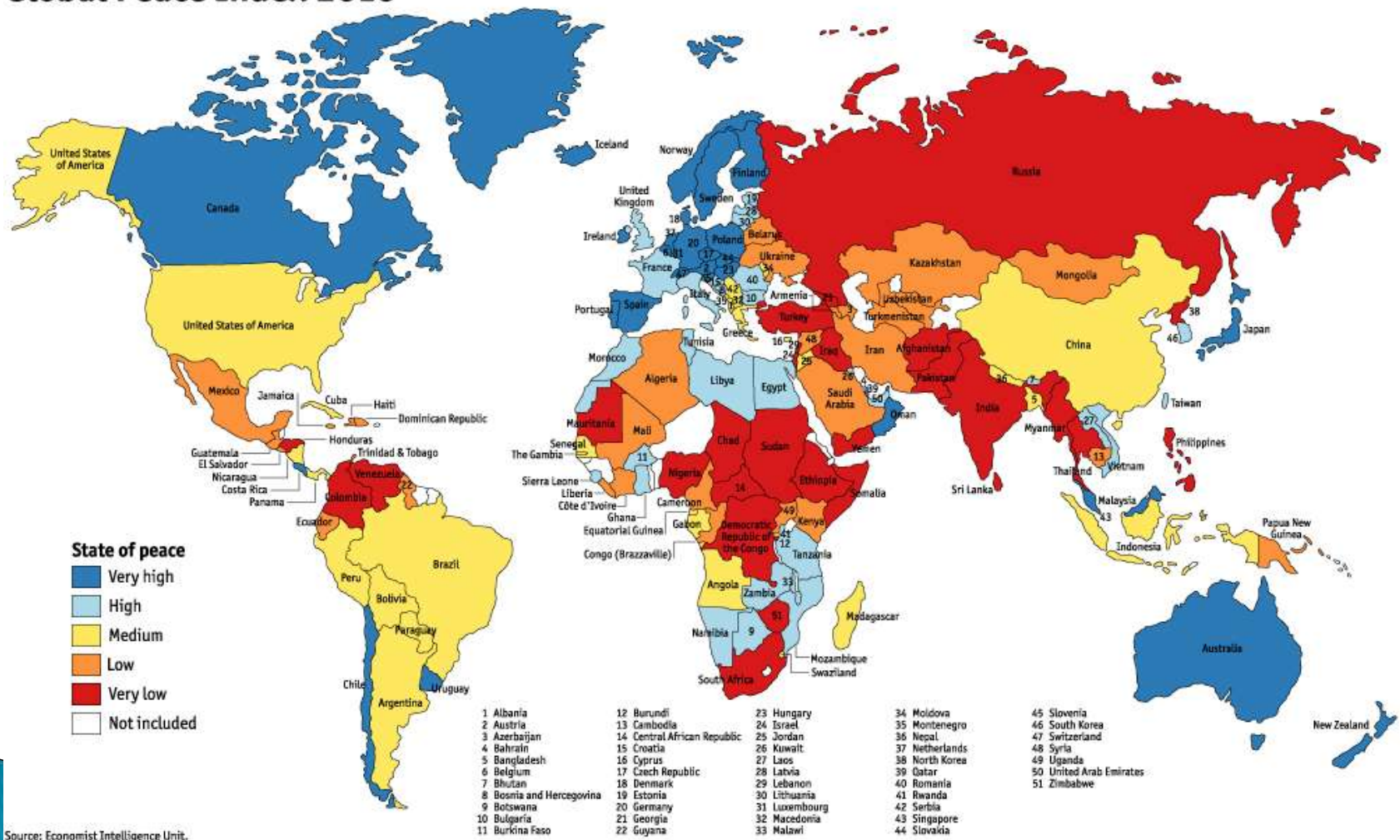
# Definitions

- ▶ **Building**=intentional, constructive acts of insiders and outsiders–it requires vision and plans
  - ▶ **Sustainable**=enduring, able to be maintained
  - ▶ **Peace**= an absence of direct violence and the creation of conditions which will foster equality and enable all individuals and groups to satisfy their needs for recognition, welfare,and security. The development of strong and resilient social relationships through time.
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# States of peace



## Global Peace Index 2010



Source: Economist Intelligence Unit.

# A less peaceful world?



- ▶ Based on a direct comparison with the 144 countries measured in the GPI 2009, the vast majority of the 23 indicators that constitute the composite index have risen, indicating an **overall decline in the level of peace**
- ▶ The most marked increases in the sum of scores have been in:
  - The number of homicides per 100,000 people
  - The likelihood of violent demonstrations
  - The potential for terrorist attacks
- ▶ Nevertheless, most of the overall increases in the these three indicators were confined to relatively few countries – scores were unchanged in the majority of nations
  - Political instability has also increased slightly across the world (following a much larger jump overall in the GPI 2009). This proved to be the most influenced indicator – changes were registered in just over 60% of the 144 countries
- ▶ The most marked decreases in aggregate scores have been in:
  - The measure of the respect for human rights (slight improvement overall although a number of changes)
  - Estimated number of deaths from organised conflict (external)

# The ten nations most at peace



- ▶ **1.** New Zealand
- ▶ **2.** Iceland
- ▶ **2.** Japan
- ▶ **4.** Austria
- ▶ **5.** Norway
- ▶ **6.** Ireland
- ▶ **7.** Denmark
- ▶ **8.** Luxembourg
- ▶ **9.** Finland
- ▶ **10.** Sweden



# The ten nations least at peace



- ▶ **149.** Iraq
- ▶ **148.** Somalia
- ▶ **147.** Afghanistan
- ▶ **146.** Sudan
- ▶ **145.** Pakistan
- ▶ **144.** Israel
- ▶ **143.** Russia
- ▶ **142.** Georgia
- ▶ **141.** Chad
- ▶ **140.** Democratic Republic of the Congo

# Potential determinants



- ▶ Once again, we made use of 33 “drivers” or potential determinants of peace, encompassing:
  - Democracy, including government competence and efficacy
  - The strength of institutions and the political process
  - International openness
  - Demographics
  - Regional integration
  - Religion and culture
  - Education and material well-being



# Potential determinant



- The significant correlations recorded in 2007, 2008 & 2009 remain stable, hinting at possible relationships over time
- As before, the most significant correlations were against the measure of a country's internal peace:

Measure	Correlation
1. Internal peace against the perceptions of corruption	-0.78
2. Internal peace against the political culture	-0.67
3. Internal peace against the functioning of government	-0.64
4. Internal peace against the level of hostility to foreigners/property	+0.61
5. Internal peace against the mean number of years of schooling	-0.66
6. Overall measure of peace and the extent of regional integration	+0.62
7. Internal peace against GDP per capita	-0.64

# Summary of findings



- ▶ Ranking states of peace
- 1) Small, politically stable, democratic countries continue to top the rankings
  - 15 of the top 20 countries are in Europe
  - Five of the top ten are Nordic nations
  - Most are members of a supranational body
  - Island nations generally fare well
- The search for drivers of peace:
- 2) Countries with high levels of internal peace are associated with:
  - Low levels of corruption, a functioning government, long average times spent in education, high levels of regional integration and high incomes
- 3) Countries with external peace have no clear defining features
  - No clear path to external peace

# Further studies




▶ The 2010 GPI builds on the first two editions of the index and provides further evidence that peaceful societies are associated with:

- Very low levels of internal conflict
- Low levels of corruption
- Strong economies
- Functioning democracy
- High take-up of education
- Good healthcare

Additional research is required, and factor and discriminant analysis could further refine the set of determinants to a core set of powerful drivers and predictors


# Boutros Ghali's view of peacebuilding

- ▶ Boutros-Ghali's view of Peacebuilding, includes:
  - ▶ disarming warring parties,
  - ▶ restoring order,
  - ▶ decommissioning and destroying weapons,
  - ▶ repatriating refugees,
  - ▶ providing advisory and training support for security personnel,
  - ▶ monitoring elections,
  - ▶ de-mining and other forms of demilitarization,
  - ▶ providing technical assistance,
  - ▶ advancing efforts to protect human rights,
  - ▶ reforming and strengthening institutions of governance—including assistance in monitoring and supervising electoral processes—and promoting formal and informal participation in the political process.
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# The Liberal Peace Project


- ▶ After the end of the cold war, the Liberal Peace Project , went a lot further than Ghali's prescription. Most recent trans-national interventions are aimed not just at managing instability and violence within and between states,  
but
- ▶ **Building a peace on the basis of liberal democracy and market economics. This means working with governmental, non-governmental, humanitarian organisations and the private sector to try and create systems that look a bit like Denmark !**

# Liberal Peacebuilding

- ▶ Involves preventing a resumption or escalation of violent conflict and establishing a durable and lasting negative peace.
  - ▶ Addressing underlying sources of violence
  - ▶ Building/rebuilding social institutions and values—including promoting human rights regime
  - ▶ Rebuilding the State—institutions of governance and the rule of law.
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# Security–Development–Rule of law

- ▶ SSR,DDR,Effective Policing
  - ▶ Development addressing property,land ownership issues, stabilising the economy, addressing inequality, employment creation basic welfare etc
  - ▶ Generating effective, capable and legitimate governance, transitional justice mechanisms, etc
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# Oliver Richmond's 2009 Critique

- ▶ Richmond in his article *Beyond the Liberal Peace* argues that the liberal peacebuilding project is flawed. He states that
- ▶ **“It involves transplanting and exporting conditionality and dependency, creating a mix of institutional regulation and liberal freedoms that constitute peace-as-governance”.**
- ▶ What tends to emerge are hybrid systems that look nothing like Denmark and nothing like the pre-war, pre-colonial communities that existed before the intervention took place.


# Liberal Peace Building

- ▶ Tends to avoid engaging local culture, customs and traditions and essentialises identity in the political institutions it creates – e.g “Karzai is Afghanistan”.
  - ▶ It has co-opted the neo-liberal economic agenda as well.
  - ▶ There is very little subjectification of the “Others” being transformed; little or no recognition of the inter-subjective nature of the relationships between outsiders/insiders; heightened expectations and frustrating outcomes.
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# The Results are Mixed

- ▶ Concluding a study of the major missions between 1989 and 1998, (Roland Paris 2008) writes,
  - ▶ “Some missions were clear successes (Namibia and Croatia); others were obvious failures (Angola and Rwanda). The remaining operations fell in between these two extremes. In most of these eleven cases, the process of political liberalization, or economic liberalization, or both, produced destabilizing effects that worked against the consolidation of peace.
  - ▶ In some countries, liberalization exacerbated societal tensions, and in others it reproduced traditional sources of violence”.
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# The Success Stories remain Problematic

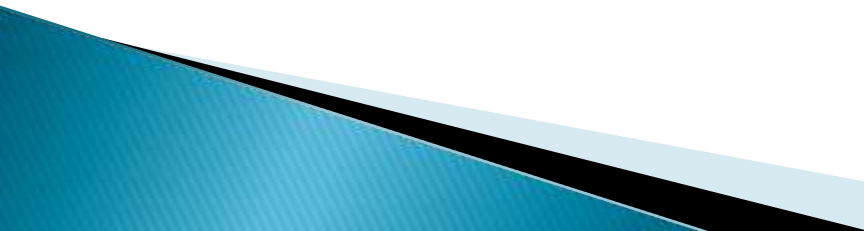
- ▶ Liberal Peacebuilding is better than no peacebuilding at all but its successes remain problematic.
  - ▶ Sierra Leone and Liberia for example are cited as successes but the institutions that have been generated do not fit local conditions well and are not delivering welfare to the people.
  - ▶ Politics remain in the hands of corrupt and ineffective leaders
  - ▶ Other cases like Timor Leste, Cambodia, Bosnia Solomon Islands remain fragile.
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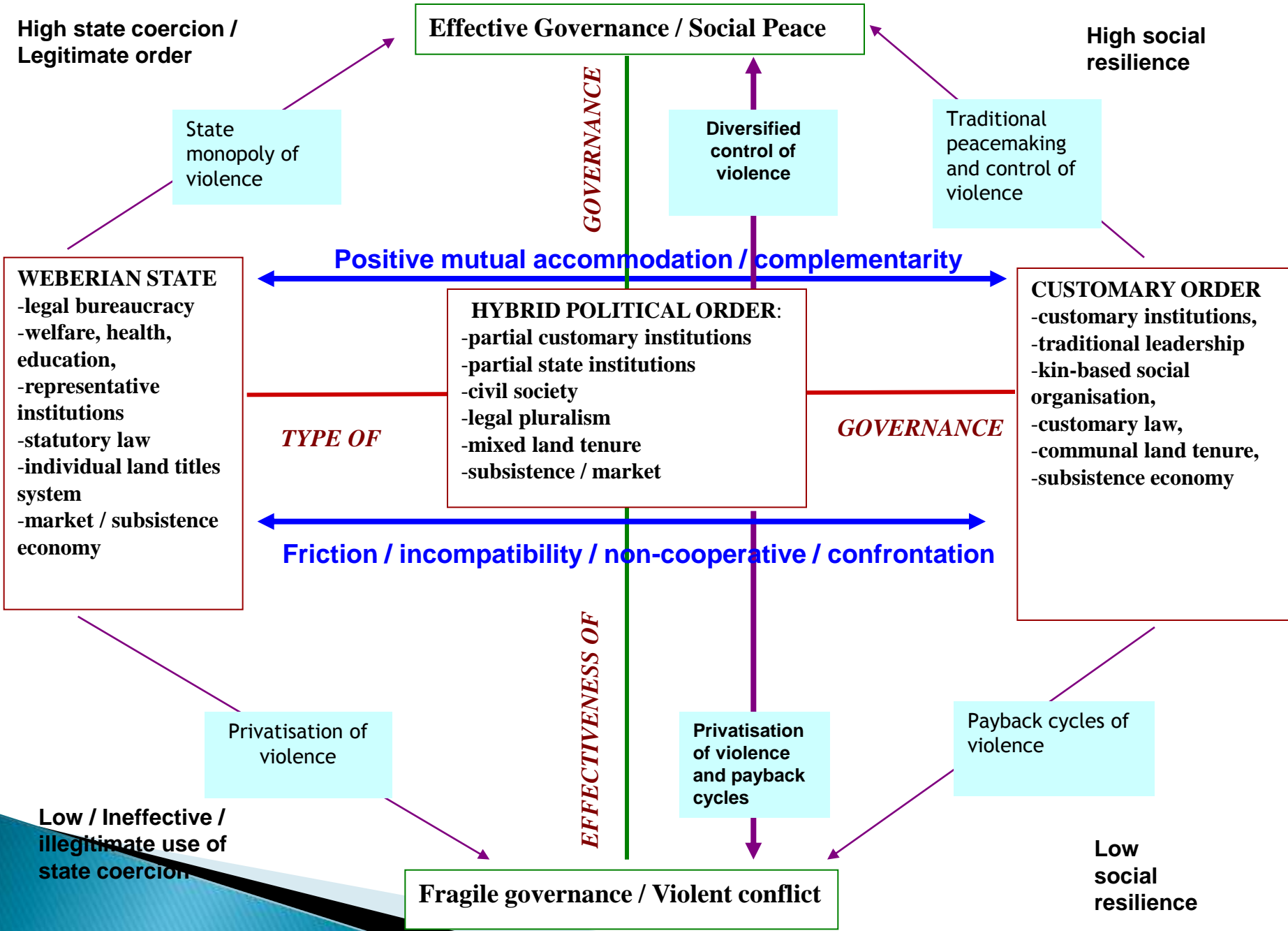
# Alternatives to Liberal Peacebuilding

- ▶ Kristoffer Liden 2009, outlines three paths to building peace:
- ▶ (i) **A reassertion of the liberal peace agenda** which will require more coercive means, more stress on state institutions and a high degree of transitional interference for the devt of a liberal state.
- ▶ (ii) **Social Peacebuilding** involves the culturally adapted provision of material resources, security, political influence and education without political conditions except for inclusion and non-violence. Compared with the neo- and re-liberal approaches, the emphasis is put on social and economic rights as sources of peace. This entails the targeted empowerment and inclusion of women and other marginalized groups in the peacebuilding process



# Alternatives to Liberal Peace (2)

- ▶ (iii) The political objective of **multicultural peacebuilding** is to promote the identities and life-forms that compose the cultural geography of a host society by accommodating and fully adapting to local cultures and moralities.
  - ▶ Compared with social peacebuilding, this excludes material welfare, modern education, or integration in national and international political processes as primary sources of peace.
  - ▶ Focus on facilitation of locally driven peacebuilding processes based on local conceptions of peace and justice. This involves active support for traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and conceptions of peace that are marginalized in modern state-oriented political processes and regular development assistance.
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High state coercion / Legitimate order

High social resilience

Effective Governance / Social Peace

State monopoly of violence

Diversified control of violence

Traditional peacemaking and control of violence

**WEBERIAN STATE**

- legal bureaucracy
- welfare, health, education,
- representative institutions
- statutory law
- individual land titles system
- market / subsistence economy

**HYBRID POLITICAL ORDER:**

- partial customary institutions
- partial state institutions
- civil society
- legal pluralism
- mixed land tenure
- subsistence / market

**CUSTOMARY ORDER**

- customary institutions,
- traditional leadership
- kin-based social organisation,
- customary law,
- communal land tenure,
- subsistence economy

*TYPE OF*

*GOVERNANCE*

**Positive mutual accommodation / complementarity**

**Friction / incompatibility / non-cooperative / confrontation**

*EFFECTIVENESS OF*

Privatisation of violence

Privatisation of violence and payback cycles


Payback cycles of violence

Low / Ineffective / illegitimate use of state coercion


Low social resilience

**Fragile governance / Violent conflict**

# Politics of Redistribution V Politics of Recognition

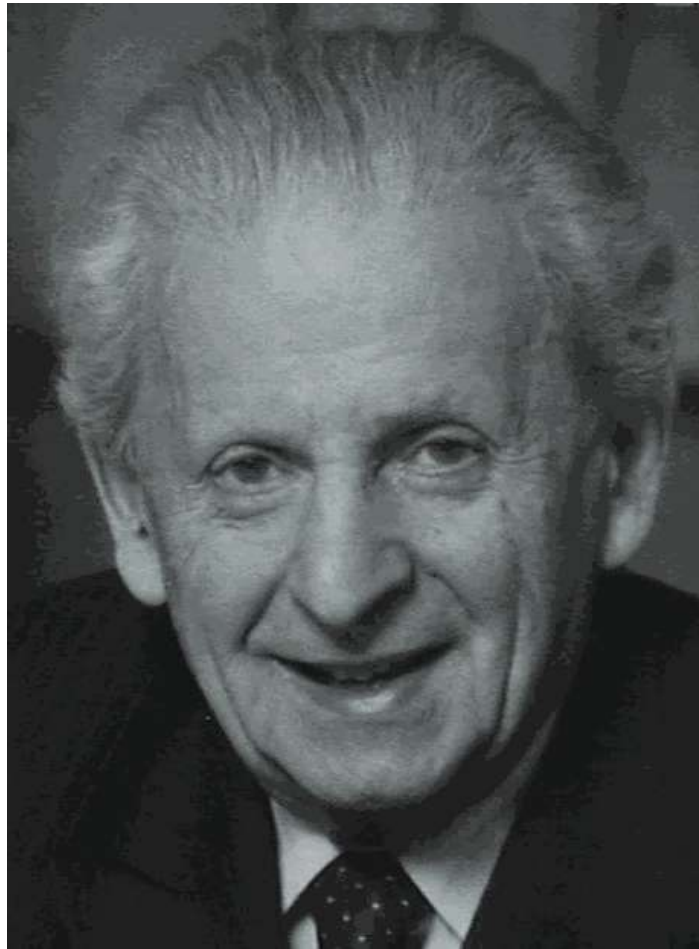
- ▶ The politics of redistribution focuses on socioeconomic injustices.
  - ▶ The politics of recognition focuses on cultural injustices, rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication.
  - ▶ All raise fundamental questions about moral pluralism and moral universalism. We can't ignore engaging these issues if we ( whoever the we is) are to assist locals to solve their own problems. Genuine normative transfer has to take root in the values of locality.
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# How do we conceptualise Partnerships?

- ▶ Neo-Colonial/Didactic/Disempowering Partnerships versus
  - ▶ Locally based, self empowering, emancipatory partnerships which do no harm.
  - ▶ Who are the intervenors? What qualities do they bring to these interventions?
  - ▶ Centrality of seeing all of these things as complex wholes/interdependent relationships where the interests of the helper often take precedence over the interests of the helped?
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# The Beloved Community a Model

- ▶ Martin Luther King, Jr. 's idea of a “Beloved Community” remains a compelling dream. It brings together Gandhian nonviolence with Liberation Psychology and an awareness of the call to satisfy Physical needs and the needs for justice and power; trust and hope; safety, security, and competence; belonging, respect, and love/nonviolence; uniqueness, gender, and culture; freedom and self-determination; and creativity and spirituality .







# Towards an Ethics of Non Violence

- ▶ An Ethic of care and responsibility precedes ontology, epistemology and theology.
  - ▶ This ethic is independent of metaphysics and arises from our basic human awareness of each other.
  - ▶ It is necessarily connected with acknowledgement of our human vulnerability.
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# Triple Vulnerability as a source of Non-Violence

- ▶ First there is our permanent physical vulnerability; we may die anytime and will certainly die sometime
  - ▶ Second, other people constitute a psychological threat; The Other is a threat simply because they are an Other.
  - ▶ Third, and most importantly since I am the Other's Other we all not only are threatened but also constitute a threat.
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# My right to exist hinges on a radical commitment to nonviolence

- ▶ Because I can hurt others I am not only psychologically and physically vulnerable but also morally vulnerable. How can I claim a right to exist unless I accord that right to others and establish that I am harmless to them?
  - ▶ The only way that I can do that is by accepting unconditional (and unlimited) responsibility for the Other, a responsibility that is simply taken on without having to be justified by contract, legitimated by the State or any special relationship.
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# Responsibility to-and-for-the Other

- ▶ Levinas' Ethics is a struggle to keep fear and anxiety from turning into murderous action"
- ▶ Responsibility to-and-for- the – Other is the only basis for a human society–global humanity
- ▶ We have to recognise the Face of the Other in its incomparability, uniqueness, distinctive singularity.
- ▶ The epiphany of the face–as misery, prohibition and its disarming authority–Radical Alerity.