

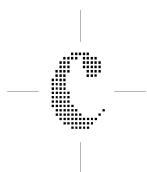
Research Project 'Rehabilitation, Sustainable Peace and Development'

Proceedings

International Seminar
Reframing Post-Conflict Rehabilitation;
Beyond Clichés from the Past
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Executive Summary

Introduction

The international seminar 'Reframing Post-Conflict Rehabilitation; Beyond Cliches from the Past' was held on Friday 16 February 2001 at the 'Clingendael' Institute in The Hague. It is part of the research project *Rehabilitation, Sustainable Peace and Development*, which is executed by the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) of the 'Clingendael' Institute at the request of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As an exploratory study, it aims to review the relevant literature and donor practices in the field of post-conflict rehabilitation. The main question addressed in the research is how to design a post-conflict rehabilitation and development program that tries to solve the major contentious issues in societies after conflict in order to achieve sustainable peace. The aim of the seminar was to discuss the preliminary review of the literature and to establish further options for policy action as well as a future research agenda in this field. This report comprises the proceedings of the seminar. The most important issues that have been discussed by the participants are listed below.

Definition and Use of Concepts

A large part of the discussions focused on the confusing nature of concepts like (re-) habilitation, transition and peace building. The confusion not only relates to semantics or scope, but also consists of the inherent bias within the concepts. 'Rehabilitation' e.g. assumes the ability to restore a society to its previous condition, although the *status quo ante* often contributed to or even caused the conflict. Similarly, using the term 'transition' presupposes a certain direction to which development is geared. 'Peace building' on the other hand is biased towards external intervention in war-torn societies. The danger when applying such concepts –and their assumptions– in assistance programs is the development of a fragmented, 'quick fix' and *ad hoc* approach to war-torn societies. The same goes for the conceptualisation of 'post-conflict'. It was reminded that most conflicts are protracted, with hostilities rising and subsiding. Moreover, in spite of the conceptual difficulties a majority of the participants preferred to speak of 'war'.

Dimensions of Post-Conflict Assistance

Due to the broad variety of dimensions in post-conflict assistance, the discussions during the seminar ranged from economic reconstruction and political and institutional reform of governance to issues of democratisation, justice, reconciliation and livelihoods support. The debate was further complicated because effective assistance to these dimensions involves different levels and actors in policy, academic and practical fields. During the seminar, the participants emphasised that it is important to recognise the processual nature of post-conflict rehabilitation. This means that the different

dimensions of the rebuilding process are interrelated and that a long-term, consistent commitment is needed from both internal and external actors in order to prevent future conflict and promote peace.

Different Approaches for Rehabilitation Assistance

It was acknowledged that a lot of the disagreements between the participants themselves and also between operational agencies resulted from different approaches to post-conflict assistance. In this connection, the tradition of relief and disaster assistance clashes with the tradition of international relations over the most appropriate approach and response to war-torn societies. In practice this results in a different focus of assistance. A livelihoods approach focuses on the coping mechanisms of local actors and tries to program assistance with a bottom-up perspective. In this respect, external assistance should involve supporting the ways in which people are coping with the conditions of war-torn societies. This entails an analysis of livelihoods –defined as the aggregate means by which people get by over time– and assessing how external actors can support endogenous coping mechanisms. A ‘peace building’ approach, on the other hand, emphasises the role of international assistance and addresses the institutional and political structures of post-conflict societies using a more top-down approach. One example of this approach could be seen in the discussion on promoting inclusive and effective political institutions. In this respect interim administrative institutions or power-sharing arrangements were discussed as a response to the dilemma of promoting buy-in of contending parties and bringing moderates back into the political process. The challenge in future research and practice is to see where these different traditions –both having their positive effects– converge.

Effectiveness of International Assistance

The effectiveness of international donor assistance to post-conflict societies was an important topic of debate. Studies in this field have shown mixed results. In spite of the enormous amounts of money spent by the international community on e.g. programmes for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR), research has shown that over 30% of the conflicts that have ended, resume within ten years time. Equally, the costs of international support to post-conflict elections seem to outweigh the positive effects those elections had on democratisation processes in war-torn societies. In view of these problems, participants discussed the need for further research, both on livelihood strategies in conflict situations and on the effectiveness of international assistance to the political aspects of peace building. These research topics would have to inform policy-makers, guide future aid-programming and provide input into assessment strategies. In that way, future research might contribute to the effectiveness of international assistance to peace building.

Lessons Learned

From the different presentations followed some important recommendations for future policies regarding war-torn societies. The session on migration and refugees stressed the importance of recognising refugees and IDPs’ capacities and their changes in skills-, occupational and social identity as a consequence of war. It was argued to support these capacities and changes. In addition, the focus should be on areas of return instead of on individuals, thereby benefiting both returnees and stayees. Another lesson pointed to the importance of being aware of the polarised setting wherein external intervention takes place. In almost all war-torn societies there is no empty political landscape. The prevailing and changed socio-economic, institutional and political structures have to be accounted for when planning rehabilitation assistance.

Opening and Session I

Opening by Chair, Prof. Dr Ir Frerks, Head Conflict Research Unit

Prof. Frerks welcomed the participants and explained the purpose of the seminar. By discussing the most pertinent issues in war-torn societies the seminar aimed to sketch the outlines of a strategic approach towards peace building. The programme consisted of six sessions, focusing on the different dimensions, levels and actors involved in peace building. After a review of the selected literature on the topic, giving a conceptual critique of the debates on peace building, the consecutive sessions focused on political reconstruction and democratisation; livelihood strategies in situations of fragile peace; migration and refugees; and institutional approaches vs. local capacities for peace. The day was closed by a plenary debate, in which the participants were asked to give their ideas on a future research agenda in this field. After each presentation, there was room for debate among the participants. Prof. Frerks invited all to contribute based on their own work and expertise.

Session I Reconceptualising Peace Building

From Reconstruction to Peace Building. A Review of Selected Literature

Mr de Zeeuw, researcher at the Conflict Research Unit of the Clingendael Institute, explained the rationale of the seminar. One of the first aims of the research project 'Rehabilitation, Sustainable Peace and Development', was to clarify the concepts used in this broad field of assistance to war-torn societies. In the academic and policy literature 'rehabilitation' is used for assistance to countries which have just experienced violent conflict, where some form of peace agreement has been reached and reconstruction can begin in order to rebuild the damaged society. Seen as the next logical step after relief assistance has catered for the most basic needs of people affected by war, 'post-conflict rehabilitation' provides a wide-ranging set of programmes meant to reconstruct the country's economic, political-institutional and social infrastructure. As such it has for a long time been considered as part of the interval or continuum from relief to development, a three-staged way of programming assistance eventually aiming at bringing the country back to its normal linear path of development. However, current research and practical experience in post-war assistance suggests that 'continuum thinking' is inadequate to analyse the situation on the ground in war-torn societies.

What has been coined the 'post-conflict' phase is in practice a situation varying from latent conflict to fragile peace. Assuming that conflict is over after some form of cease-fire has been reached, would 'go against the tide of history' and defy reality, in which more than 30% of the conflicts that have ended resume within a period of ten years. Therefore, a key characteristic of most contemporary conflicts is their protracted nature, with violence subsiding and flaring up again on a regular basis. The initial phase in which the fighting diminishes, may thus at best be considered a possible transition phase. In this transition former belligerent parties can be lured into a precarious process of trying to find ways for various actors to non-violently address the issues and interests at stake. Within this context, peace building assistance may contribute by tentatively ameliorating the context in which this process takes place, not only focusing on the former belligerent parties but on the affected society as a whole. More concretely, peace building in this context comprises a whole gamut of instruments supporting the crucial processes of, among others, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration,

refugee assistance, clearance of landmines and programmes to stimulate the process of democratisation and governance reform.

Two important objectives of peace building were said to stand out: the prevention of a relapse into conflict and the creation of a self-sustaining peace. Within peace building, preventing violent conflict from re-occurring seems to be the top priority, especially in the short run. However, not until parties' grievances and security concerns have been addressed will a fragile peace consolidate itself into a more stable situation. In the end conflicts have to be dealt with in political debate instead of war. Only then a war-torn society can embark upon the long, painstaking process of developing a self-sustaining peace.

The current literature on peace building is quite critical regarding the approach, implementation and co-ordination of donor assistance to war-torn societies. Using a 'quick-fix' approach, donor assistance to rebuilding societies after war often results in short-term, fragmented and *ad hoc* programmes. Assuming that local actors are neither capable nor knowledgeable, peace building remains largely externally driven. This practice runs the risk of suffocating endogenous initiatives and may therefore have a negative effect on the local ownership of the peace building process. Finally, channelling peace building assistance remains problematic. The inexistence of separate budget lines for peace building limits the flexibility donors should have vis-à-vis the rapidly changing conditions in war-torn societies. In this connection, funding NGOs can contribute to the demise of the state and may result in a plethora of projects, entailing the risk of losing out on the strategic overview. Funding the state on the other hand, not only reaffirms the state's position but also makes the state the biggest aid recipient. Improving its legitimacy might be important but can also become a problem as the traditional institutional powers will be strengthened instead of reformed.

Research into peace building strategies will have to be not only policy-oriented but also policy-focused. This means that a strategy should consist of what is possible and realistic in view of the technical and political constraints policy makers are confronted with when designing and implementing peace building programmes in war-torn countries. One of the ways of doing this would be to prioritise a particular dimension of peace building, based on the comparative advantage the particular donor country has within its institutional and political capacities. An alternative would be to take the specific local situation of war-torn countries as the starting point for external assistance and identify the most immediate needs of the war-affected population.

Taking the objective of conflict prevention as an example, one crucial aspect in peace building is the attention for the contending parties. A strategic approach using direct and more indirect incentives and disincentives needs to be designed in order to keep the stakeholders as well as spoilers on board of the peace process. For them, the prospects of peace have to pay off in view of their interests. If their position and interests are not taken into account, they can benefit more from non-compliance and will probably frustrate the process of peace. From the donor side this requires a clear (political) stance in contributing to programmes for peacekeeping, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of ex-combatants, civilian police training and reassessing the role of contenting parties in governance structures. This type of 'sectoral' assistance might be more effective than supporting separate projects in conflict-affected societies.

A strategic framework assessing donor capacities and local post-conflict needs should serve as an analytical and practical tool that may guide more focused peace building interventions based on a specific political mandate and strategic choices to support particular processes of peaceful change.

Discussion

The Terminology and Meaning of Peace Building

Several participants mentioned the confusing terminology in the peace building debate. Starting with the context, Prof. Green as well as Dr Barakat objected to the use of the term 'complex political emergency' as this is merely the politically correct term to describe war. Dr van der Borgh questioned the usefulness of the peace building concept, which is used mainly by external actors. Dr Hilhorst suggested to include the politics of peace, as sustaining peace means a lot of different things to various actors. It was argued that, when building peace elsewhere, donors have to be conscious about not being too patronising and not forget that many parts of the world are growing uneasy with the expansion of Western values. According to some participants external intervention in war-torn societies sometimes resembled a crusade of peace building. Aware of the conceptual problems, Dr Barakat therefore proposed to stick to 'rehabilitation'. Prof. Long went even further and proposed to use the term 'habilitation', embodying processes of discourse and negotiation between the different parties involved.

Different Discourses Coming from Different Traditions

According to Dr Kumar, the various approaches towards peace building originate from different traditions; organisations coming from the field of relief and disaster assistance and approaches from the field of international relations, where the focus is on international security influenced by national states, the role of regional hegemony, etc. Secondly, there is difference concerning the people working in the field of peace building, more specifically between academics and policy makers. The challenge for further research and more effective peace building assistance is to identify the critical points where these two traditions of the academic world and that of politicians converge while being aware that any future approach has to account for the political constraints donor organisations face.

The different traditions are closely related to the discourses that are used when analysing the problems in assisting war-torn societies. Dr Raven-Roberts focused attention on two sets of discourses. First, peace building can be studied as anthropology of intervention; 'to write about what is written'. She argued that much can be learned from the feminist literature and from gender studies. The militarisation of society during peace and war situations is an important example from this body of research. The other discourse, however, is also no alternative. This discourse of the industry of intervention, where outsiders dominate the policy agenda and assistance is largely externally driven as Dr Raven-Roberts termed it, is too simplistic. An alternative suggested by Mr Moquette was to identify the major drawbacks of external assistance, focusing e.g. on current power relations or what the agenda on justice should be. Although this agenda of discourse analysis was considered very useful in itself, Mr Moquette reminded the audience that the anthropological point of view seems to argue that as long as we have better knowledge about the structures behind [peace building], this will change the power-setting in external assistance and thereby improve the results.

Different Actors

Many discussions resulted from the particular stress each participant laid on the different actors involved in peace building. Being part of a UNDP rehabilitation mission to South Lebanon, Dr Barakat learned that there exists an enormous difference between what people themselves feel is needed in terms of rehabilitation and the agenda that is set by international donors. In response, Mr Moquette agreed that this seems to point to the problem of sequencing; donors wanting a different order of assistance programmes than recipient societies. He stressed that policy makers have to deal

with the demands of public opinion. With respect to the issue of justice then, in some cases a human rights agenda, comprising certain Western values, becomes difficult to sell. Prof. Green on the other hand, argued that the rehabilitation process should be domestically-driven, supporting local civil society and government institutions. In this respect, the work and ideas of e.g. African scholars and organisations is important. At least listening to them would already contribute to the goal of domestic ownership. Others agreed by saying that there are a lot of in-country ideas that are not accounted for in assistance programmes. Ideally, the external side in the form of donor assistance should be available on demand, not in command. The problem often is, however, that the internal agendas and needs are unclear as it is not always clear who is in command.

Different Approaches Leading to Different Activities

The different discourses seem to result in different practical approaches to peace building. Dr Barakat argued that until now rehabilitation seems to have taken place within a 'relief culture'. Peace building, however, is meant to go beyond that. It entails the deconstruction of structures of violence that exist within a society and giving opportunities for building more peaceful structures. Prof. Green stressed the importance of historical understanding in this respect, which is often lacking in external assistance. Moreover, he stressed that rehabilitation does not have to be limited to 'post-conflict' situations. It can be started in zones of relative peace with a functioning civil society or local governance organisations, as the case of Southern Sudan illustrates. The different approaches that the participants put forward led to the inclusion of different activities under the banner of peace building.

For Prof. Green rehabilitation starts with people returning home and trying to restore their livelihoods. Moreover it entails the restoration of basic services such as 'law and order', basic health, water provision and education, food security, local government, access to markets and an increasing ability to cope with shocks. The latter is especially salient as it points to the need to include contingency planning and stand-by funds in rehabilitation assistance. When recovering from war a government's legitimacy to a large extent depends on whether it is capable to provide e.g. some basic services, market access and a secure environment.

Other participants took a different approach, resulting in a more limited scope of peace building. Mr Leurdijk e.g. reminded the audience that 'post-conflict peace building', as it had been introduced by Boutros-Ghali in his 1992 *Agenda for Peace*, is directly related to the presence of a peace agreement. If we consider peace building to take place after a political agreement between the contending parties has been reached, this means that this peace agreement provides the parameters - possibilities and constraints- of peace building in the field. In practice therefore the implementation of the peace agreement was believed to be the most determining factor in peace building.

Redressing the Causes of Conflict

Most participants agreed on the importance of redressing the root causes of conflict in peace building assistance. Any peace building approach should therefore start with an analysis of the causes that sparked the conflict and identify the local coping mechanisms to understand how people deal with conflict. Opinions how to go from there differed, however. Taking a developmental approach, donors often focus on socio-economic inequalities, resulting in programmes for poverty alleviation, agricultural development, etc. In this respect, the issue of livelihoods came to the fore. In the eyes of Dr Date-Bah these issues are central to the analysis of war-affected societies. Rebuilding labour market institutions and the provision of jobs can be important contributing factors to create a more self-sustaining peace. It provides employment to returning refugees, internally displaced people (IDPs), but also to demobilised ex-combatants enabling them to improve their material welfare.

Taking a different perspective, Mr Cockell stressed that peace building should not focus on root causes in terms of socio-economic inequalities *per se* but see how those inequalities are politicised. This means analysing how incapacities or unfairnesses in the political system drive differences between groups. The challenge then, is to find out how external actors can improve their responses to war-torn situations. Regular development aid programmes might then no longer be appropriate, not in the least considering the specific budget and administrative limitations. New programmes are needed that are intended to address specifically the political nature of conflicts.

Session II Political Reconstruction and Democratisation

Political Reconstruction in War-Torn Societies: The Issue of Post-Conflict Elections

As a starting point, Dr Kumar of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) emphasised that his studies focus on the role of international organisations in assisting war-torn countries in rehabilitation. The studies aimed at identifying those variables that can help donor organisations to improve their operations and policies concerning war-torn societies. The research on post-conflict elections, for instance, clearly showed that elections are merely the beginning of the peace process and are therefore only one aspect of the democratic transition. Reasons for the international community to promote post-conflict elections include: first, the opportunity to determine which contending parties deserve political legitimacy; second, enhance external legitimacy; and third, to promote a form of peace and reconciliation in which different political actors are encouraged to take part in development –e.g. through instruments like power-sharing. From the study on post-conflict elections in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Liberia, Cambodia, El Salvador and Nicaragua, Dr Kumar highlighted several aspects.

First, the study showed that in five out of seven countries elections would not have been possible without international assistance. Although in El Salvador and Nicaragua there was some institutional capability to hold elections, the credibility of elections would have been very low without international assistance. In this respect, the promotion of negotiations by the international community in the run-up to the elections was essential. This varied from mediating between the conflicting parties to exerting pressure on different groups to participate in the elections and comply with the results. The role of the international community in post-conflict elections is therefore not limited to technical or financial assistance, but is particularly important in persuading the various actors involved to accept the process and outcome of the elections.

A second point from the study is the participation of refugees in elections. Not only because they are the worst-off victims of the war, but also because they should be involved in the process of reconciliation. Since the war in Bosnia, the international community has developed a number of mechanisms through which it has become easier to involve refugees, living outside their home country, in the electoral process.

It is common knowledge that elections by nature can be divisive processes. In war-torn societies as well as in more ‘mature’ democracies, political leaders mobilise people through appealing to ethnic or religious loyalties, interests, class, etc. Especially in those countries where the conflict had taken the form of ‘ethnic conflict’, there was concern about the divisive effect of elections. The studies showed that the international community can mitigate this effect to a certain degree. Firstly, in those countries where there existed a prolonged dialogue between the warring groups, close personal relationships between the parties prevented the escalation of tensions during the post-conflict period. Moreover, the provision of a code of conduct for elections proved important, especially in those countries where post-conflict elections were the first national elections in recent political history.

The costs of the elections and their follow-up are another important aspect of international assistance. The amount spent by the international community in supporting post-conflict elections in Mozambique, for instance, totalled US\$ 64 million. This constituted 4% of the country’s GNP, and twice the expenditure for education and health services in the country. In order to cut down on these enormous expenditures for elections, it was suggested to do the following. First, local labour should be used as much as possible instead of flying in expensive expatriates. Secondly, use has to be made of

locally- or regionally- available election monitoring systems. Thirdly, the time frame of electoral processes should be made more realistic. Finally, in view of financial sustainability, equipment and procedures have to be used which are consistent with the available resources and level of economic development of the particular country.

The issue of 'free and fair' elections proved another difficulty, especially in operationalising. Upon closer inspection, many of the reported irregularities were unintentional, due to a lack of experience or expertise. In the end, it was found that international monitors in the field looked whether irregularities or manipulations in the electoral process would make a total difference in the outcome. This and the effect it would have had on peace and conflict were used by the international community as criteria for 'free and fair' elections.

One of the most important outcomes of the studies was the identification of certain preconditions before elections can be held. This was often overlooked by the international community. Some form of legitimate government or state, some understanding of the national boundaries and of the relationship between the national and sub-national units as well as a certain amount of commitment to peace all proved indispensable for holding elections. Although the international community can sometimes help to create these conditions it involves enormous costs and affects the nature of the democratisation process afterwards.

Finally, Dr Kumar argued that the international community has to think of interim-alternatives to elections in case the above-mentioned preconditions are not yet present. Future research in the field of post-conflict assistance should pay more attention to this, as well as include human rights monitoring, civil society building, and the media in post-conflict rehabilitation.

State-building and Democratisation in Post-Conflict Societies: The Case of Kosovo

As a political affairs officer of the OSCE / United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), Mr Cockell gave his views on the democratisation process in Kosovo, emphasising the period before the elections. His presentation focused on the dynamic process of how to achieve a gradual transfer of authority from an international interim administration mission to locally elected representatives. In this respect, Mr Cockell stressed that it is important to realise that Kosovo does not represent a post-conflict situation, but a country still in the midst of conflict. Until now, there is no peace agreement, establishing the country's final status. The process of political institution-building and democratisation therefore takes place in a profoundly unclear situation, with some local actors still thinking of a military solution to reach secession from the Former Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY).

A central dilemma in the de-escalation of any protracted internal conflict is the practical means by which external engagement can promote a sustainable and self-supporting peace process. For such a sustainable process to take root, it is important for the political process to both empower moderate but legitimate representatives of community aspirations, while also ensuring that militants do not defect from any emerging peace process. A central feature of democratisation programs in peace building operations, therefore, should be the promotion of inclusive and effective political processes, which are oriented towards the establishment of legitimate institutions. In the eyes of Mr Cockell, the development of political institutions and the democratisation process in Kosovo can be seen as a sharing or balancing of political space. The balance is struck in two ways; across different organisations present in Kosovo; and between the international community in Kosovo and the local actors. He added that the centrality of the political element in the peace building process in Kosovo has been much more fundamental than in Bosnia and might have contributed to the fact that the peace

building process in Kosovo has progressed much further and within a shorter period of time than in Bosnia.

In this light, one of the most significant achievements of UNMIK has been the 15 December (1999) Agreement and the related development of the JIAS (Joint Interim Administrative Structure) process and its institutions, particularly the KTC (Kosovo Transitional Council) and IAC (Interim Administrative Council). The JIAS process has had the dual benefit of: a) involving key Kosovar political parties and representatives (both Albanian and Serb) in the process of governance, thereby ensuring their progressive 'buy-in' for the process of de-escalation and interim administration, and b) reviving the political credibility and position of the LDK (Democratic League of Kosova), by making them co-equivalent partners in the joint administration process, along with the PDK (Democratic Party of Kosova). At the same time, the 15 December Agreement had the successful effect of demobilising the ex-UCK (Kosovo Liberation Army) provisional government of Hashim Thaci, and providing for the dissolution of all related 'parallel structures'. Although the establishment of the administrative structure has often been seen as displacing –or even colonising– indigenous political culture in Kosovo, it was more correctly a dynamic process aimed at developing a sustainable peace in Kosovo through sharing political space. This ensured both the stabilisation of UNMIK's administrative authority in Kosovo, and cleared political space for the recovery of political pluralism and the rejuvenation of moderate political voices.

Concluding, Mr Cockell said that, although not unproblematic, the JIAS process deserves to be held up as an innovative response to the dilemma of promoting buy-in of key conflict actors and bringing moderates back into the political process after a period of insurgent militancy. This has now established the local political context in which central questions to the future of Kosovo, including the holding of central elections, the drafting of an interim constitution, and the determination of final status, will be debated and addressed.

Discussion

Electoral Assistance

A large part of the discussion centred on the problems involved in international assistance to post-conflict elections. Firstly, people asked whether the electoral process and elections themselves would not make the situation in war-torn societies much worse. Dr Kibreab emphasised that the electoral process might exacerbate ethnic tensions in some cases. Dr Kumar agreed with him, but added that in case a peace accord has been signed, there is still much room for negotiation. Two case studies from his research showed that elections had been more successful because of prolonged negotiations after the peace accord had been signed. Secondly, due to the high costs of electoral assistance, some participants wondered whether the money could not be spent more wisely by supporting the preconditions for elections. Mr Lak and Mr Moquette reminded the audience that a reallocation of funds for organising elections to the improvement of political preconditions is not always an option or even useful. High profiles for monitoring groups, politicians, etc. that can be visualised in organising elections were considered important for mobilising international assistance to post-conflict countries. Moreover, elections themselves were regarded as contributing to the fulfilment of the necessary preconditions. To reduce the costs of electoral assistance it was suggested to use only a limited number of international monitors supported by neighbouring-country monitors. In general, participants were concerned that donor fatigue regarding international assistance to war-torn countries could emerge, especially once the elections were over.

Engineering Outcomes

Dr Barakat argued that because the international community is interested in a particular outcome of the elections, processes are implemented that engineer the desired result. In this connection, Prof. Green added that it is important to understand what the people in the country itself suggest. According to him they are aware that organising elections at a particular inappropriate moment in time might exacerbate problems. Organising elections in Rwanda at this moment would probably stimulate an undercurrent of hate; in Sudan it would lead to secession of the South and disintegration of the national state; and in Somaliland it would probably lead to an illegitimate government. Often proposed by the international community, elections do not always contribute to rehabilitation. Dr Kumar disagreed and said that study has shown that the greatest pressure to hold elections mostly comes from the war-torn countries themselves, not from the international community. Therefore, elections are often not donor-imposed. More so, the international community has often warned countries to delay particular elections in order to prepare themselves more thoroughly. Regarding the managing of outcome through assisting elections, Dr Kumar admitted that the international community is aware that it is faced with a dilemma. The purpose of elections is not only to determine who will rule the country but also to initiate a process of democratisation, wherein human rights and oppressed minority groups are respected and have a say in governance. The dilemma lies e.g. in fostering civil society, which is an essential element in developing a democracy, but can equally have a very negative influence by mobilising groups with very undemocratic ideas. Although we want democratic processes and elections to work, the international community also tries to exclude those people from power who are responsible for committing atrocities.

Role of Diaspora

Answering the question whether the diaspora has played a significant role in the Kosovo conflict and peace building period, Mr Cockell replied that the role of the diaspora was only marginal. Although some major political parties had greater access to finances from the outside than the smaller political parties, the diaspora in Kosovo has not been a major determining factor in the final outcome of the elections.

Framework for Political Space

Mr Moquette asked what kind of institutional setting would be feasible and contributing to the peace building process in Kosovo in the long run. In response, Mr Cockell pleaded for a framework that provides both political space and ensures inclusion of all political parties in the peace process. In some instances the international community can act as the facilitator in this process, by establishing new institutions, contributing to shape the political landscape, etc. The challenge, however, lies in not advantaging one particular faction or party over another. According to him, it is key to have a balanced political development process in advance of elections by establishing a basic framework where a healthy political relationship between contending parties can be managed. Mr Cockell added to this that it is essential to realise that the commitment of the parties involved to the peace process to a large extent depends on the progress that is being made in the process towards the holding of central elections and the agreement on a political outcome. In the latter respect, the international community has an important role to play.

Session III Livelihood Strategies in Situations of Fragile Peace

Livelihood Issues in War-Torn Societies

Dr Raven-Roberts of the Feinstein International Famine Center at Tufts University focused her presentation on livelihoods, defined as the aggregate means by which people get by over time. This includes not only basic necessities as food and water, but comprises the social, economic and political environment as well. These elements to a large extent influence how people cope with risk and vulnerabilities. At the Feinstein International Famine Center it is examined how communities manage risk under conditions of violence and how the international community intervenes in crisis situations. Perspectives used are derived from the analysis of 'humanitarian space' where issues of governance, mal-development, violations of human rights, poverty and globalisation clash to result in today's complex political emergencies. In her presentation, Dr Raven-Roberts addressed a wide range of issues, from how 'post-conflict' can be defined to what is entailed in the definition of 'recovery' as reviewed from a livelihoods perspective. This necessitates a critique of the influence of the flawed 'relief to development continuum' that –though formally discredited– remains powerful in many external actors' conceptualisation of conflict and associated assumptions regarding the 'natural' progression of societies over time.

Furthermore, she drew attention to a renewed and more nuanced analysis of the post-conflict environment. An analysis that considers the implications for the multiple stakeholders involved in enhancing the recovery process. In this connection, Dr Raven-Roberts referred to the current discourse regarding the 'search for coherence' between political and humanitarian responses to complex emergencies. This is closely related to discussions regarding the definitions and challenges of the post-conflict environment and the role of donors in the targeting of appropriate interventions.

The livelihoods perspective is considered useful for designing reconstruction strategies that centre on individuals', households', communities' and nations' combined efforts to manage risk. Such foci on 'hard' issues of survival and coping are needed to complement the 'soft' interventions that today are so much in vogue, including the search for capacity building, good governance, social engineering and rights protection. Livelihoods, infused with the concept of gender as a potent instrument for analysing power relations, is concerned with the way in which resources are allocated and used, and how power is controlled – the key factors that lay at the heart of people's livelihoods. In this light, Dr Raven-Roberts raised the implications for using such an approach to social and economic reconstruction, citizenship and economic participation, rights, responsibilities and obligations as well as culture, economy and community re-integration. The presentation concluded with a discussion of the implications and consequences for local, national and international interventions in post-conflict situations. Instead of a 'quick fix', or 'Genesis, Chapter I' approach, assistance to post-conflict rehabilitation has to start with improved strategies of assessment and analysis, including the historical, political, socio-economic situation of the particular war-torn society as well as analysing the capacities and livelihoods strategies of different stakeholders.

Discussion

Coping Mechanisms

Many participants raised the issue of local organising practices and their importance for people surviving during conflict situations. Prof. Long emphasised that livelihood strategies have to be taken

into account by external actors, as they are important resources in improving people's living conditions as well. Moreover, he warned that we have to be careful with blueprint solutions or discourses in assistance to war-torn societies, as this type of assistance tends to neglect the local specificities and might even hinder local survival- or coping strategies. Dr Raven-Roberts stressed the importance of 'support' instead of 'intervention' in this regard. Prof. Green drew attention to the regional context of livelihoods strategies by pointing to entitlement problems along the river Nile and its sources.

Related to this, there was a discussion on generating employment opportunities in war-torn societies. Dr Date-Bah considered employment a critical aspect of post-conflict rehabilitation. It enables people to get by and facilitates peace building by reorienting people's minds from destruction and violence to more constructive activities. However, promoting employment in war-torn societies is not easy, due to the lack of enabling environments (such as a lack of information and weak institutions).

Finally, a tension was identified in the discussion on rehabilitation. On the one hand, following a top-down, donor perspective, there is a need for better management, more resources, codification, and better-specified rules of action and procedures. On the other hand, there is attention for the initiatives and ideas of the beneficiaries and 'stakeholders' themselves. The way forward might lie in developing a better methodology covering what is actually going on, not only between local groups but between these groups and outside agencies as well.

Gender in Post-Conflict Rehabilitation

Prof. Schrijvers addressed the importance of gender in post-conflict rehabilitation. The implications of conflict on the relation between men and women were said to have profound impacts. Dr Raven-Roberts addressed the issue of 'disenfranchisement', when in some conflict situations men felt to have lost their masculinity. Dr Kumar emphasised the critical role of women in post-conflict situations, more particularly that of women's organisations. Until now, however, the international donor community has not reached these organisations. The participants agreed that still much work -both academic as well as in practice- has to be done in these fields and that international assistance has to be tailored more appropriately.

Session IV Migration and Refugees in War-Torn Settings

Redefining Identities. Refugees and the Construction of Societies

Dr Kibreab discussed the issue of refugees in war-torn societies. The end of the Cold War and the subsequent changes in socio-economic and political circumstances have brought about a change in the way the international community tries to deal with refugees. Using an ‘exile-’ approach before, nowadays refugees have lost their ‘strategic significance’ and are considered a burden instead of a resource. Due to the restrictive policies of most Northern countries, the current trend of voluntary repatriation seems to be one of the very few ‘solutions’ available for solving the refugee problem. However, if voluntary repatriation is to be meaningful, the returnees need to be reintegrated into their former communities. Practice shows that this remains a big problem. One reason being the security situation of the country to which they have to return.

In the past the refugee problem has been tackled by two approaches; integrating refugees in first countries of arrival and resettlement in third countries, like the US or Europe. The latter is no longer applicable because most (European) countries are closing their borders. Although there are still a lot of migrants applying for a refugee status, most refugees are unable to apply because they do not have the means.

Another current trend is the tendency of countries and policy makers to ‘securitise’ immigration and refugee issues. This means that countries are reluctant to receive refugees because the security of their nation and societies might be threatened. Within such an ‘unfavourable’ climate, voluntary repatriation is the only feasible alternative. However, our knowledge concerning repatriation and reintegration remains scanty. This is the result of the assumption that people who are returning to their home country after the war has ended are thought to reintegrate easily into their former communities. Terms like ‘adjustment’, ‘reintegration’ and ‘re-assimilation’ reflect these assumptions. Research among refugee communities in war-torn societies has proven this false. For example, once they leave Eritrean refugees are no longer the same, in terms of social relations, knowledge, skills and occupations. This is reflected by the fact that more than 80% of the Eritrean returnees have not returned to their place of origin. Their choice to settle somewhere else can be explained by several factors such as employment opportunities, the desire to remain close to the asylum country and maintain their trans-ethnic and trans-religious social networks and occupational change. Reasons to remain within the vicinity of the asylum country can be found in the wish to visit relatives who stayed, trade and seasonal employment opportunities. The maintenance of networks or ‘social capital’ is crucial in the reconstruction of their livelihoods. Moreover, the fact that they have learnt to co-operate closely with other ethnic and religious groups is an important contribution to the peace process. Finally, the change in occupations is another determining factor in explaining why returnees have not settled in their original home areas. The number of farmers and agro-pastoralists has decreased while more and more people derive their livelihood from wage labour and trade. This not only goes for men, but also for women who have gained marketable skills while being refugees. Because of exile, rural life therefore seems to have lost significance for the majority of people.

The changes mentioned above have important implications for peace building. If the refugees had returned to their places of origin, where there existed an acute shortage of land due to overpopulation, tensions would probably have mounted, and might even have escalated into conflict. Moreover, research shows that local communities have profited from the presence of returnees through an improvement in schools, health services, water supplies, and employment opportunities. In addition,

the impact on land availability has remained quite low. The government has invested a lot to create social absorption capacity through extending entitlements to (nationalised) land for agriculture and housing, a practice which has been highly valued by the returning population.

Therefore, contrary to dominant thinking in the literature, Dr Kibreab found in his studies that refugees have not only brought a lot of problems but created opportunities for the host population as well. On the other hand, reintegration as such has not really developed, as the two communities remain separate. Although they are working and trading goods with each other, the returnees are living separately from their home and host communities.

Forced Migration and Changing Local Political Economies: A Study from North-western Sri Lanka

The presentation of Prof. Shanmugaratnam focused on the dynamics around internal displacement due to the Sri Lankan conflict. In 1990, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) expelled thousands of Muslims from their homes in Northern Sri Lanka. Over land and sea, they fled to safer areas such as Puttalam District and, more specifically, to the peninsula of Kalpitiya, where Muslims reside.

Due to the influx of IDPs, the number of relief and rehabilitation agencies –both governmental and non-governmental– in the area increased. Moreover, there were certain effects on the redistribution of population and resources. As such, the influx of IDPs as a result from the conflict led to the activation of the local economies and created particular interfaces between the host communities and IDPs. There were tensions between the host community and IDPs as the former group felt discriminated against, e.g. because of the preferential treatment of IDPs by the aid agencies and their housing in welfare centres –on private and state lands. Gradually, the newly elected Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation introduced relocation packages that enabled people to buy a small plot of land and build their own house. This resulted firstly in a boom of the local landmarket and construction activities. Moreover, the local economy expanded and the competition over natural resources and social services increased. These facts can be studied from various perspectives: changes in endowments and entitlements; effects on class, gender and age; resource and environmental conflicts; changes between and within host community – IDP relations; power relations; and ethno-politics.

In his research, Prof. Shanmugaratnam focused on a small village, Alankuda, where IDPs had outnumbered the local population, who became a minority in their own towns. In order to understand the changes that took place in the village because of the IDP influx, there are several factors at play. At the time of their arrival, Alankuda experienced a boom in onions, a profitable cash crop in the area. By producing onion and other cash crops on small plots of land, a young upwardly mobile middle class emerged. While they wanted to intensify production and thereby moving further upwards, they were facing major labour shortages. A source of cheap labour was found in the presence of IDPs, among which especially women turned into casual labourers. During the short onion boom, both the middle class and the IDPs benefited. The onion-growing middle class was able to accumulate profits and invest their money by purchasing land while the IDPs were able to construct houses on their newly acquired land – provided under the relocation programme. The local poor, however, felt marginalised by their loss of employment opportunities, as the IDPs were able to work against lower wages.

Another source for enrichment for the IDPs was the ‘ration card business’. The ration cards, distributed by the relief agencies, were pawned by the poorer IDPs to the richer IDPs. There were examples where a trader availed of more than hundred ration cards, which he subsequently sold on the local market against substantial interest. Finally, IDPs sent family members to the Middle East in order to work there and sent their remittances home.

Concluding, in the village a new elite of IDPs emerged who was involved in land owning, trade, money lending, etc. The majority of IDPs, however, was still working as casual labourers or dependent on relief aid. Although sometimes regarded as privileged by the local population, they are still politically excluded and find themselves between wanting to go back to their home villages or stay in the host village and build up their own livelihood.

Discussion

Changing Identities of Refugees

A large part of the discussion was devoted to the effects of flight on the lives and identities of refugees and IDPs. In this connection, Dr Date-Bah raised the fundamental changes in gender roles and the gender division of labour due to flight. Most participants agreed with Dr Kibreab that returnees settled in those particular locations where resources are available. In the case of Eritrea, this means that for a majority of returnees rural life has lost much of its significance. The loss of meaning of rural life can largely be explained by the reported changes in experiences, consumption and occupational habits while being in exile. Moreover, it is a reaction of people wanting to diversify the basis of their livelihoods. Rationally behaving as they are, they often settle in urban areas, thereby also speeding up urbanisation processes. In the future this may become a problem as the services available in the cities might not be adequate for the influx of so many people.

Implications for Donor Assistance to Refugees

The implications of the findings presented were another topic of debate. Answering the question about what policy makers should do with this information, Dr Kibreab responded that it is crucial to recognise and respect the coping capacities of returnees and facilitate their decisions to settle themselves somewhere. He argued that the focus of international assistance in this field of rehabilitation should be on the areas of return rather than on individual returnees. This means creating absorption capacity through the provision of basic services and opportunities that benefit the returnees, IDPs and the stayees. Dr Date-Bah regretted that until now organisations providing international assistance to refugees and IDPs are not learning the lessons from these studies. They tend not to take into account the major changes in the skills- and occupational profiles people have undergone as a consequence of the conflict and therefore plan on the *status quo ante*. Mr Cockell wondered whether the example of UNHCR camps that serve as safe areas for IDPs within Sri Lanka, can be replicated elsewhere. He considered them unique as they were established within the country where the people have been displaced. On the other hand, the camps might have had the effect of worsening the conflict cycle by allowing for easier relocation and by becoming areas where extremism and other forms of conflict-sustaining political activities can be organised. In response, Prof. Shanmugaratnam argued that apart from certain distributional conflicts (especially around lagoon fishing), over time the local villagers and IDPs have developed a *modus vivendi*. As this is partly due to their common language and religion, this practice might not work with e.g. settlement of displaced Tamils in Sinhalese areas.

Session V Reconstruction and Peace Building: From Institutional to Local Level

Institutional Aspects of Programming Rehabilitation in El Salvador

Dr Van der Borgh from the Centre for Conflictstudies of Utrecht University gave a presentation based on his experiences with the peace building process in El Salvador. He elaborated on the main dilemmas of channelling foreign assistance to war-torn countries and made several comments regarding the role of foreign assistance at the local level.

The main components of the peace agreement between the Salvadoran government and the guerrilla movement FMLN focused on demilitarisation and political democratisation. After five electoral processes, the virtual retreat of the military from political life and the building of a new civilian police, the peace process in El Salvador –until now– has been regarded a ‘success story’. One of the important explaining factors for this ‘successful’ rehabilitation process, is the fact that there had been a stalemate between the warring parties, leading to UN-led peace negotiations that lasted for over two years. Furthermore, the war in El Salvador never had an ethnic dimension. In this light, the situation after the Salvadoran conflict was far less complicated than in other post-war societies, such as Angola, Bosnia or Cambodia.

Another area of interest in the presentation focused on the history of foreign assistance. In the case of El Salvador, as in most other Central American countries, external assistance played a rather explicit political role from the 1960s onwards. This political role only increased during the civil war, when a number of international NGOs and USAID were in fact political players. The US channelled large amounts of economic and military aid to the Salvadoran government and military respectively, with clear political objectives. Many international NGOs supported the popular opposition, which at that time was tied to the guerrilla movement FMLN - if not controlled by it. In this respect, it is surprising how quickly –in the course of only a few years after the peace agreements– de-politicisation of donors assistance and reconciliation between them took place. Donor agencies found each other in new ideas (and similar discourses) about the importance of a sustainable peace, democratisation and reconciliation. In a couple of cases USAID and Northern NGOs even co-funded each others’ projects.

In spite of this co-operation, most foreign assistance for reconstruction is generally channelled in an uncoordinated and fragmented way. In El Salvador e.g. a National Plan for Reconstruction was formulated, but it could hardly be called a coherent plan. It was mostly the vehicle for USAID to channel its assistance, whereas other donors opted for other channels, both inside and outside the government. For example, the EU channelled aid according to its own principles, whereas WB and IDB supported the implementation of neoliberal reform programmes. These different trajectories of aid resulted in a multiplicity of peace building processes, which had their own dynamics.

In the second part of his presentation, Dr Van der Borgh made some comments regarding the effects of foreign assistance on the local level in El Salvador. First, donors played a dominant role in the priority setting of local reconstruction activities. Although donors said to leave room for local participation, this was often of an *ad hoc* nature. In practice, this countered local processes of agenda setting and created a kind of *proyectismo*, or project fever. With their assistance, external interveners influenced the process of political reform and rebuilding in both intended and unintended ways. In a highly politicised country like El Salvador it is important to realise that donor assistance has to be channelled in such a way that representatives of all sides are accounted for. The fact that aid was not co-ordinated at the local level led to a myriad of initiatives with few perspectives of sustainability.

However, one of the ‘more positive’ effects was that it led to a great variety of local counterparts, one reason why foreign assistance was not controlled by a single person or party. On the other hand, it can be argued that it countered the process of democratisation at a local level, as municipalities only had a marginal role in reconstruction activities.

Concluding, it was noticed that interventions could both support reconciliation as well as trigger further polarisation. Dr Van der Borgh identified several indispensable conditions to support reconciliation. Firstly, the intervention needs to have ‘reconciliation’ as one of its objectives. Furthermore, staff should be qualified and experienced and should not have any political ties with governmental agencies or with one of the parties –unless clearly marked. Finally, external donors have to adapt their own frameworks of intervention and allow enough space for local actors to design and redesign the reconstruction interventions.

Mobilising Local Capacities for Peace

The presentation of Dr Hilhorst concentrated on the notion of local capacities for peace. These are generally regarded as initiatives for building bridges between polarised groups, promoting dialogue and reconciliation. These activities are often initiated by human rights networks, peace activists and independent media organisations, community and religious leaders, trade unions, etc. Thus, the question in this respect is how to involve ‘civil’ (and sometimes ‘non-civil’, police e.g.) society into peace building. Activities to achieve this range from training journalists to enhancing communication between different communities.

Taking examples from her research in the Philippines, Dr Hilhorst discussed some of the dynamics of NGO engagement in peace building. The high diversity among NGOs and other international organisations is often even greater at the local level, which makes the peace process rather difficult. Not involving these local actors is, however, no option.

When working with these organisations it is important to understand their everyday politics and their ‘claim-bearing labels’. The presentation of organisations and the activities they undertake in different arenas and for different audiences is often not all there is. Analysing aspects of these organisations such as their agendas, staff composition, and the discourses they use may provide important insights when wanting to work with these organisations.

In this connection, Dr Hilhorst elaborated on the political ideas of NGOs, which although strong, are often not exposed. Especially in dealing with outside organisations or funding agencies, NGOs can be self-censoring. Encouraging NGOs and other local groups as well to vent their own ideas considering politics, development and peace building might prove more effective for creating a sustainable peace.

Discussion

Dilemmas of Research

In the debate, Mr Slot raised the issue of ownership and the position of local stakeholders in peace building assistance. These elements are not only lacking in most external interventions as such, but also in research concerning peace building in post-conflict societies. In this connection, Mr Slot proposed a different approach, in which research not only consists of information gathering, but also entails bringing people together. Such an approach should stimulate an internal thinking process wherein local people can discuss their ideas on future development. In response, Dr Van der Borgh

and Dr Hilhorst emphasised the close relationships and continuous discussions they had with the local population in their research. In this respect, they warned, however, that the local population should not be considered a homogeneous entity. Moreover, it was highlighted that findings from the research are generally distributed and discussed with interested actors. Concluding, the participants felt that (anthropological) research into peace building processes is useful in and of itself. Not only in the form of research 'from within' by actively participating in the particular post-conflict society, but also by acting as an outsider studying development as a specific phenomenon.

Difficulties with Foreign Assistance to Peace Building

Another topic of discussion focused on the numerous difficulties inherent in external assistance to post-conflict societies. Dr Date-Bah for instance raised the problem of fragmentation of donor assistance. In her view this could be countered by inter-agency co-operation or by the establishment of a national institution that distributes the foreign assistance. Due to an institutional void of governance structures and local organisations in post-conflict societies, the often-limited absorptive capacity was considered a problem. In this connection, Prof. Shanmugaratnam emphasised the different ideas about development that exist at the local level. He wondered what happened to these ideas when confronted with 'mainstream' development policies.

Finally, the presence of certain factors for peace building assistance to be effective was highlighted. Explaining the reason why the El Salvadoran peace agreement was considered a success, Dr Van der Borgh stressed the importance of several factors. These included a stalemate between the parties, the international political and financial support, the thorough peace negotiations and the fact that the contending parties were committed to peace.

Problems with Local Capacities for Peace

Concerning the broad theme of local capacities for peace, the discussion focused on two points. One was how to mobilise such capacities. In this respect, Dr Date-Bah mentioned the existence of peace zones in southern Philippines, which are declared by the communities themselves. She wondered how to strengthen such local efforts. Mrs Heselmans warned to be careful when intervening in highly polarised societies, as donor assistance in such circumstances might contribute to peace but can also do a lot of harm to the peace process. In addition, Dr Hilhorst argued that local capacities for peace could often have positive effects at the local level. The problem, however, is scaling them up. Then, the representatives of local ideas are more or less 'brought on the stage', without being clear about whom they are actually representing.

Session VI Future Research Agenda

Plenary Debate: Defining Future Issues for Research

The chair of the seminar, Prof. Frerks, invited the participants to share their ideas on important topics, approaches and methodologies regarding future research on post-conflict rehabilitation. In order to contribute to the knowledge in this field, the future research agenda has to be both academically sound and policy relevant.

First, Dr Longley of the Overseas Development Institute reminded the audience of two perspectives that underpinned the discussions during the day, a top-down and a bottom-up perspective. The first perspective was reflected in the session on the reconstruction of political structures and the strengthening of democratisation processes in war-torn societies. The session on livelihoods strategies and local capacities for peace took a more bottom-up approach.

Dr Longley also identified a tension between the academic discourse and the practical limitations of what is possible in terms of humanitarian policy and practice. One of the ways to bridge this gap is to go from concepts to a strategy for peace building. Currently, in humanitarian practice there is an obvious mismatch between theory and practice. At the conceptual level for instance, the relief to development continuum model has gradually become discredited. Consequently, there is presently no alternative analytical model for policy makers nor operational agencies for their work in conflict situations. At the practical level, there is a growing move of donors and developmental agencies towards 'developmental relief'. Focusing on the synergy between relief, development and peace building, this concept is, however, still poorly conceptualised. Moreover, although advocated in practice, policy and budgetary constraints do not allow this approach to be effected in the field.

As regards a future research agenda, research was said to focus on applied issues that can inform policy makers, guide aid-programming decisions and provide input into assessment strategies. The research on supporting livelihoods in situations of chronic political instability at ODI tries to address these aspects, amongst others by combining a political economy approach with a livelihoods approach.

Prof. Long called for two things. First, to stand back for a moment; focusing on the deconstruction of notions and ways of thinking and doing. In order to achieve this, the ideal-typical models used by policy makers and academics that resonate at the local level have to be reconceptualised. Secondly, Prof. Long stressed to stand closer to practice; meaning that we have to focus our attention on that area where the action is. This includes analysing the organising practices, not only in the local everyday context of people living in war-torn societies but also within the various organisations working in those areas and outside. Focusing on the different interfaces between people involved, this includes studying values, assumptions and the demythologisation of multiple discourses that are being used in rebuilding societies after war.

Prof. de Gaay Fortman addressed the question of why peace is often so fragile. First, because there is no 'post-conflict' situation. Pacification is mostly very low and a peace process is at best a conflict ending process. Secondly, because conflicts are continuously being reproduced. Thirdly, because the 'root conflict' is not being addressed –which is called the 'justice gap' by Lederach. Finally, because there is no commerce and industry.

Prof. Green stated that without livelihood rehabilitation there would be no humanitarian advance but a probable return to war. This is due to firstly the lack of resources allocated by governments and donor agencies to a strategic priority of livelihoods issues. Secondly, because rehabilitation programmes are donor-driven instead of donor-fuelled.

Mr Cockell emphasised the point made in the background paper, that in order to redress the interrelated causes of a particular conflict, a strategic approach for peace building has to make these interrelationships central to the particular form of assistance that is provided. If we take the centrality of the political process in peace building, it would be helpful to have more research into the relationships between factors contributing to conflict on the one hand such as arms availability and human rights violations and on the other hand the effects this has on the breakdown of the political process. Dr Kumar, who emphasised the importance of focusing on the political aspects of peace building, confirmed this as it has been largely overlooked by humanitarian assistance. Related to this, Mr Cockell expressed his worries that current research, focusing on the economic agendas in civil wars, has gone too far. Particularly people who are oriented to development and humanitarian aid agencies have become far too attached to the notion that conflicts are merely about interests and greed. The danger within this tendency is that donor agencies might get the impression that conflicts are *not* about 'difficult things' like values, identities, the nature of the state, the breakdown of political processes, whereas these things remain at the heart of protracted conflict. If we take the example of Kosovo we can see that economic factors were always a problem. However, things did not go towards armed conflict until autonomy was withdrawn and there was a constitutional breakdown in the relationship between Kosovo and Belgrade.

Dr Barakat did not accept the conflict between academics and implementing agencies in terms of research agendas. The lack of institutional memory within operational agencies cannot be solved from outside. If there were more learning capabilities within agencies, they would learn from their own evaluation reports, never mind the academic input from outside. Over the last decade, the issue of post-conflict rehabilitation and peace building has advanced a great deal. However, the lessons learned concerning mistakes in peace building from the War-Torn Societies Project can still be identified nowadays in the rehabilitation programmes in Kosovo and Bosnia. Therefore, for academics it might be useful to distinguish between basic research aiming to advance our understanding of the issues at play which might lead to advice and commissioned research, which has to be much more context-oriented and with clear research questions that are identified by and relevant for the commissioning bodies.

Seminar Programme

- 09.00 Welcome and Coffee
- 09.30 Opening by Chair
Prof. Dr Ir Georg E. Frerks, Head Conflict Research Unit, Clingendael Institute

Session I Reconceptualising Peace Building

- 09.35 From Reconstruction to Peace Building. A Review of Selected Literature
Mr Jeroen de Zeeuw, Conflict Research Unit, Clingendael Institute
- 09.50 First discussant: Dr Sultan Barakat, PRDU
09.55 Second discussant: Prof. Reginald Green, IDS
10.00 Discussion
- 10.45 Coffee Break

Session II Political Reconstruction and Democratisation

- 11.00 Political Reconstruction in War-torn Societies: The Issue of Post-Conflict Elections
Dr Krishna Kumar, USAID
- 11.20 State-building and Democratisation in Post-conflict Societies: The Case of Kosovo
Mr. John Cockell, OSCE Democratisation/UNMIK
- 11.40 First discussant: Mr Maarten Lak, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
11.45 Second discussant: Mr Marc Moquette, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
11.50 Discussion

Session III Livelihood Strategies in Situations of Fragile Peace

- 12.15 Livelihoods Issues in War-torn Societies
Dr Angela Raven-Roberts, Feinstein International Famine Center

- 12.35 First discussant: Prof. Dr Norman Long, Wageningen University
- 12.40 Second discussant: Dr Eugenia Date-Bah, ILO
- 12.45 Discussion

- 13.00 Lunch

Session IV Migration and Refugees in War-Torn Settings

- 14.00 Redefining Identities. Refugees and the Construction of Societies
Dr Gaim Kibreab, South Bank University

- 14.20 Forced Migration and Changing Local Political Economies: A Study from North-western Sri Lanka
Prof. N. Shanmugaratnam

- 14.40 Discussion

- 15.00 Coffee Break

Session V Reconstruction and Peace Building: From Institutional to Local Level

- 15.10 Institutional Aspects of Programming Rehabilitation in El Salvador
Dr Chris van der Borgh, Centre for Conflictstudies

- 15.30 Mobilising Local Capacities for Peace
Dr Ir Thea Hilhorst, Disaster Studies Wageningen University

- 15.50 First discussant: Mr Hans Slot, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- 15.55 Second discussant: Mrs Yvonne Heselmans, Pax Christi
- 16.00 Discussion

- 16.20 Coffee Break

Session VI Future Research Agenda

- 16.35 Plenary Debate: Defining Future Issues for Research
- 16.40 First discussant: Dr Kate Longley, ODI
- 16.45 Second discussant: Prof. Dr Norman Long, Wageningen University

- 17.30 Concluding Remarks by Chair

List of Participants

Mr/ Mrs	Name	Organisation
Mr	Sultan Barakat	Post-War Reconstruction and Development Unit (UK)
Mr	Chris Van der Borgh	Centre for Conflict Studies (NL)
Mr	Tsjeard Bouta	Conflict Research Unit, Clingendael Institute (NL)
Mr	John Cockell	OSCE Democratisation / UNMIK (Kosovo)
Mrs	Eugenia Date-Bah	IFP/CRISIS (ILO) (CH)
Mr	Martin Doornbos	ISS (NL)
Mr	Bas De Gaay Fortman	ISS (NL)
Mr	Georg Frerks	Conflict Research Unit, Clingendael Institute (NL)
Mr	Luc Van de Goor	Conflict Research Unit, Clingendael Institute (NL)
Mr	Reginald Green	Institute of Development Studies (UK)
Mrs	Yvonne Heselmans	Pax Christi (NL)
Mrs	Thea Hilhorst	Disaster Studies, Wageningen University (NL)
Mr	Gaim Kibreab	University of South Bank London (UK)
Mr	Krishna Kumar	USAID (USA)
Mr	Maarten Lak	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NL)
Mr	Dick Leurdijk	Clingendael Institute (NL)
Mr	Norman Long	Development Sociology, Wageningen University (NL)
Mrs	Kate Longley	Overseas Development Institute (UK)
Mr	Marc Moquette	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NL)
Mrs	Angela Raven-Roberts	Feinstein International Famine Center (USA)
Mr	N. Shanmugaratnam	Agricultural University of Norway (NO)
Mr	Hans Slot	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NL)
Mrs	Noortje Verhart	Intern at Clingendael Institute (NL)
Mrs	Suzanne Verstegen	Conflict Research Unit, Clingendael Institute (NL)
Mr	Jeroen De Zeeuw	Conflict Research Unit, Clingendael Institute (NL)