Chapter One

Peace-Building: An Analytical Framework

Introduction
The rise in internal conflicts and its debilitating impact on international peace and stability makes it eminently relevant for researchers to study the causes, consequences and the approaches to resolve these conflicts. Till the early 1990s scholars ignored the impact that internal conflicts can have on international peace and stability, their attention being focused on the ideological battle between East and West and the consequent interstate conflicts. Much of the research was directed towards analysing inter-state conflicts, and movements against colonialism rather than internal conflicts in multi-ethnic states. Over-emphasis on the management of inter-state conflicts ignored the claims and demands of various ethnic, cultural and religious minority groups within states for equal distribution of resources and for a say in the political decision-making process. Injustice against minority ethnic groups perpetrated by governments in multi-ethnic states was largely ignored and did not get the attention of international community as emphasis was more on resolving conflicts between states and avoiding a nuclear war. Since the 1990s, however, internal conflicts have become a glaring feature of international relations. Today majority of the internal conflicts are taking place mainly in developing and underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America (Scherrer 2003). The escalation of internal conflicts since the 1990s may be attributed to the rising assertion of minority groups against majoritarian governments in multi-ethnic states and also to the failure of international agencies and organisations during the Cold War as well as in its immediate aftermath to develop mechanisms to deal with internal conflicts.

Efforts by the UN agencies and organisations to resolve internal conflicts during the Cold War and immediately after through peace keeping and peace making failed to control escalating violence between ethnic groups and heavy human casualties continued unabated. The need for a change in methods was felt since the early 1990s, as resolution of these conflicts involves complex issues that include respect for the identity of a group; equal distribution of resources among groups; development and
security. Traditional methods of conflict resolution such as using force and coercion proved inadequate to deal with the situation. Hence in early 1990s, a new approach to conflict resolution was proposed and later developed by the UN to expand the activities of international actors even in ongoing internal conflicts and not just in post-conflict situations. This approach called the peace-building approach involves a wide range of actors such as international organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and states. The end of the Cold War has given an opportunity to these actors to involve more freely in the conflict resolution process using the peace-building approach.

However, strategies for peace-building in an ongoing conflict differ from the strategies for peace-building in a post-conflict situation. In the latter, the parties to the conflict come to an agreement about the ways to resolve the conflict, which will be implemented with the help of external actors. In an ongoing internal conflict peace-building actors have to work at various levels to make the parties to agree through peace negotiations to resolve the conflict.

The present chapters is an attempt to understand and analyse the strategies for peace-building by international actors for resolution of ongoing internal conflicts. This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section deals with the causes and consequences of ethnicity related internal conflicts. The second section deals with the relevance of peace-building for conflict resolution. The third section deals with the concept of and approaches to peace-building. The fourth section discusses peace-building actors, their objectives and approaches. The last section concludes the discussion.

I. Causes and Consequences of Internal Conflicts

Michel E. Brown defined internal conflicts as “violent or potentially violent disputes whose origins can be traced primarily to domestic rather than systemic factors, and where armed violence takes place or threatens to take place primarily within the borders of a single state” (Brown 1996: 1). In most of the internal conflicts, the state representing the majority ethnic group, and the militant groups claiming to represent minority ethnic interests, are involved. Thus, most of the internal conflicts have ethnic dimension that makes the conflict protracted. Protracted ethnic conflict involves the
denial of basic security and recognition and respect to separate identity, which makes the conflict resolution process difficult. Wallensteen defined conflict resolution as “a situation where the conflicting parties enter into an agreement that solves their central incompatibilities, accept each other’s continued existence as parties and cease all violent actions against each other. Therefore conflict resolution is something that comes after conflict” (Wallensteen 2006:8). However, to resolve internal conflicts, the process has to address, not just the issues of identity and security, but also issues such as socio-economic discrimination and denial of equal opportunities for all ethnic groups by the state as these issues have equal potential to prolong internal conflicts in multi-ethnic states. There are number of causes and factors responsible for the proliferation and intensification of violent internal conflicts in multi-ethnic states. They are analysed in this section to bring out the relevance of peace-building in conflict resolution.

Causes of Internal Conflicts

Impact of Colonialism

Colonisation and decolonisation processes in multi-ethnic and multi-religious states of the Third World have sown the seeds of conflict along religious and ethnic lines. The colonial powers implemented “divide and rule” policy that introduced variegated educational systems, policies and laws for different religious and linguistic groups, to benefit some groups who thereby would support the colonial rule. This policy polarised the society, as some groups benefited in the form of education and employment while other groups felt alienated and vulnerable because of lack of equal opportunities. This was further aggravated by arbitrarily drawing boundaries, thus fragmenting ethnic groups across national boundaries. This forced assimilation of ethnic groups into a newly formed centralized state system made them vulnerable to oppression by a government representing majority interests. Therefore, colonisation and readjustment of boundaries for administrative purposes has only led to assertion of identities based on ethnicity, religion and culture in the otherwise peaceful societies of multi-ethnic states. According to Kothari (1989) “Third World societies have survived for centuries without these concepts [of majority and minority]. Prior to colonisation Third World regimes have respected diversity and heterogeneity that helped them to survive the attacks of imperial powers”. Colonial rule introduced the idea that legality
and legitimacy are based only on majority rule. After decolonisation these same ideas are invoked by the ruling class elite to divide the multi-ethnic states on the basis of majority and minority. As a result any demand from minority ethnic groups for fair and equal distribution of resources is perceived as a threat to the unity and integrity of the nation by the ruling class. This propaganda only developed a sense of alienation and fear among minority ethnic groups which gradually led to conflict of interests with the state which was seen as a failure in protecting their interests and identity.

**Impact of Cold War**

In the newly formed states in Asia and Africa during the 1950s and 1960s there was also the need to attain stabilization and integration of economic and political structures as a pre-requisite to achieve socio-economic development. In the setting of the Cold War between the US and the USSR, aligning with either superpower for economic and military benefits provided them an opportunity. The major powers in their turn exercised considerable influence on the political, economic and military structures of allied countries. Spreading the ideology of communism and capitalism was the main priority, coupled with modernization which has undermined the culture and subsistence economy of minority groups. The international actors supported the conventional view that a state, being a sovereign unit, has the power to carry out its responsibilities according to its national interest. This conventional view was cited as the reason by developed states not to interfere in internal affairs of a state. This concept was also adopted by Third World countries to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity. Force and coercion was used to keep the state boundaries intact at any cost. Any resistance against the state was suppressed by governments with the help of military assistance provided by the major powers. Therefore, “throughout the Cold War period super power interference to sustain and support authoritarian governments did little to help the formation of just and stable societies” (Rupasinghe and Awderlini 1998: 10).

This had ultimately resulted in justification of use of force and military coercion by ruling regime against minority groups demanding equal rights in the political decision making process. Therefore, during the Cold War period, to get military and economic aid from the superpowers, use of traditional methods such as force and military
coercion was justified to suppress the demands of minority groups, rather than accommodating them through peaceful means into the political system. These methods of conflict management pursued by ruling class, in multi-ethnic states were endorsed by super powers. Because, for major powers that, pursued Liberal and Marxist ideologies and principles in the Cold War era, execution of its ideology in other countries at any cost was important and ethnic assertion of groups was seen only as a minor problem that would disappear in the process of transformation of states into either liberal or socialist states. Major Powers have ignored the fact that, internal conflict is ultimately linked to issues of human rights, socio-economic development, poverty and equal distribution of resources.

**Policies of Discrimination by the State**

Immediately after independence was granted, popular governments were formed by mobilizing people on ethnic and religious lines or by appealing to the people’s group identity. Only the educated and elite class occupied government posts and implemented policies that were not in favour of all the ethnic minorities residing in a state. Years of oppression of minority ethnic groups in the name of integrating economic and political structures of newly formed states led to polarisation of society into minority and majority groups and intensified the conflict along ethnic lines. In newly formed states, resistance and struggle against colonialism was replaced by competition for state power among various ethnic groups. Initially, discriminatory state structures and institutions established by the colonizers were left untouched by governments of newly formed states for administrative convenience. However, these same structures created the ground for ethnic mobilisation and revival of primordial identities based on religion, culture, language, beliefs and customs of various ethnic groups. For instance, elections based on proportional representation became a vehicle to gain power by the majority community which got the authority to control resources, and to draft a constitution that could exclusively guarantee benefits to a particular ethnic group. The constitution was often used by the ruling majoritarian government to legitimise discriminatory rules and policies.

Thus, the state suppressed resistance from leaders representing minority ethnic groups, even when they resorted to non-violent methods such as peaceful protests and strikes.
on the pretext that, these methods of protest were a threat to national unity. When the
moderate leaders failed to secure the demands of the minority community for equal
opportunities and distribution of resources, minority ethnic community members who
believed in militant methods took to arms against the state to achieve their demands.
Militant movements have got considerable support from people belonging to minority
community who felt alienated in their own country. Gradually, the demand for equal
access to education and employment was replaced by demand for a separate statehood,
which can guarantee political and economic security to people. Thus, the use of
violence by the state to integrate multi-ethnic society only threatened the legitimacy of
the state and led to protracted internal ethnic conflicts\(^1\). Azar (1990) has described
protracted ethnic conflict as a conflict that arises “out of attempts by minority groups
to fight conditions of constant victimization by the government and its policies”. In
many multi-ethnic states centralised state structures had become the source of conflict,
as it denied opportunities for minority groups to participate in political process that
accomplish their needs and aspirations.

For years the state in multi-ethnic society is represented the interests of the majority
group by using all the available resources for the benefit of one community. This has
led to loss of legitimacy of the state, and rise of militant movements demanding
separate statehood around the world. The legitimacy of a state “is intimately
connected to the extent to which the state’s identity and institutions retain a degree of
independence and separation from society” (Goodhand 2006). That legitimacy comes
into question when the state’s identity is merged with the identity of the majority.
Because, “people’s identification with the state occurred after all the alternative
sources of identification, such as church, village community, clan and religion and
these sources have been deprived by the modern state of their independent power to
offer viable strategies of survival to members” (Houweling 1996: 146).

However, ethnic groups have never lost their sense of identity and whenever there is a
threat to their identity, ethnic groups have become assertive to protect it. Protection of
primordial identities of a group, then took centre stage along with issues of economic
and social discrimination by the state. When government policies were not compatible

\(^1\) The loss of legitimacy of the state in multi-ethnic society has led to rise of militant movements
demanding separate statehood around the world.
with the interests of minority groups, resentment to these policies was expressed through ethnic mobilisation. At the same time, cultural and ethnic differences based on primordial identities were exploited by political leaders belonging to majority as well as minority groups. Gradually, political parties started to depend on ethnic mobilisation to gain power and to win elections by mobilizing people on ethnic lines than on issues related to development. In multi-ethnic states leaders of the political parties have often used elections to representative bodies as a means to divide society on ethnic lines. Ruling classes have often followed the policy of divide and rule introduced by the colonisers even after decolonisation by reviving primordial identities to gain power.

Consequences of Internal Conflicts

Legitimisation of the Use of Violence

One of the immediate consequences of internal ethnic conflict is, the legitimisation of use of violence by both the parties to the conflict, though for different reasons. For instance, majoritarian governments usually involve in perpetuating violence with the help of army and other branches of the government against minority ethnic groups in the name of protecting the unity and integrity of the state. As for the militants’ use of violence it is justified as a necessity to protect the interests of the minority ethnic group. Eventually, internal conflict results in violence, including torture, murder, and destruction of homes and property of the groups seen as adversaries. This is mainly to force an exodus from their strongholds and ensure that their economic base is destroyed. Civilians are repeatedly targeted to upset the support base of the adversary.

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2 Scholars such as Gurr (1970) and Horowitz (1985) and Picciotto and Weaving (2006) argued that, 'primordial identities of a group is a secondary factor for ethnic revival and assertion in backward regions within a state'. They argued that more emphasis on ethnic and cultural factors mostly ignored the role of economic and social factors in prolonging internal conflicts. Therefore, there is a need to address socio-economic differences among groups, which play an important or equal role in accentuating conflict and violence in multi-ethnic states. Because, as Stewart has pointed out ‘when cultural differences coincide with economic and political differences between groups, that can cause deep resentments that may lead to violent struggle’ (Stewart 2006:53).

3 According to Naidu (1992), ‘even the constitutions of newly formed states had also represented the interest of a majority ethnic group with in a state’. The political and administrative structures that were established and administered as per the constitutional rules only entrenched ethnic consciousness among groups that felt alienated. Elections to the parliament have only increased ethnic consciousness and assertiveness among ethnic communities. In this context the role of leadership is very important, because the leaders have mobilised public around identity lines to gain power. This sense of non-representation and repression had made ethnic groups to take up arms to achieve their demands.
party. The government targets the civilians because the militants claim that they have the support of the people and claim to represent minority group interests. By targeting non-combatants both the parties to the conflict try to dislocate the other community from everything they hold dear, their land and family. Gradually, social institutions are also destroyed. Thus, use of violence against the adversary group aims to destroy the social structure, traditional institutions, values and culture of that group which lead to the refugee flow to other countries.

Social institutions created by the state and society are ‘supposed to manage conflicts and play an important role in conflict resolution’ (Rupasinghe and Awderlini 1998: 28). However, when these institutions fail to represent the interests of all the groups in society or are used by the state to perpetuate violence against minorities, conflict escalates leading to a break down of social relations.

**Refugee Flow**

An inevitable concomitant of internal conflict is the large scale displacement of people from conflict-ridden societies, and an exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries or other developed countries. Ethnic strife triggers migration to neighbouring and far-off states, generating moral and financial support to their cause, in turn intensifying the internal conflict. Large-scale migration and flow of refugees to developed countries, however, often aggravate the competition for resources, living space and for employment in host states. This has become a threat to the stability and sovereignty of developed countries, since the presence of a large number of people belonging to one ethnic community might pose a challenge to peaceful ethnic relations in the host countries. Campaigns by human rights groups and humanitarian organisations helped to ease laws in many developed states to allow refugees into the country and treat them with sympathy. Considerable amount of funds are directed for their well being drawing criticism from local groups opposed to the idea of spending public money on refugees for prolonged period. Though, on humanitarian grounds refugees are accommodated, hope of return to their motherland has become a distant dream for many because of the complexities involved in resolving the protracted internal conflict.
Internal conflicts also generate the phenomenon of internally displaced persons (IDPs). IDPs are easy targets for both parties to the conflict due to their insecurities and precarious living conditions. IDPs face serious human rights violations and social and economic instability perpetuated by both the militants and the state. For the militants, IDPs in militant-controlled areas are a good source for collecting taxes and for recruitment in the movement. IDPs in government-controlled areas are vulnerable to suspicion and maltreatment by the security forces.

**Political and Economic Instability**

In a multi-ethnic state the discriminatory policies of the majoritarian government leads to an uneven development of regions inhabited by various ethnic groups. The increasing grievances of the minorities lead to resentment against the state authority that failed to provide opportunities for equal social and economic development. It also leads to a destruction of social and cultural harmony between the ethnic communities. When internal conflict breaks out on account of pent-up grievances, the resulting violence further impedes development, as the resources are diverted to fight the militants and protect the territorial integrity of the state. Prolonged conflict weakens the effective functioning of state structures needed for development and stability. Territories under the control of the militants get neglected further due to inaccessibility; explicit or implicit war between the government forces and militants; and lack of political will by majoritarian government to develop regions inhabited by other ethnic groups. Due to these reasons ethnic minority regions witness negative economic growth as compared to regions that are peaceful. Economic activity stagnates due to displacement, curbs on free movement, and damaged public infrastructure such as drinking water facilities, public health, communication and transport networks. Casualties result both from battle-related deaths and injuries and due to lack of access to food and health services.

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4 Illegal detention and disappearance of persons from IDP camps only lead to further resentment against the state involved in internal conflict.

5 At the same time, instability and conflict have had consequences that have become a threat to peace and stability of even the developed countries of the world. Demand for separate statehood on the basis of self-determination in one state has become a motivating factor for other ethnic groups fighting for equal rights in other multi-ethnic states. Whereas, developed countries of the West were successful in creating strong state structures that has helped in achieving an even economic and social growth, at the
Uneven development of regions inhabited by various ethnic groups within a state not only leads to overall social and economic underdevelopment of the country but also, leads to political instability due to constant threat from militants and groups demanding separate statehood on the basis of economic and social insecurity. Even though, majoritarian governments retain power through military or constitutional means, prolonged conflict weakens the effective functioning of state structures needed for development and stability.

In the Third World ethnic and regional conflicts have prevented regional co-operation and stability needed for development. Production capacity of these countries has reduced considerably due to lack of manpower and infrastructure. Reduction in exports is linked to reduction in foreign exchange, needed for investing in other sectors of the economy. Therefore, there is a crucial economic dimension to every conflict. War destroys schools, hospitals, property, industry and trade, agriculture, “it destroys very infrastructure that keeps a society together” (Rupasinghe and Awderlini 1998: 14).

**Internationalisation of Internal Conflict**

Instability and conflict in one country also threatens peace and stability in the rest of the world. For instance, the availability of small arms has increased militancy around the world. The demand for separate statehood on the basis of self-determination in one state can become a motivating factor for other ethnic groups fighting for equal rights in other countries. The prolonged nature of internal conflict and consequences associated with such conflict, such as human rights violations by both parties to the conflict and repeated denial of basic rights of minority ethnic groups within a state are among the basic causes for internationalization of internal conflict. This leads to a definite involvement of a third party in the conflict aiming to bring about a political solution to the conflict. A third party involving itself in the conflict, can be a state or an international organization. Third-party involvement takes various forms such as providing humanitarian assistance to victims of conflict; exploiting the conflict for its own interests by covertly or overtly supporting the cause of one party; and an
involvement in the conflict resolution process. Conflict resolution through peace-making involves mediation, facilitation and arbitration involves a state or an international organisation committed to resolve the conflict through peaceful means. However, political and economic interests of third parties make the conflict resolution process difficult. This makes many states to confer terrorist status on a group in conflict with the state. At the same time, the parties to the conflict use different ways to attract international attention for their cause.

The diplomatic activity of the parties in conflict and the presence of ethnic kin in neighbouring states fuel the internal conflict. By appealing to ethnic kin groups in neighbouring states, contending groups try to get moral and financial support for their cause. Ethnic kin groups exert pressure on their governments to intervene and resolve the conflict through political or military means. The neighbouring governments’ response depends on their analysis of positive and negative consequences of their

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6 By participating in conflict resolution process such as peace negotiations militants assume that it will help in pressurising the government to grant statehood or they can achieve separate homeland through military means, which will be recognised by international community. However, international law prohibits states to assist militants in pursuit of their secessionist demand as well as intervening in domestic affairs of other states without prior permission by the government of a particular state. To popularise their cause, non-state actors use terrorist methods that usually have consequences for security of other states. Demand for a separate state is justified by militants because “they meet certain standards that are characteristic of a state such as, they occupy considerable part of territory within a state and govern that territory with their own institutions and maintain an organised armed force to fight with the government forces within a state” (Taras and Ganguly 1998: 46).

7 However, demand for a separate state by militants cannot be accepted by other states as it involves legal and political issues. Even though militants occupy or win a territory within a state through military means there is no guarantee that other states will recognise that entity as sovereign. Non-state actors demand for secession on the basis of self determination is opposed by international actors consisting of states and the UN as it is against the principles guiding the international system. Principles such as respect for sovereign equality of states, and the need for all states to recognise other states as sovereign, and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states made the states to reject or not to support demand for secession from non-state actors on the basis of ethnic identity. Therefore international actors made efforts to deal with internal conflicts peacefully with the help of state governments facing internal strife. However, third party facilitation and mediation efforts are always not enough to deal with underdevelopment faced by these countries, which is affecting the support for political solution of the conflict.

8 For instance, both the government and the militants try to create an opinion against other party, as well as support for their cause in other countries through different means. The government through propaganda and diplomacy, and militant organisations through consistent campaign among diaspora and refugees supporting their cause in other states. This propaganda is aimed at isolating each other’s allies and to cut the support base internationally. For instance, to show solidarity with the state confronted with internal conflict, foreign governments may ban the militants’ organisation abroad to constrain the material and moral support base in countries where militants have a strong support base. However, getting international support is important for both the parties to defend their positions and claims and this common approach paves the way for involvement of external actors as peace builders or mediators or as facilitators in peace negotiations.
intervention in internal conflict. By providing aid to the victims of war, by allowing refugees to settle in border areas, by providing covert or overt material support to militants fighting the state and by sometimes providing explicit political and moral support to one party to the conflict, governments of ethnic kin get involved in internal conflict in a neighbouring country. Some states get involved in internal conflict on humanitarian grounds. Heavy civilian casualties, internal displacement and lack of basic facilities to victims of war are the main reasons for involvement of international organisations and states. The main objective behind humanitarian intervention is to arrest the escalating human costs of the conflict.

Internal conflicts, also have implications for regional stability because, they draw the regional and international actors to intervene in protracted internal conflicts sometimes without the consent of the parties. This rather than solving the contentious issues between the parties, aggravates the conflict and becomes a major obstacle in peace making. Nations producing arms have their own interests in the continuation of a conflict, as it provides an assured market for selling goods. The ready availability of arms to militants only intensifies the conflict. The government also spends money to purchase sophisticated weapons to defeat militants thereby exhausting the scarce resources for military purposes.

II. Need for a New Approach to Conflict Resolution: Peace-Building

During the Cold War period, the UN with the help of external actors has tried the peace-keeping approach to resolve internal conflicts. However, it was not adequate to deal with the complex nature of intra-state conflicts. The UN peacekeeping missions in conflict ridden countries only helped to keep the parties physically away from fighting and to implement the provisions of peace agreements partially. On account of the failure to bring permanent peace in conflict-ridden countries of Africa, the UN and its agencies have realized the need to go beyond traditional military and security approaches to resolve protracted internal conflicts.

For people caught between the army and the militants, the future is bleak and uncertain. Displacement and lack of opportunities to sustain has made families in conflict affected regions to send the children to fight the war. Not just the need for money, the fear of militant group leader, the commitment and support to the cause of militants claiming to represent minority groups has an impact on the recruitment drive of the militants.
The peace-making approach to conflict resolution through mediation, facilitation and arbitration only deals with the government and the militants fighting the war. Negotiations between the parties to the conflict involve asymmetry, which makes conflict resolution difficult. Third parties to the conflict “often had to deal with legal and structural asymmetry between the parties to find a solution” (Mitchell 1991: 29). Legal asymmetry involves the question of legitimacy which one party to the conflict, the state, claims to have. The militants try to gain legal symmetry by participating in peace negotiations as true representatives of the minority group. Structural asymmetry involves differences in the perceptions, goals and interests of the adversaries. Both parties to the conflict try to get attention and more leverage to their position and demands even during peace negotiations. A party that fails to get equal recognition for its demands through diplomatic means resorts to violence as a way of obtaining recognition. Balance of power between the parties is the principal feature for successful peace negotiations, which is very difficult to obtain in internal conflict situations. If the balance-of-power issues between the parties are unaddressed in the peace-making approach, conflict ensues even after signing peace agreements.

Resumption of violence in already complex internal situations only leads to complete destruction of foundations for political-economic stability and harmony between ethnic groups. The approaches of peace-keeping and peace-making deal more with containment and management of conflict, and leave out of the picture the common people who actually are in need of peace. In this process, participation of the people in the conflict resolution process is often ignored by the actors involved, by instigating violence once the peace-keeping mission leaves the country.\(^{10}\) This is one aspect that, the external actors are trying to address through a new concept, because both the approaches to conflict resolution have only “focussed on top-level leaders and interests without addressing underlying structures and causes of conflict that, not only failed in bringing peace but laid the foundations for the outbreak of future wars” (Brand-Jacobson and Jacobson 2000: 254).

\(^{10}\) Peace keeping efforts of the UN have failed as the emphasis was more on reducing violence by keeping the parties away physically.
About mediation as a conflict resolution method by the international actors after peace keeping Brand-Jacobson and Jacobson (2000) argued that, in internal conflicts "reinforces the hierarchical divide between those identified with the power to take and implement decisions, and those treated as objects or the victims of conflict". Conflict resolution "at this level not only fails to empower actors at the grassroots and middle levels of society, but casts them in the role of spectators, promoting feeling of helplessness and apathy, of resignation and acceptance, and serving to estrange people from the peace process, reducing faith in the possibility of peace as an alternative to war" (Brand-Jacobsen and Jacobsen 2000: 254).

According to Galtung (1978), “conflict resolution is a process that leads to a situation where the state must no longer have two or more incompatible goal-states”. Incompatible goals between the parties to the conflict are sought to be resolved to have a permanent solution by using coercive methods. However, in protracted internal conflicts based on ethnicity, elimination of the militants’ organization through military means may not provide a complete solution to the problem because the militants generally have the much-needed support base among the minority ethnic community within the country as well as from the diasporas. For instance, suppression and elimination of ethnic opposition, rather than incorporating the ethnic groups into the state system during the Cold War only led to assertion of group identity on ethnic lines.

The specific characteristics of internal conflict, which make conflict resolution a complex process, include the following:

i) They usually involve government armies and militants but also armed civilians and militants who often follow guerrilla tactics to fight the government forces (UN 1995).

ii) Civilians are the main victims and often main targets of both parties (UN 1995).

11 Devising ways to resolve internal conflicts in many states has become a challenge as these conflicts are mainly occurring in developing countries, often taking the form of protracted civil conflict threatening international security and peace by even 'undermining regional and international organisations mandates and international norms of behaviour' (Brown 1996: 8).
iii) The people identify themselves more with their particular ethnic group than with the state.

iv) Breakdown of state institutions invests authority in the militants organization to form its own parallel administrative structures to rule territories under their control\textsuperscript{12}.

v) A military solution to internal conflict is not likely to be a permanent solution and there remains the chance of recurrence of conflict.

Traditional methods of conflict resolution only increase the demand for a separate state or create parallel state structures within a state on the basis of self-determination in which the militants promise equal power sharing and security to all, through constitutional means\textsuperscript{13}. Due to specific characteristics mentioned above, in traditional methods of conflict resolution even the good intentions of the government or external actors to resolve the conflict through regional autonomy or power sharing can be questioned by political parties representing the interests of the majority community, who view this initiative as threatening the sovereignty and integrity of the state. These are some of the core issues that have to be settled through peaceful means to have sustainable peace.

The need to go beyond traditional peace-keeping missions and to address the various needs of conflict-affected countries was recognized by the UN in the early 1990s. Three Reports of the Secretary General of the United Nations – An Agenda for Peace (1992), Supplement to an Agenda for Peace (1995) and An Agenda for Development (1994) laid the foundations for the new approach. The lessons learned by the UN while dealing with civil conflicts in a number of countries during the post–Cold War period prompted the organization to develop a new concept that equally emphasized socio-economic development along with the promotion of the peace process between adversaries, in the interest of lasting peace. Since then, the international actors have endorsed the concept of post-conflict peace-building with an assumption that “peace-

\textsuperscript{12} The “incumbent government naturally regards itself as the state and militants aspire to be the state. They treat their movement as an end in itself making it the equivalent of a state in terms of the values of the members of the insurgent faction” (Randle 1973: 11).

\textsuperscript{13} However, An Agenda for Peace Report clearly states that, the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of states within the established international system, and the principles of self-determination for peoples’, both of great value and importance, must not be permitted to work against each other” (UN 1992)
building would be the final phase of international assistance in conflict resolution” (Cousens et al 1999: 6).

The limitation of UN peace-keeping missions and post-conflict peace-building in internal conflict was explicitly mentioned in the Supplement to an Agenda for Peace. Though the post-conflict peace-building concept helped in expanding the activities of the UN in the early 1990s covering a wide range of activities in conflict-ridden states, these efforts failed to bring a lasting solution due to reasons such as over-emphasis on implementing peace agreements that were agreed upon between the parties by excluding other groups in society; monitoring a cease-fire; conducting elections; demobilisation, disarming of combatants, and help in the formation of a government that was capable of addressing post-conflict needs; and on humanitarian assistance. ¹⁴

In deeply divided societies post-conflict peace-building approach can have limited results if an effort is not made to address the structural causes of the conflict. The Supplement to an Agenda for Peace emphasizes the need to implement the concept of peace-building even to prevent the eruption of conflicts in fragile multi-ethnic states. Since then, the concept has been developed to suit various conflict situations such as pre-conflict, ongoing conflict and post-conflict situations, by individual states and international organisations committed to resolving civil conflicts.

International actors have realized that to stop the cycle of violence in internal conflicts peace-building activities have to be conducted even during ongoing conflict to reduce the human costs. Unlike pre-conflict and post-conflict situations, in an ongoing conflict both parties remain in a state of war even in times of relative peace, which hinders the foundation of sustainable peace. The covert and overt violence against the other party or against the other ethnic community to overcome the asymmetry polarizes society in such a way that even the government’s unilateral initiatives such as devolution of powers through the constitution cannot be implemented due to lack of trust and opposition from the majority ethnic group on whose support the government

¹⁴ For instance, the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda failed to convince the parties to implement the peace agreement, which in turn led to escalation of violence that killed around 300,000 civilians. Most of the humanitarian assistance was used by the warlords and their militant groups by denying basic necessities to the common people.
thrives. Even peace negotiations between the parties with the help of a third party fail due to disagreement over the common mechanism to deal with contentious issues.

Failure to produce a mechanism for resolution of conflict accentuates the conflict. Other contentious issues get accumulated in this period because the "issues that lead to the emergence of war or violence are not necessarily those that cause its intractability" (Goodhand 2006: 44). Therefore, since mid 1990s, conflict resolution through peace-building has been applied in ongoing internal conflicts so that, the external actors can address various issues that caused and accentuated the conflict. External actor's role has gone beyond acting as a third party because it only helps to conclude a peace agreement between the government and the militants. This approach has resulted in new initiatives taken by the external actors since mid 1990s. Based on the various roles the external actors are playing in internal conflicts, new approaches to conflict resolution are being developed by some scholars.

III. Concept of Peace-Building and Approaches to Peace-Building

The Concept
Protracted internal conflicts diminish the ability of domestic actors to actively work towards conflict resolution. Mistrust and extreme polarization between groups hinders any genuine initiative towards peaceful resolution of conflict. This has provided the scope for external actors to work towards conflict resolution with the help of domestic actors.

Some scholars and organisations have conceptualized peace-building as post-conflict activity involving issues that address only the immediate needs of the civilians affected by war and immediate economic and political stabilization of the state that has just emerged out of the conflict. However, most internal conflicts occur in fragile states that lack even the basic necessities such as education, health facilitates, housing and drinking water. Post-conflict peace-building fails to address these problems which have the potential for reigniting conflict. The concept of post-conflict peace-building did not find much acceptance from scholars such Lederach (1997), Goodhand and Hulme (1999), Ryan (1990), Doyle and Sambanis (1999) as it failed to address the

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15 Michael E. Brown (1998) has described these states as, "weak states".
basic causes, which prolong internal conflicts. Peace-building therefore is conceptualised by them as a process or an activity that has to address contentious issues at the political, economic and social levels, which is required for creation of sustainable peace which refers to “a situation characterized by the absence of violence, and the elimination of economic, social and political discrimination” (Reychler and Paffenholz 2001:12). Lederach (1997) conceptualized peace-building as

‘a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords.

According to Reychler and Paffenholz (2001) there are four preconditions for sustainable peace: (i) effective communication and negotiation between the different communities; (ii) establishment of a consolidated democracy; (iii) legitimate justice system and (iv) free market system. The peace-building process touches upon the need for development of society that can manage conflict without violence through democratic governance, protection of human rights, sustainable development, rule of law, development and equitable access to resources. In the view of Brach and Webel (2002), peace-building is “establishment of non-exploitative social structures and a determination to work towards that goal even when the war is ongoing or imminent”.

There are certain characteristics of the peace-building process, which stand in contrast to peace-making and peace-keeping. These are:

i) Peace-building involves looking at all the possibilities for resolution of conflict in the political, economic, social and cultural conditions of a conflict-ridden country. Peace-building activity takes a long time, with no definite period for its conclusion.

ii) Peace-building involves more than implementing peace agreements and elimination of one party to the conflict.

16 These definitions of peace-building are more applicable to states where conflict is ongoing or in states where there is a potential for conflict generation. In an ongoing conflict there exits a number of opportunities, if explored jointly by domestic actors with the help of external actors, which can pave the way for conflict resolution. Unilateral initiatives by the parties, a ceasefire and stalemate conditions provide ample opportunities to resolve the conflict if handled properly by external actors. But, internal conflicts are conflicts against the state, external actors have to intervene to generate the trust and confidence among the people to build peace through various activities and processes by not just concentrating on diplomacy.
iii) Peace-building involves definite political, economic and social tasks by peace-building actors, aimed at building sustainable peace and development. The achievement of sustainable peace involves not just the resolution of incompatible goals based on primordial identities, but also the incompatible goals based on social, economic and political aspects. Issues that have generated the conflict must have changed or may lose their importance over the years. Therefore, peace-building addresses the issues of political, social and economic discrimination, denial of rights, and lack of participation and livelihood opportunities as these act as an obstruction in creating conditions for sustainable peace.

iv) Peace agreements concluded in the peace-making approach involve only the parties to the conflict, ignoring the claims and interests of various sections of society, producing conditions for resurgence of violence. Therefore, apart from adversaries, various civil society groups are encouraged such as people from the business community, teachers, bureaucrats, religious leaders and trade unions, by using various strategies to participate in the peace process.

v) Peace-building actors' aims are not limited to conflict prevention and management. They also aim at providing some safeguards to the minority groups through devolution, promising equal access to education and other opportunities and physical separation of combatants which helps reduce the violence for some time. The peace-building process aims to develop a mechanism within society to deal with conflict.

vi) The peace-building process has changed the conventional position of the international community that it has to interact only with the state. Efforts are being made to interact with the militant organization directly to understand its point of view.

For the purpose of this study, the term peace-building is defined as

an effort by the international actors to create conditions for sustainable development and peace that addresses not only the root causes of the conflict, but also the socio-economic issues that sustain the conflict along with peace promotion. Therefore, peace-building is a long-term activity or a process involving various actors at local, national and the international levels, endeavouring towards the resolution of conflict through political means.
Approaches to Peace-Building

Internal conflicts generally take place in developing multi-ethnic countries. These countries have common characteristics of poverty, overpopulation, poor administrative and legislative structures, and underdevelopment. There is growing realization of the need to address these issues apart from the core issues of the conflict. Peace-building broadly has two aspects, namely, political and economic. The political aspect emphasizes conflict resolution through the peace process; the socio-economic aspect emphasizes the role of development in conflict resolution. Some of the approaches to peace-building are discussed below.

The Realistic Approach is based on the premise that development aid by external actors will help create conditions for sustainable peace. Some external actors assume that greater economic stability in a conflict-ridden country will lead to greater support to political settlement and the peace process. This approach is based on the premise that aid for socio-economic development and support to the peace process are mutually reinforcing, because, economic and social reconstruction and development of affected regions will be deciding factors in sustaining the peace negotiations.

The Direct and Indirect Approach propounded by Goodhand (2006). The direct approach emphasises more on the need to involve in a conflict resolution process by supporting and actively participating in the peace process through supporting advocacy and mobilisation activities. The indirect approach emphasizes improving socio-economic development, focusing on governance that includes constitutional reform, supporting local leadership and human rights monitoring, which in turn help in the resolution of conflict by successful implementation of peace agreements.

The Deductive and Inductive Approach "helps in analysing the role of the international actors in conflict resolution process" (Cousens et.el 1999: 1–6). In the deductive approach, peace-building content is deduced from existing capacities and mandates of international organisations and agencies to deal with the needs of war-

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17 This approach to peace-building has developed after examining the role of NGOs in conflict resolution process. It can also help to formulate their own definition of peace-building focusing on direct or indirect approach according to their interests and capabilities.
ravaged societies. It emphasizes the importance of inter-governmental coordination, linking the activities of various organisations and agencies with different mandates and goals directed at peace-building. Donor programmes and coordination feature prominently in this approach. However, the success of this approach depends on the external actors’ actual motivations and interests for getting involved in the conflict resolution process.

The inductive approach emphasises the need to look into the root causes of the conflict for conflict resolution. Factors such as underdevelopment, human rights, and equality also need to be considered. Unattended, these factors have the potential of reversing the gains of peace agreements by fuelling the conflict any time. This approach stresses on the need to formulate country-specific assessment strategies to build peace. A point of criticism of the inductive approach is that emphasis on root causes may avoid other causes which are equally important in fuelling violence in protracted internal conflicts. Over time issues accumulate, and resolving those issues becomes a priority to parties in conflict other than the core issues.

*The Liberal Approach*, propounded by development agencies and western countries, perceives peace-building as an activity to implement or propagate liberal values and institutions - such as individualism, privatization and free market economy - in conflict-ridden states. This approach gained momentum in the post–Cold War era after the collapse of the Soviet Union, which championed the need for socialist values based on welfare state. In the view of Ronald Paris (2004) this approach ‘makes the state to get rid of its responsibilities which affects the majority of population in the conflict affected countries who are poor’.

IV. Peace-Building Actors, Their Objectives and Approaches

**The Actors**

The term “actors” in peace-building includes the broad range of organisations, NGOs (both national and international) donor countries and bilateral and multilateral agencies. Increasing political and economic involvement of multilateral and bilateral donors in internal conflict situations since 1990’s, has expanded the role of multilateral and bilateral agencies and NGOs working in conflict ridden countries. *International Organisations* include, the United Nations Development Programme
(UNDP), United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), bilateral and multilateral agencies such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) through its Development Assistance Committee (DAC), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the Department for International Development (DFID). *International Financial Institutions* (IFIs) include the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Asian Development Bank (ADB). *The International Non-Governmental Organisations* (INGOs) include International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC), Oxfam and Amnesty International. *Donor countries* include countries such as the US, Japan, France, UK, Canada, European Union, and Scandinavian countries.

Unlike in peacekeeping and peace-making, where the role of the actors is more or less clearly defined, peace-building offers the flexibility to actors to play various roles depending on their capacity, commitment, interests and motivations. At the same time, every actor follows definite principles and mandates of the international community such as protecting and respecting the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other states. Donor countries are increasingly taking the role of mediator or facilitator in the peace process apart from using aid as an incentive for promotion of the peace process. Donor agencies are using the aid conditionality tool, if necessary, to push the parties to the negotiating table. Donors, including IFIs, are showing much flexibility and neutrality with regard to conflict-ridden recipient countries’ political and economic systems.

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18 For instance, the “doctrine of economic neutrality of IFIs prevents them from being involved in anything political in a conflict-ridden country” (Woodward 2002: 193). Since 1990s the IFIs are funding reconstruction projects in conflict-ridden states even though this involves large amount of funding which the recipient country may not pay back. However, most of the funding of IFIs does not have the goal of long term development as their role is limited to the reconstruction only. Germany, Japan, France, UK and the US have a major share and influence in the decision-making process of the Bank.

19 For instance, the IFIs are funding reconstruction projects even though the recipient country may not pay back the funding. However, the IFIs’ and the donors’ role in reducing military expenditure of the conflict-ridden countries is significant. For instance, ‘the World Bank through its public expenditure reviews draws a connection between development and reduced military expenditures’ (Ball, et al 1997).
The role of donors differs in terms of its involvement in peace-building and mainly involves five levels:

i) By using diplomatic methods such as official visits and discussions with the top leaders, the donor countries try to communicate their position on the ongoing conflict to the government involved in conflict.

ii) By providing development assistance to the country in conflict, to invest in various sectors, including in conflict-affected areas.

iii) By providing funds to NGOs working in conflict-affected areas for peace and development.

iv) By actively participating in the peace process using the aid incentive.

v) By applying aid conditionality to implement development-related projects and put pressure on the governments to resolve the conflict through political means.

Role of the state in conflict resolution in internal conflict is very limited as it is a party to the conflict. Constructing peace, in an extremely volatile situation as exists in internal protracted conflicts, requires organisations which are neutral and flexible. Increasing the amount of funds to NGOs for peace purposes has increased the activity of NGOs in various sectors and they currently play a much wider role in internal conflicts. NGOs have the ability to develop networks at the local level even with organisations supporting the militants' cause. This gives them access to the ground situation in conflict zones. Unlike individual states trying to influence the policy of the government towards ethnic minorities through the aid incentive, international organisations are much acceptable to both parties to the conflict because of their neutrality and impartiality. The organisations' flexibility helps in reaching all sections of society with the peace message. Through immediate relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction work in conflict-affected areas, civilian casualties are reduced and

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20 For instance, the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) of the British government spent £33,630,000 on NGOs in 1987/88; by 1994/5 this increased to £161,773,000. Over 50 per cent of these budgets was spent on emergencies rather than development. However, ‘funding for development activities has increased from around £14 million to £77 million in the same period. Similarly the budget from the EC to NGOs in Europe has greatly increased, from 266 million ECU in 1994 to 803 million ECU in 1998’ (Wallace 1997). In the late 1990s most of the OECD countries were disbursing at least 25 per cent of their emergency assistance through NGOs, and by 1998 60 per cent of the budget of the European Commission aid was spent through NGOs’ (Rigby 2001).
these organisations create hope for the victims of war through their presence in territories controlled by the militants.

**Objectives of Peace-Building Actors**

Peace-building actors' objectives are more or less identical. Poverty, inequality and lack of opportunities are the causes of conflict and the donors' objective is to tackle these problems by providing aid for promoting good governance, sustainable development, human rights and rule of law. Since the mid-1990s donor programmes and projects have explicit objectives such as human rights protection, sustainable development, eradication of poverty and regional imbalances and creating institutions and developing democratic structures that would consolidate peace.²¹

**Promotion of Democratic Principles:** As part of promoting the objective of good governance, peace-building actors have stressed the need to have a democratically elected government in conflict-ridden states.²² Democracy is not an explicit precondition for getting aid, but it is clear to the recipient countries that creating institutions for democratic transition and upholding existing institutions is a must for getting economic and other forms of support. The donors' perception that democracy encourages pluralism and involvement of all sections of society in the decision-making process helps in the promotion of economic progress and social justice.

To implement this objective, measures were taken to conduct regular elections if possible by pressurizing the governments in conflict-ridden states. Regular elections in conflict-ridden countries provide ample opportunity for the oppressed sections to express dissent by voting for a party that promises peace and security. NGOs, through

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²¹ At the same time, international actors' objective of "transforming conflict situations and the rationale for establishing a stable peace in conflict ridden countries is not purely based on altruistic humanitarianism" (Rupasinghe and Awderlini 1998: 23).

²² The World Bank defines governance as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources. This means improving public sector management, ensuring economic and financial accountability and ensuring the availability of and access to information about the economy. The UNDP definition of good governance stresses the need for accountability in legislature, executive and judicial branches of the government to the people (UNDP 1999). Assisting states to improve the functioning of these branches is one of the objectives of the UNDP in its promotion of democracy in conflict-ridden states.
peace campaigns encourage the people to vote for a government that they deem will provide justice to all.\textsuperscript{23}

\textbf{Protection of Human Rights:} Individual states as donors to conflict-ridden states can pressurize the government to build mechanisms for protection of human rights. In states confronted with conflict, human rights violations are generally committed by both parties to the conflict. To address the problem, international organisations have made it mandatory for new members and also for states having applied for membership in international organisations to respect human rights of the minority population\textsuperscript{24}. The role of INGOs in monitoring human rights violations in conflict-ridden states is important. They have the access to areas controlled by militants, and are able to report it to the outside world. NGOs supplement the work of official agencies and government. For donors, supporting and funding human rights NGOs is a way of strengthening the democratic process, because “effective protection of human rights induces trust, economic efficiency, growth and equality” needed for sustainable development and peace (Picciotto 2006: 16).

\textbf{Sustainable Development:} This is another objective of the peace-building actors. Peace-building actors try to influence governments in conflict-ridden countries by linking aid to governments’ performance in sectors such as education, health, agriculture and transport so that the conditions attached to aid may help to prevent governments from implementing discriminatory policies and to be more accommodative of the needs and interests of minority groups and other civil society actors.\textsuperscript{25} Development is associated with not just the economic growth of a country, but to the overall social and economic change associated with equal accesses to

\textsuperscript{23} For instance, as part of its democracy programme the EU is supporting NGOs in their efforts to promote democratic principles. Funds are provided for projects to draft laws against racism, for educating people about the principles of democracy, and organizing tours for parliamentarians from states facing internal conflict to developed countries of the West and to observe parliamentary procedures.

\textsuperscript{24} Individual states as donors to conflict-ridden states can pressurise the government to build mechanisms for protection of human rights. By involving in human rights monitoring committees as well as providing funds to human rights organisations peace-building actors keep a check on the state.

\textsuperscript{25} For instance, the EU has suspended aid to countries such as Sierra Leone that failed to respect the human rights of its citizens.
resources, balanced regional development and creating conditions for sustainable livelihood conditions. Creating conditions of political and economic stability in conflict ridden countries for sustainable development is an important priority of peace-building activity.

**Promoting Market Economy:** Another objective of peace-building actors is to promote market economy by bringing about structural changes in the economic policies of governments.\(^{26}\) At the same time, the economic and political institutions which are needed to implement these policies having become ineffective in conflict-ridden societies, the donors and IFIs are flexible in implementing their reform policies. Because of the changes created by internal conflicts during the 1990s, the policy of neutrality of the World Bank and the IMF has undergone a change that acknowledged the impact of conflict on economic development and on proper implementation of structural adjustment policies in states confronted with internal conflict.

Funds are provided for projects which are conflict-sensitive so that aid for reconstruction does not intensify the conflict. Although the IFIs' role is secondary in dealing with internal conflict, their backing for a political solution to the conflict will have a positive impact on the way the government deals with the problems of minorities. However, scholars such as Gelinas (1998) argue that 'underdevelopment is a result of adjusting domestic markets to suit the needs of the international market and consumption, which destroys the development of indigenous material and production, which in turn has an effect on the economies of the developing countries'.

**Reduction of Poverty:** Is another objective of the international actors in conflict resolution is the reduction of poverty. Towards attaining this objective, donors and IFIs direct aid recipients to prepare Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) and concentrate on those regions where poverty levels are high due to the conflict\(^{27}\).

\(^{26}\) With an assumption that, implementation of these policies benefit the recipient country to increase trade and access to domestic and international markets, which in turn helps in generating finances needed for development.

\(^{27}\) This "strategy is intended to encompass the critical public actions needed to spur economic development and reduce poverty" (Page 2006: 81).
Governments involved in conflict are forced to prepare plans to reduce conflict related poverty and concentrate on those regions where poverty levels are high due to conflict. Steps taken to achieve this objective are: initiating de-mining in fields; assisting in the relocation of IDPs who are more vulnerable to poverty; rehabilitation of the victims of violence, stabilizing and raising living standards of the people through infrastructure development. To achieve this goal, peace-building actors have developed coordination among NGOs and donor agencies in conflict ridden zones.

Promotion of the Peace Process: This is another objective of peace-building actors. For peace agreements to work out the support of the people and long term commitment of leaders are also needed. However, internal displacement, lack of resources for housing and for minimum facilities only isolate people from the conflict resolution process that takes place at the centre. With this in view, donors and international organisations are diverting funds to government’s efforts at conflict resolution through implementing peace agreements which contain provisions for resource distribution, trade and settlement of the displaced.

Militants have less access to development aid of the donors as donor counties generally take a pro-state stand and prefer to deal directly with the government than with the militants. Aid incentive is used to push for negotiations and set an impartial agenda for resolution. At the same time, success of peace process mainly depends upon the public support for political solution. Peace activities which can mobilise people for peace and make them aware of conflict resolution process are supported by donors.

These objectives are pursued in different stages of conflict and can be realised even if there is no peace agreement and ceasefire between the parties, which would help in building confidence among people regarding conflict resolution. Realising peace-building objectives in an ongoing conflict involves more constraints because of

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28 In this direction, ‘the World Bank, DAC, UNDP and EU have co-sponsored a donor working group called the Learning and Advisory Process, to guide the work of aid agencies in conflict situations’ (Isenman 2006).
covert structural violence that exists even in times of relative peace\textsuperscript{29}. These objectives are also based on the need for addressing structural causes of conflicts apart from promoting peace negotiations between the parties. To realise the objectives mentioned above, peace-building actors are putting sustained efforts in conflict-ridden states by bringing changes in the political and economic systems of recipient countries and changes within their own policies and institutions\textsuperscript{30}.

**Strategies for Peace-Building**

**Aid and Development**

The traditional approach to development separated humanitarian assistance from development assistance. This made the donors wait for a solution to the conflict before providing development assistance. This approach came in for criticism on the grounds that “human costs such as worsened nutrition and education constitute development costs, while development costs such as the destruction of infrastructure or declining exports, are among the causes of human suffering” (Stewart and Fitzgerald 2001: 5). The concept of development has changed gradually, as development associated only with growth of the overall economy does not benefit all sections of society. For instance, the top-down approach to development in many developing states has left out many sections of society in the periphery dependent on subsistence economy. This has led to disillusionment with the policies followed by the centre in multi-ethnic states.

Therefore since the 1990s the concept of development broadened to link growth with stability and sustainable development. Since project implementation is basically linked to the receiving countries’ political conditions, aid donors could not ignore the

\textsuperscript{29} Structural violence refers to the endemic violence that exits in the inequalities of societal structures in a multi-ethnic setting. According to Galtung, structural violence exits in the power imbalances, uneven resource distribution, access to health care, educational opportunities and discrimination on the basis of race, religion and ethnicity. These inequalities between the groups in a multi-ethnic states lead to conflict between the state and act as a source for generating conflict.

\textsuperscript{30} Changing the existing political and economic structures of conflict ridden states is a must for getting aid from some peace-building actors. For instance, ‘IFIs have avoided funding for projects of social character in conflict ridden states for many years and concentrated its lending only on projects designed for industrial sectors and other productive sectors of the economy’ (Reinicke 1996). Most of the funding of IFIs is in the form of loans which the recipient country has to pay back within a specific period.
conflicts within states based on ethnic identity. Therefore, the donor strategy of providing aid for development is mainly based on the aim of eradication of poverty, regional imbalances, and balanced growth of all the sectors of economy, which in turn helps in building peace. At the same time, to consolidate and sustain the gains of peace agreements and even to push the parties to agree for a political solution, the donors believe that there is a need for economic incentives that would encourage the parties to go for negotiations. Funds for long-term development would consolidate the gains achieved during the peace process. And improvement in the living conditions of people makes them more inclined to political solution rather than resolving conflict militarily.

At the same time, prolonged internal conflict exhausts the resources needed for development and pushes the country into vulnerable situation to increasing poverty particularly in conflict affected regions. This makes the parties to look for funds for development. This provides an opportunity for donors to link aid and development. Through multilateral, bilateral development assistance to the government donors inject lot of aid for development purposes. Projects and programmes are designed for conflict-affected regions, to help in reconstruction, rebuilding and rehabilitation as well as for overall development of the country. This will provide some incentive for the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) to return home. Thus, protecting subsistence economy of conflict affected areas has become a priority of development assistance.

Therefore, peace-building actors’ strategy of economic and social development to build peace in internal conflict involves mainly two stages. One is providing aid for immediate needs of the people so that it can create confidence among them that government is serious about peace. Second stage involves aid for long term economic

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31 Initially international actor’s involvement in internal conflict mainly consisted of humanitarian interventions to help the victims of war and immediate relief. Humanitarian interventions in conflict zones involve mainly UN’s organisations such as United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Most of the activities of the UN in conflict zones are coordinated through UNDP and UN secretary general representatives. Another INGO which has been playing an important role in humanitarian activities is ICRC. Donor funding for humanitarian purposes to international organisation and to ICRC has helped the victims of war who are generally left out by both the parties. The ICRC is the only organisation that could intervene even in the midst of conflict to assist the victims of war. ICRC has received lot of funding from donors for this purpose and still continues to do so. However, this contribution of the international actors to help the people affected by war was not enough to resolve and to contain the violence.
development to create sustainable development even in conflict affected areas in a state, which means ‘both continuation of peace and an increasing capacity to survive without external assistance or reach a level of economic independence to survive the demands of the people’ (Woodward 2002: 188).

The success of using aid for socio-economic development depends upon the multilateral and bilateral aid agencies’ capability of understanding the social impacts of their programmes and projects. Extreme polarisation and regional imbalances constrain proper aid delivery by government. With this in view, NGOs are encouraged to prepare reports on the needs of various ethnic communities to deliver aid accordingly and implement development projects along with donor agencies. Projects are designed to benefit every section of the conflict-ridden country so that conflicts of interests are settled. By involving various ethnic group members as beneficiaries in project implementation, peace-building actors promote interdependence, which in turn develops cooperation and trust.

Advocacy and Mobilisation
Apart from involving in the conflict as a third party which involves either facilitation or mediation with the consent of the parties, the international actors’ role in the peace process has widened to include various tasks, such as monitoring of cease-fires, heading various committees agreed upon during the peace negotiations, acting as co-chairs and carefully monitoring the entire process. Generally, the parties to the conflict find no incentive to go for negotiations in a stalemate period, involving covert violence. Therefore, part of aid for development allotted to the government is linked with progress in the peace process. This strategy has motivated many conflict-ridden states to break a stalemate and to go for negotiations with the militants.

Active participation of the international actors in the peace process also has the objective of advocating political solution by interacting directly with leaders of the militant organization. Through repeated appeals and meetings with militant leaders, peace-building actors hope to change the perception of the militants. Through direct interaction, the need for a political solution to the conflict is stressed, putting pressure on the militants to leave their demand for separate statehood and to mould the militant
organisation as a political organisation. Even though the government would not recognise the authority of the militant organisation over the occupied territories, the willingness of the international actors, especially donors, to involve the militants in the peace process has a positive impact as the militants believe that their demands can be met with the help of the international actors.  

To achieve the objective of conflict resolution through political means by convincing and pressurizing a majoritarian government, the donors use various international forums. Through Reports, policy papers and through media statements the donors advocate their position on a given conflict situation. However, peace process involves many stages before reaching a final agreement between the parties. According to Wallensteen, “peace agreements are an integral part of conflict resolution. However, an agreement even if implemented may not be sufficient to establish a durable peace. Peace requires more then agreement among the parties. The peace agreement is however a necessary step to a lasting arrangement” (Wallensteen 2006: 8). This method works at central level, leaving the people behind. Without the involvement of people across ethnic communities, sustainable peace can not be achieved. This perception has promoted the donors to fund various local and international organisations working in conflict affected countries around the world.

Donors’ support to peace organisations in a conflict-affected country encourages civil society groups campaigning for peace. Through lobbying the government and the international actors actively involved in the peace process, the NGOs try to ensure that the interests and aspirations of the minorities are addressed along with the contentious

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32 However, participation in peace negotiations with the government ‘put a lot of strain on the militant organisation, which essentially believed in achieving its goal through military means’ (Darby 2001: 41). Any peace process that fails to involve militants is bound to fail. It is not possible to isolate an insurgent organisation that has considerable influence on the minority population. Even though that influence is sometimes exercised through military action. The lack of trust on the government at the centre because of broken promises and peace agreements that were agreed upon due to lack of consensus between the political parties representing majority interests make minority groups to support the militant organisation despite the hardships they face because of civil war. Ethnic diaspora and refugees in other countries becomes a financial and moral base for militant organisation. At the same time, convincing and pressuring a majoritarian government that has the support of majority ethnic community to opt for a political solution of the conflict is not an easy task.

33 Assefa (1992) argued that, ‘resolution of internal conflict presents most difficult problems because conflict within states are rarely restricted to the parties involved and often third party efforts at peace making are restricted due to the international legal complications that resolve around sovereignty and non-interference’.
issues between the parties. Through advocacy and mobilisation for peace-building they try to help the governments and international actors’ efforts to resolve the conflict. They employ certain methods, such as organising peace marches and rallies to show the support of the people for peace; organizing workshops and seminars on various conflict-related issues to generate debate about the need for conflict resolution and to bring various ethnic group members to face each other to discuss problems; through their campaign for peace indirectly they mobilise people to vote for a party that promises peace; working along with the government to conduct various surveys that help in knowing the people’s support for peace; lobbying the government and international organisations on issues related to representation and human rights violations; using the media to highlight issues such as those related to development that took a back seat due to the conflict; and organising trips for the parliamentarians to other countries to make them aware of conflict resolution methods.

Along with these activities, the donors sponsor seminars and conferences on human rights, workshops, technical assistance programmes on the parliamentary process and on the need for a constitution that can accommodate the interests of all the groups. Monitoring of human rights along with international monitors and reporting regularly to outside media helps as a pressure on the parties to restrain from human rights violations.

The NGOs’ campaign for resolution of conflict through power-sharing arrangements has got much support from the donors as it provides sufficient information for the government on how to accommodate the interests of the minority and majority populations. By focusing on possibilities such as regional autonomy, federalism, and devolution, the NGOs try to educate the people as well as the parliamentarians on peaceful ways of resolving the conflict. By developing peace constituencies in regions dominated by the majority ethnic group the NGOs’ peace education programmes are relatively successful in moulding public opinion in favour of parties that promise peace through political means.
Conclusion
Peace-building actors' main objectives are linked to conflict resolution process in conflict-ridden countries. Thus the development assistance by donors to the state as well as funds provided to NGOs has incorporated the concept of peace-building in project implementation. Because, donors perceive that the core issues of conflict such as questions of ethnic identity and equal representation of parties in decision-making process, cannot be resolved militarily. Getting people's support for a political solution always depends upon the conflicting parties' willingness to accommodate the interests of all groups in the conflict resolution process. The international actors' involvement cannot create a solution but can only suggest and implement it. The solution to the conflict has to come from the parties to the conflict and has to be accepted by all sections of society. Peace-building strategies of the international actors only pave the way for a solution by addressing other problems and issues which are directly and indirectly responsible for generating internal conflict. However, there is a need to examine whether the strategies employed by various actors ultimately lead to resolution or aggravation of the conflict, which is the main thrust of this study.