Conflict & Security
Jan Pospisil, ASPR
Sustaining Peace, Inclusive Peace
Liberalisation, Institutionalisation, Statebuilding

• Dominating until mid-2000s
• Problem statement and cure
• Democratic peace
• Institutionalisation before Liberalisation
• Statebuilding – Failed States
Local Turn

- Critique since mid-2000s
- Importance of everyday, context
- Hybridity, ‘compromised peacebuilding’
- E.g. ‘Everyday Peace Indicators’
- Knowledge?
Changing global conditions
Our g7+ Family around the world
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PSGs and fragility spectrum</th>
<th>Crisis</th>
<th>Rebuild and reform</th>
<th>Transition</th>
<th>Transformation</th>
<th>Resilience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legitimate politics</td>
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<td>Security</td>
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<td>Justice</td>
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<td>Economic foundations</td>
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<td>Revenue and services</td>
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DRC RSS Timor-L. Sierra-Leone
Resilience, Inclusion, Political Settlements

• Broad and vague concepts
• Focus on prevention, preparedness, adaptability
• Looking at impact, embracing the local, context
• Enlarging stakeholder base
• Return to politics
• Successful? E.g. Colombia, Nepal vs Syria, South Sudan
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liberal Internationalism</th>
<th>Resilience</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protection</td>
<td>Prevention</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990s discourse</td>
<td>2000s discourse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberal Intervention</td>
<td>Neoliberal/post-liberal*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rights/law</td>
<td>Post-intervention</td>
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<tr>
<td>Post-crisis</td>
<td>Capabilities/capacities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victims</td>
<td>Pre-crisis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coercive</td>
<td>Vulnerable</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consequences addressed</td>
<td>Empowering (military force included)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Direct provision/responsibility</td>
<td>Causes addressed</td>
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<tr>
<td>External agency</td>
<td>Indirect provision/responsibility</td>
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<tr>
<td>Top-down</td>
<td>Internal agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sovereign power</td>
<td>Bottom-up</td>
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<tr>
<td>Western responsibility</td>
<td>Dispersal of power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State sovereignty undermined</td>
<td>Western facilitation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Endpoint exit/status quo ante</td>
<td>State sovereignty strengthened</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ongoing process/open-ended</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Inclusion – Challenges

• How to organise? Practical issues
• Methods: actors, substance, process
• Trade-offs: horizontal vs vertical, short term vs long term
• Which actors? likeminded?
• ‘spoilers’
Political settlements, political marketplace

• New institutional economics: institutions work context-dependent
• Elite pacts or broader? Inclusive political settlements?
• Deal and the ‘real deal’
• Political marketplace (de Waal): political identity / loyalty as a commodity (e.g. East Africa, Horn)
• Consequences?
Formalised political unsettlement

• Lens on post-war transitions (Bell/Pospisil, 2017)
• Likely outcome of peace processes: no settlement, but containment of contestation
• E.g. Dayton framework, Northern Ireland, ‘frozen conflicts’, Sudanese CPA, Ogaden, Philippines/Mindanao, ...
• Frozen or fluid? Entry points for engagement?
PA-X Peace Agreements Database

- All peace agreements since 1990 (incl ceasefire arrangements), about 1,600 agreements from 140 peace processes
- Agreements are coded along 11 main categories and 220 sub-categories – enables qualitative and quantitative work
- Produced at University of Edinburgh, Political Settlements Research Programme (PSRP), Lead Prof Christine Bell
- Funded by UK Department for International Development (DFID)
- OPEN ACCESS
Types of Peace Agreements
Types of Peace Agreements

Agreement frequency - by stage (all documents)
Types of Peace Agreements

- Multiparty signed/agreed: 1398
- Unilateral documents: 104
- Agreement with subsequent status: 9
- Status unclear: 9
Peace Agreements: Regional Distribution
Sequencing

- Ceasefire + Trans Interim Govt (PS)
- National Dialogue, Electoral reform, Constitutional reform
- Elections/Constitution, End of Transition

DDR / SSR
Likelihood of Security Provisions in Peace Processes / Peace Agreements
SSR in Peace Agreements
Role of International Norms

Proportion of intra-state agreements that reference women

- UNR1325
- UNSCR Sex Viol
Statebuilding and Power-Sharing in Peace Agreements

PolPS  TerPS  EcoPS  MilPS

strong SB (>=1.5)  weak SB (<1.5)
Local Peace Agreements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Average Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional / religious leaders</td>
<td>0.365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional / religious laws</td>
<td>0.309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic / national groups</td>
<td>0.306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical commitments, ethnic / national groups</td>
<td>0.296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children / youth</td>
<td>0.255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastoralist / nomadic rights</td>
<td>0.244</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average length: 16.65 pages (national/regional) vs 3.69 (local)
Local Peace Agreements

- Types: state-to-local actors / intra-local actors / intra-army agreements
- Hard, realist, tit-for-tat language
- More complex permutations of armed actors
- Complex link to national context
Examples

• Ahmadzai Wazir Wana Peace Agreement

• Gogrial Agreement (between Twic, Aweil East, Aweil South and Gogrial West Counties)

• Misseriyya and Dinka Ngok Conference, Conference Agreement, Kadugli