

# Sustaining Peace

Editors: Christiane Kayser and Flaubert Djateng



## Building Peace



Civil Peace Service (CPS) /  
BfdW – Mano River Region, DR Congo  
and Cameroon

# Building Peace

**Brot für die Welt – Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (BfdW)**

Bread for the World – Protestant Development Service

**Financed by the BMZ** (Bundesministerium

für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit – German Federal  
Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)

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**Civil Peace Service**

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# Introduction

For this, the fifteenth publication in our “Building Peace” series, we offer you a selection of articles around the topic of sustaining peace. On the one hand, we have included definitions and theoretical discussions of this new concept which features as number 16 of the United Nations sustainable development goals. This concept differs from peace building (*consolidation* in French) and assumes much greater integration of the societies concerned and of their endogenous capacities. We are of the opinion that many partners of the Civil Peace Service (CPS) programmes have already been working in this frame of mind for a long time, without necessarily being familiar with the concept. We have therefore called on everyone involved to share their experience in this domain. We present contributions from Sierra Leone, RD Congo and Cameroon on various, fascinating examples of fostering sustainable peace in circumstances that are often very difficult. From the role of literature for young peace activists, learning non-violent cohabitation from an early age, different types of external and internal oriented approaches, the links between land ownership, women’s rights and peace, the major roles of the media in peace work, local and rural initiatives in a crisis zone, to the place of secrets in governance. Achille Mbembe reflects on the role of the intellectual in the political sphere. UNESCO illustrates the importance of education in sustaining peace.

Enjoy these surprising, thought-provoking contributions from a wide range of sources. Share your own experiences in the domain.

Your comments and criticism are welcome.

*Christiane Kayser  
Flaubert Djateng  
December 2017*

# Sustaining peace: from reactive to proactive, based on local capacities

By *Christiane Kayser\**

Since 2016, particularly within the United Nations system, discussions on how to learn from the failure of a certain number of peace keeping operations have generated a new concept, that of sustaining peace. It should be distinguished from the concept of peace building, which is used in general for international efforts to maintain peace.

Although, as always, the concept is often used in a vague way, it seems to have been recognised that sustainable peace cannot be achieved by dint of military operations alone and that it especially requires efforts from within the society concerned.

The links between peace work, governance and development are also being highlighted.

Youssef Mahmoud, Senior Adviser at the International Peace Institute (IPI), gives some benchmarks on the basis of the provisions of the dual resolutions passed on 27 April 2016 by the UN General Assembly (A/RES/70/262) and Security Council (S/RES/2282) on sustaining peace. He considers that *“sustaining peace requires a shift in thinking to capitalize on what still works well internally rather than focussing on what does not work and recognising that every society, however broken it may appear, has capacities and assets, not just needs and vulnerabilities; and that prevention is not just a crisis management tool, but an integral part of the governance of inclusive development in which the national*

\*CPS mobile team for Bread for the World



*players, at all levels of Society, represent the principal driving force for positive change*".<sup>1</sup>

The starting point for peace work is therefore endogenous. It is not conflict, but rather the capacities existing within the society for building peace. It is evident that all parts of society, including civil society, are key elements of this process.

*"Peace, unlike law and security, cannot be imposed from the top, but must be woven into the fabric of society, from within and from the grass-roots, by fostering partnerships and incentive measures for maintaining it. The dialogue between individuals, groups and sectors of society, and between public authorities and citizens, is vital to the success of the undertaking to make peace sustainable, as is an enlightened, inclusive political determination at every level of said society."*<sup>2</sup>

The needs of all the layers of society must be taken into account and it is clear that this comes up against conflicts of interests. It will no longer be sufficient for international state and non-state players to see themselves as partners of such and such a government, or to intervene through the blue berets and ministerial advisers. After analysing the context and the conflicts, but also the capacities for peace—it will be a question of strengthening the players who cultivate a global vision and strive towards sustainable peace.

This all sounds fine, but what should we do if, like today in DR Congo, and also in Cameroon and many other countries, the political will of the decision-makers to ensure a future of peace for their country is manifestly sacrificed at the alter of power interests and short-term enrichment?

1 See inter alia the article: Sustaining Peace: what does it mean in practice? by Youssef Mahmoud and Anupah Makond, published in April 2017 by IPI and reproduced in this publication with the kind permission of the authors.

2 From the same article.

Will it be enough to throw some crumbs from the cooperation funds to civil society players to create a semblance of a clear conscience, while at the same time continuing to support the regime in place? Is it feasible to finance “subsidiary States” through the intermediary of religious faiths and civil society actors? Or would it be better to withdraw completely, as was the case during the last years of the regime of the late Mobutu, former “king of Zaïre”?

Long term peace work also means a vision that encompasses the capacities and forces of peace in a society. The youth movements we can see emerging in many African countries bring hope. So how can we prevent them from degenerating into violence in the face of the obstinate obstructions of those in power? How can we help them to expand their vision of their country and of its place in the world?

If we want to help mobilise and strengthen the forces of peace in the societies concerned, we would also have to overcome the divisions and rivalries between donors and within the cooperation systems. And we are still very far from that...

In this situation, continuous support, however modest, for the emerging movements and local initiatives aimed at sustaining peace is essential. This begins with boosting the analysis capacities of the local players, with support for their advocacy, their efforts at dialogue and interactions with the State players. This also comprises a wide dissemination of non-violent modes of action and symbolic acts that are full of promise.

Fertile exchanges on a regional and inter-African level seem to me to be an essential component.

There are incubators for this type of work. The early buds of peace must be cultivated and protected in a global environment that is increasingly bureaucratic, offers nothing to counter rising violence and has a tendency to trample these fragile shoots.

# Sustaining peace: What does it mean in practice?

*IPI – International Peace Institute*

We are beginning to understand what peace is—the structures, attitudes, and institutions that underpin it, and the motives that drive people to work for it. Still, peace remains largely an elusive goal, often negatively portrayed as the absence of violence.

It has been assumed that if we can understand the complexity of war and violence, we will be able to foster and sustain peace. We do not study peace, and therefore we tend to focus on the problems of conflict and aggression rather than the solutions associated with peace.<sup>1</sup> With this approach, prevention is viewed as a crisis management tool to address the destructive dynamics of conflict after they have occurred, typically through short-term and externally driven responses.

To address this peace deficit, IPI is seeking to reframe prevention for the purpose of sustaining peace rather than averting conflict, through a series of conversations from October 2016 to May 2017. The overarching aim will be to build a shared understanding of what sustaining peace and prevention look like in practice at the national and international levels.

This issue brief was drafted by **Youssef Mahmoud, Senior Adviser at IPI, and Anupah Makoond, Program Coordinator for the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative's Peacebuilding and Reconstruction Polls** in

1 Peter Coleman, "The Missing Piece in Sustainable Peace," Earth Institute, November 6, 2012, available at <http://blogs.ei.columbia.edu/2012/11/06/the-missing-piece-in-sustainable-peace>.

the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The views expressed in this publication represent those of the authors and not necessarily those of the International Peace Institute. IPI welcomes consideration of a wide range of perspectives in the pursuit of a well-informed debate on critical policies and issues in international affairs.

## Introduction

In its review of the peacebuilding architecture, the Advisory Group of Experts introduced the language of “sustaining peace” as a counterpoint to the term “peacebuilding.” Although conceived as a comprehensive process, peacebuilding has come to be narrowly interpreted as time-bound, exogenous interventions that take place “after the guns fall silent” in fragile or conflict-affected states.<sup>2</sup> Sustaining peace seeks to reclaim peace in its own right and detach it from the subservient affiliation with conflict that has defined it over the past four decades.<sup>3</sup>

Since the UN Security Council and General Assembly adopted landmark identical resolutions on sustaining peace in April 2016, UN member states and practitioners have started to reflect on what this concept means.<sup>4</sup> This paper seeks to contribute to these discussions by unpacking the definition of sustaining peace and providing examples of what it looks like in practice at the national and international levels. It also

2 United Nations, *The Challenge of Sustaining Peace: Report of the Advisory Group of Experts on the Review of the Peacebuilding Architecture*, UN Doc. A/69/968-S/2015/490, June 30, 2015.

3 Youssef Mahmoud, “Freeing Prevention from Conflict: Investing in Sustaining Peace,” IPI Global Observatory, April 21, 2016, available at <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2016/04/prevention-sustaining-peace-hippo-ban-ki-moon/>.

4 Security Council Resolution 2282 (April 27, 2016), UN Doc. S/RES/2282; General Assembly Resolution 70/262 (April 27, 2016), UN Doc. A/RES/70/262; Youssef Mahmoud and Andrea Ó Súilleabháin, «With New Resolutions, Sustaining Peace Sits at Heart of UN Architecture,» IPI Global Observatory, April 29, 2016, available at <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2016/04/sustaining-peace-peacebuilding-united-nations-sdg/>.

aims to clear up the political cobwebs in the minds of some suspicious stakeholders fearful that the concept is another Trojan horse for outside intervention.

First, we describe sustaining peace as an explicit and deliberate policy objective for all states, regardless of whether they are beset by violent conflict. Second, sustaining peace is underpinned by an infrastructure composed of institutions, norms, attitudes, and capacities spanning different sectors and levels of social organization. This infrastructure needs to be constantly nurtured and updated to adapt to changing contexts and circumstances.

Third, sustaining peace is conceived as a necessarily endogenous process that requires strong and inclusive national ownership and leadership. Finally, sustaining peace is multi-sectoral and all-encompassing, amounting to a meta-policy deserving of attention at the highest levels of national government.

Committing to sustaining peace entails revisiting the starting point of the process of building peace; as such, it ushers in a paradigm shift in our understanding of peace. Sustaining peace attempts to broaden the peace agenda to include proactive measures aimed at building on peace where it already exists by reinforcing the structures, attitudes, and institutions that underpin it. This new paradigm has the potential to strengthen the prevention agenda as well as to render ongoing peacekeeping interventions more effective. It is not a radical call to substitute existing interventions with new processes, but it is intended as a complete overhaul to how we approach peace and peace-related interventions.

## Conflict Is Not the Starting Point

The peace agenda has its roots in the scholarship of peace and conflict studies and is supported by a rhetoric that ranges from the narrower discourse of post-conflict reconstruction to broader debates on peaceful coexistence. In practice, however, peacebuilding has up to now been

confined to the narrower end of the spectrum; it tends to be perceived as relevant solely to contexts where conflict is manifest or proximate. As a result, peacebuilding is seen as an extension of conflict resolution or conflict transformation.

The binary relationship ascribed to conflict and peace means that stable states where there is no violent conflict are excluded from the study of peace, when in fact these are the case studies most likely to unveil the factors associated with peace. All societies possess attributes that contribute to sustaining peace, whether their institutions, their culture, their policies, or the less tangible, quotidian, and tacit norms of interaction between individuals and groups. However, where manifest conflict is absent, these attributes remain undocumented and are rarely nurtured. Existing capacities for peace risk falling into oblivion, which could expose even the most peaceful societies to future conflict. Thus, the sustaining peace agenda should be applied to and adopted by all states.

Whereas the starting point of peacebuilding is conflict and the process is one of transitioning from war to peace, sustaining peace begins with identifying those attributes and assets that have sustained social cohesion, inclusive development, the rule of law, and human security—the factors that together contribute to a peaceful society. As many scholars have argued, conflict is a natural phenomenon arising from social interactions, and even a desirable one, in so far as it often leads to innovation and progress.<sup>5</sup> In this regard, peace is not so much the absence of conflict as it is the ability to manage and transform conflict in a peaceful and constructive manner. Assuming, therefore, that all societies experience conflict, those that do not descend into violence must possess the structures and capacities for sustaining peace, even if these are not made explicit.

5 See, for example, John Paul Lederach, “Conflict Transformation,” *Beyond Intractability*, October 2003, available at [www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation](http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation).

## Defining the Infrastructure That Sustains Peace

Perhaps the biggest challenge facing those seeking to understand sustaining peace is to define the concrete actions that will contribute to its effective implementation. The conceptual basis for sustaining peace can be traced back to Johan Galtung's seminal work on "positive peace."<sup>6</sup> Positive peace requires building and strengthening the factors that foster peace.<sup>7</sup> Among these factors are those that enable "everyday peace," such as solidarity and compassion between different ethnic groups, and systemic factors, such as equitable distribution of resources, well-functioning institutions, tolerance for diversity, respect for the rights of others, security from physical harm, and access to food and clean drinking water.<sup>8</sup>

Sustaining peace seeks to place greater emphasis on detecting and strengthening what is already working, not only what is in disrepair and needs fixing. Even societies under stress have capacities that need to be nurtured. Moreover, sustaining peace is an ongoing exercise, not a one-time intervention. Contexts change, because of both internal fluctuations and external shocks, requiring a concomitant adjustment in the norms and institutions governing society. For example, migration patterns alter the social balance of a society, and maintaining social cohesion in the face of such changes demands that citizens be willing and able to adopt new norms of social interaction and extend their threshold of tolerance. The inability to respond to changes, both internal and external, is an indicator of the weakness of a society's infrastructure for peace.

6 See Baljit Singh Grewal, "Johan Galtung: Positive and Negative Peace," August 30, 2003, available at [www.activeforpeace.org/no/fred/Positive\\_Negative\\_Peace.pdf](http://www.activeforpeace.org/no/fred/Positive_Negative_Peace.pdf).

7 Mahmoud, "Freeing Prevention from Conflict."

8 Institute for Economics and Peace, "Positive Peace Report 2016," available at <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Positive-Peace-Report-2016.pdf>; Roger Mac Ginty, "Everyday Peace: Bottom-Up and Local Agency in Conflict-Affected Societies," *Security Dialogue* 45, no. 6 (2014).

## An Endogenous Process

The emphasis on identifying context-specific capacities as a starting point for sustaining peace makes it primarily an endogenous process. Seen through this lens, sustaining peace is not a timebound intervention defined by the funding cycles of donors or mandates of peace operations; rather, it is an ongoing effort best undertaken through national policies. Peace can be most effectively sustained when it is conceived as a public good for which the state is responsible. However, as with other public goods, it is the shared responsibility of all stakeholders, and indeed all citizens, to contribute to it.

Peace is multidimensional and multi-sectoral. It cuts across different levels of human organization, from the interpersonal to the societal, rendering sustaining peace a highly collaborative task that requires strong leadership. National ownership of a process that is inclusive of all key stakeholders, including the private sector, women, and youth, is thus a cornerstone of successful efforts to build sustainable peace. Inclusivity is key to ensuring that peace is maintained over time.

Peace, unlike law and security, cannot be enforced from the top, but must be woven into society from within and from below by fostering partnerships and incentives to maintain it. Dialogue among individuals, groups, and social sectors, as well as between the government and its citizens, is key to the success of the sustaining peace enterprise; so is enlightened, inclusive leadership at all levels of society.

### The Praxis:

#### Sustaining Peace as a Deliberate Meta-Policy

So far, we have argued that sustaining peace applies to all societies and is not necessarily confined to unstable environments or designed to calm the ravages of violent conflicts. It is a multi-sectoral, endogenous, and ongoing process that is the shared responsibility of states and all citizens. This begs the question: How do we sustain peace in practice?



One could assume that peace is an automatic outcome for states that have inclusive, transparent, and accountable institutions, fair legal frameworks, inclusive economic policies, and a culture of tolerance. However, by relegating peace to the status of an implicit consequence of other national policies, we risk overlooking fundamental factors that contribute to peace. Sustaining peace also relies on the intention and willingness to foster peaceful societies. Hence, peace needs to be made a deliberate policy objective of the state. This means that core government ministries, in addition to fulfilling their intrinsic functions, must explicitly address challenges to peace and contribute to its sustainability.

Seen from this perspective, sustaining peace cannot simply sit alongside economic, social, or security policies. It must be positioned above all the different sectors, akin to a meta-policy that builds on and accounts for all other policies. All policies must be infused with the intention to sustain peace, which in turn will make them more durable and coherent. The mandate to sustain peace should be housed at the apex of national and local government structures.

A case in point is Ghana's creation of a National Peace Council in 2011, whose mandate is to facilitate and develop mechanisms for preventing, managing, and resolving conflict and building sustainable peace.<sup>9</sup> Another country that has made peace a deliberate policy objective is Costa Rica, which in 2009 created a Ministry of Justice and Peace, signaling a policy shift from preventing violence to promoting peace.<sup>10</sup> As another example, in 2015 the Kenyan Parliament adopted a peace policy after more than ten years of national stakeholder consultations. The policy and the infrastructure for peace it sets out, including a National

9 William A. Awinador-Kanyirige, "Ghana's National Peace Council," Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, August 2014, available at [www.globalr2p.org/media/files/2014-august-policy-brief-ghana-national-peace-council.pdf](http://www.globalr2p.org/media/files/2014-august-policy-brief-ghana-national-peace-council.pdf); Paul van Tongeren, "Infrastructures for Peace Is a Promising Approach," Peace Monitor, April 1, 2013, available at <http://peacemonitor.org/?p=427>.

10 Susie Shutts, "Costa Rica Creates Department of Peace," Yes! Magazine, September 22, 2009, available at [www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/costa-rica-creates-department-of-peace](http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/costa-rica-creates-department-of-peace).

Peace Council, are expected to prevent a range of conflicts, including resource-based, religious, cross-border, and wildlife-related conflicts.<sup>11</sup>

Given that positive peace is both an outcome and an enabler of sustainable development, the effective implementation of the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and their targets can be used as a vehicle for building sustainable peace.<sup>12</sup> This symbiosis can be depicted as a wheel where the hub is peace and the SDGs are spokes pointing toward and away from it.

Peace is more than the sum of its parts (or pillars). Subtler, less visible policies such as building trust between individuals and groups, as well as between the state and its citizens, need to be nurtured through dialogue and open, safe channels of communication. Tunisia's attempt to create a national council for social dialogue is an example of movement toward such policies.<sup>13</sup>

## Implications for the UN Reform Agenda

As described above, “sustaining peace” is a thoroughly endogenous process; states need to institute national policies whose objective it is to lay the foundations for sustainable peace. A final point that needs to be addressed, then, is the role of the international community. Bilateral and multilateral institutions have committed billions of dollars to peacemaking, peacekeeping, and other crisis management activities around the world.

11 Maria Osula, “Finally! A Peace Policy for Kenya,” Saferworld, November 4, 2015, available at [www.saferworld.org.uk/news-and-views/comment/189-finally-a-peace-policy-for-kenya](http://www.saferworld.org.uk/news-and-views/comment/189-finally-a-peace-policy-for-kenya).

12 Delphine Mechoulan, Youssef Mahmoud, Andrea Ó Súilleabháin, and Jimena Leiva Roesch, “The SDGs and Prevention for Sustaining Peace: Exploring the Transformative Potential of the Goal on Gender Equality,” International Peace Institute, November 10, 2016, available at [www.ipinst.org/2016/11/sdgs-goal-gender-equality](http://www.ipinst.org/2016/11/sdgs-goal-gender-equality).

13 “Projet de loi sur la création d’un Conseil national pour le dialogue,” *Le Temps*, November 13, 2016, available at [www.letemps.com.tn/article/100083/projet-de-loi-sur-la-cr%C3%A9ation-d%E2%80%99un-conseil-national-pour-le-dialogue](http://www.letemps.com.tn/article/100083/projet-de-loi-sur-la-cr%C3%A9ation-d%E2%80%99un-conseil-national-pour-le-dialogue)

The shift toward sustaining peace does not obviate the need or absolve these actors of the responsibility to support peace. It does, however, call for a new approach to international interventions. They should place greater emphasis on identifying factors of resilience within societies and carving out the space needed for national stakeholders to play a leadership role in fostering peace, no matter how weakened by war and strife they may appear.<sup>14</sup> New situations calling for the deployment of international peacekeeping operations may still arise, but the hope is that with more countries subscribing to an agenda for sustaining peace, these circumstances will be less frequent. Even where they do arise, a sustaining peace approach should render peacekeeping operations more effective as they take on a more enabling and less intrusive role.

As Secretary-General António Guterres continues to ponder how best to pursue his “diplomacy for peace” agenda, the conflicts in Syria, Yemen, and Libya could paradoxically provide useful entry points—provided the outcome, beyond ending violence and stabilizing shattered societies, is also formulated from a sustaining peace perspective. The updating and implementation of the UN Integrated Strategy for the Sahel in collaboration with the Peacebuilding Commission could also benefit from a sustaining peace approach.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly, as the secretary-general leads an overhaul of UN peace operations and the supporting governance structures, he should look at these operations from the perspective of prevention and sustaining peace. For example, the UN stabilization missions in Mali and the Central African Republic could benefit from such an approach, drawing on lessons from the engagement of the UN and regional organizations in both countries over the past several years. In particular, this approach could be applied to context analysis and periodic reporting and brief-

14 Interpeace, “Fostering Resilience for Peace: Annual Report 2015,” available at <http://3n589z370e602eata9wahfl4.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Interpeace-2015-Annual-Report2.pdf>.

15 UN Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, UN Doc. S/PRST/2017/2, January 20, 2017

ings to the Security Council on these two countries. As the peacekeeping missions in Liberia and Haiti draw to an end amidst debate on how best to consolidate peace gains,<sup>16</sup> the same approach could be applied there, taking into account the contributions the Peacebuilding Commission could make under its revitalized mandate.<sup>17</sup>

This shift in perspective would require the UN to develop a qualitatively different way of conducting peace and conflict analysis and programs that give politics, people, and inclusive national ownership an uncontested home.<sup>18</sup> Tinkering with the tools as if perfecting them were the objective in and of itself would do injustice to the secretary-general's ambition.

Sustaining peace constitutes a paradigm shift in how we think about peace and how we address conflict. As a process and a goal, building sustainable peace is not the burden of outsiders. Even under the direst of circumstances, external interventions should endeavor to build on what people know and what they have. Societies that have developed national infrastructures for peace offer valuable lessons for this eminently internal enterprise. More needs to be done to demystify the concept at the national and global levels. This paper merely starts the conversation.

*April 2017*

The INTERNATIONAL PEACE INSTITUTE (IPI) is an independent, international not-for-profit think tank dedicated to managing risk and building resilience to promote peace, security, and sustainable develop-

16 United Nations, "Security Council Extends Mandate of United Nations Mission in Liberia, Adopting Resolution 2333 (2016) by 12 Votes in Favour, 3 Abstentions," December 23, 2016, available at <https://www.un.org/press/en/2016/sc12654.doc.htm>

17 Under the identical Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on sustaining Peace (Resolutions 2282 and 70/262, respectively).

18 Mahmoud, "What Would It Take to Make a 'Surge in Diplomacy for Peace' Work?" IPI Global Observatory, January 19, 2017, available at <http://theglobalobservatory.org/2017/01/sustaining-peace-diplomacy-antonio-guterres/>.

ment. To achieve its purpose, IPI employs a mix of policy research, strategic analysis, publishing, and convening. With staff from around the world and a broad range of academic fields, IPI has offices facing United Nations headquarters in New York and offices in Vienna and Manama.

# Literary discourse and seeking peace in Goma

By *Innocent Mpoze\**

If peace were a flower, it would be a beautiful rose growing on the dung heap of a long past of clashes, where the hatred of brothers turned agreement rotten. As the bees forage, they sing a chorus of honeyed words on the harmony of brothers with hearts eager to live on the earth in peace. *Alexandre Kabera*

Indeed, in its texture, prose accedes to a structural autonomy independently of the intentions of the writer's subjectivity. It thus propels itself into the global textual sphere (meta-textuality, mega-textuality, pan-textuality) and becomes the object of an infinite hermeneutic and pragmatic re-appropriation by the unbounded community of readers situated in the four corners of the globe. *Benoît Awazi Mbambi Kungua*

Still at an embryonic stage in Goma, literature is becoming a locus of expression by which some young people seek to project the future. Already in this phase of full blooming, as certain people can note, it is imposing itself today through an involvement in fiction and poetry and is asserting itself as a channel for expression where peace and community are horizons that the use of the poetic and literary imagination seeks to bring about.

If we look very closely and pay special attention to this literary involvement, it becomes clear that beyond the media and scientific discourse, beyond the different national and international meetings for

\*youth activist and peace worker in Goma, DRC

the stability of peace, there is another way of working for peace that is endogenous and local.

In a world ever more inclined towards violence, which does not resolve any conflicts, and with an ever-widening gap between scientific discourse and social reality, all that remains is those who believe in the power of the imagination to *open us up to the possibilities for transforming this world into something that never was*, as Kasereka Kavwahirehi would say. As this gap was a veritable chasm in Goma, young people's fiction and poems (starting from a sounding out of their current reality) attempt to produce a narrative of advocacy for a strong, strengthening, solid and peaceful way of living together. Here, it is a question of endowing creative work with value and an imaginative force, "*which reveals or gives a glimpse of dimensions of reality that are repressed or subject to taboo*", as the philosopher Kasereka Kavwahirehi was to say, in his inspired reading of *The Aesthetic Dimension* by Herbert Marcuse. In their literary imaginations, these young people strive to "*conceive the future on the basis of everyday reality*."

Although these works still represent a small percentage and are unknown to the majority of the local population, in a society where book culture has not yet visibly taken root, the overall outlook is already fine and promising. Even if their auras are only glowing dimly in the minds of the population, you only have to hear about them to realise that the poetic and fictional imagination revealed by this literary undertaking of young people is endowed with qualities that are visionary, emancipatory and engaging and constitutes a veritable fountain, an inexhaustible mainspring of change. To this literary engagement can also be added the other arts, the plastic arts and music, that young people are involved in. This also becomes obvious if we listen to the music produced by local artists such as "Toc Toc" and "Nyemire" by René Byamungu, "*Dans leur regards*" by Bellamy Paluku, "*Pour mon peuple*" by Ben Kamuntu and "*Hadisi*" from Robot King, as well as "*Mutuache na amani*", the theme song of the Amani festival in Goma which has been held every February since 2014. Should we not also underline the commitment of the young

people in the local organisations and arts groups who strive for peace and sustainable development? There are youth clubs such as the “Apolo- gists of peace” with their weekly sessions on a Sunday, GAARJ (Artistic group for improvement and reconstruction of Youth), the young writers’ clinic for change (Badilika), the Ebène Group Club, the conscious gen- eration dynamic; more than ever they are all an incontrovertible man- ifestation of young people’s approval of the statement of Paulo Freire: “*Men and women can only change the world if they know that it is possi- ble to do it.*” A day like 7 November 2017, when everyone was united in the fresh air of the beautiful and magnificent setting of the Cap Kivu Hotel to celebrate the day dedicated to the African writer, and the differ- ent local organisations of young people and young writers from Goma showed that they approved wholeheartedly of the endogenous “afrogra- phy” and “afrodiction” as an ineluctable demand for the reconstruction and restoration of peace in our region. Would we not say, along with Espérance Sematumba:

*I call the moon*

*I call the stars*

*No answer*

*I call God*

*No answer from him either,*

*So I decide to write.*

*While gazing at the silent sky,*

*I decide to cry for peace*

*I claim peace*

*So that the sun will rise on the eastern slopes*

*I claim peace*

*So that love can flourish on faces faded with grief.*

We can read in this the desire to produce works with a message intended for the entire population of North-Kivu, which has difficulty believ- ing in “*a prosperous future in a context where the living conditions are*



*deteriorating day by day.*” Through the act of writing, these young poets and novelists seek to impose a certain desire to live and to live together in an authentic spirit of fraternity. This is the definition of the very existence of these writers. In this sense, we can read from the pen of Daniel Llunga: *“To live is to believe in a better tomorrow, to believe that the little twig that bursts into flame will ignite the log of celebration”*. Which is in line with the scriptorial ambitions of young poet Joëlle Zihindula in “Words of a revolutionary”:

*No matter the road that led peace astray,  
I will always believe in the love we have for each other to find it again.  
No matter the many invasions my country has experienced,  
I will never cease to believe it victorious.  
No matter the obstacles I will have to overcome,  
I will hoist the emblem of peace in my province and in the whole world.*

And Thierry Manirambona carries on:

*Tonight, come around the fire, let us dream together  
Come and let me tell the story of my people  
I'll listen to you telling me of being reunited  
Let me heal the wounds you are hiding.*

Together, these local compositions can be understood as so many cries to denounce the horrors of the repeated wars in this region. However, their emancipatory and visionary dimension for a different future is noble. These young writers want to combine the call of peace poet Olivier Sangi Lutondo: *“Let us at last be this large central sun of our world led astray today by the current cynicism continuously globalising the destruction of life.”* These are not cries to chastise; they are rather cries to revive desires of being together that lay silent in tribal tombs, to revitalise dreams of unity and put some meaning back into life and the taste of humanity. To the extent that *Literature enables a people to know itself better and accurately identify their challenges* (Boubacar Boris Diop), it can be used to trigger *concrete actions that will contribute to its effective implementa-*

tion [International Peace Institute, *Sustaining peace: What does it mean in practice?*, p.2.]. The young artists and writers from Goma are therefore peacemakers *par excellence*.

The urgency that imposes itself and is already underway, is the implementation of a continuous dialogue between these different movements of young people who firmly believe that the question of sustainable peace must first and foremost be a local concern. They must work in *communion*, if we can give this concept the sense given it by Régis Debray. According to Mr Debray, as the etymology of the word does not come from “union with” (*cum* and *union*), but the burden or the mission to be shared (*cum* and *munus*), the term would be apt to compartmentalise the too piously separated domains of “believer” and “non-believer”. Thus communion is defined as “*what brings the whole of youth out on deck in a swell, when there is a threat to the ideals of popular sovereignty, secularism and reason. It is a common faith in the values of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.*”<sup>1</sup> In this sense, the project shall be multiply dimensioned and its aura in the social imagination shall be an invitation to re-imagine or re-create new ways of being together and of living together as a people very closely linked to a shared destiny.

<sup>1</sup> The quotation from Régis Debray was taken from *Les Communions humaines. Pour en finir avec “la religion”*, Paris, Fayard, 2005, p. 66. It was taken from the work of Kasereka Kavwahirehi, *Le prix de l’impasse. Christianisme africain et imaginaires politique*, Brussels, Peter Lang, 2013, page 26.

# CDJP Bafoussam: Keeping the peace through peace culture

*By Frauke Dißelkötter\**

There was a family in which the mother and father would argue every day. They wanted to end their relationship because they could no longer get along together. They thought a separation would be the best solution. Njutapvouï Koudou, their nine year-old son who had been a member of the Justice and Peace Club at Saint Joseph's school in Fouban, Western Cameroon, for 2 years, told them about everything they do and recommend at the club. And so he said: "Dad, there is mediation. Mum, there is non-violent communication and non-violent management of conflicts. Dad, there is dialogue and listening techniques." With everything he mentioned, the parents were ashamed and tried at all costs to find a way of reconciling their differences.

His mother went to see the supervisor at the Justice and Peace Club to understand what her son was learning at the club, because she was proud of his attitude and the way he called them out facilitated the reconciliation of the family.

Having peace does not mean that there are no conflicts. Conflicts are even necessary for a society to grow, innovate and advance. We need the positive results from the conflicts in our communities in order to be able to manage them. In the above example, the family was already torn apart but with the intervention of their son, the parents came to an agreement and discovered a culture of peace the child had learnt at the

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justice and peace club. The family now has the possibility of starting out on a new relationship based on love.

The Diocesan Justice and Peace Commission of Bafoussam (CDJPB) started to create School Justice and Peace Clubs because they wanted to help set up a culture of peace in Cameroon. In this approach, it is not a question of intervening only at the time of the conflict, which is what happens already in the Parish Justice and Peace Committees (CPJP), but of changing the way people live in Cameroon in order to create more of a community spirit.

In Cameroon, to say goodbye we say “We are together!”. That means we are leaving each other physically but in spirit we are staying together. Unfortunately today this is not always the reality but rather a theoretical exercise. Often there is a lot of “kongossa” (gossip) and if we help someone, it is to take advantage of them.

The CDJPB wants to reinforce the societal value of being together and living together. It teaches children that they are new citizens, the parents and people in charge of tomorrow, and by the same token, they learn a good way of being together in peace. And this is a peace that is not just the absence of war but a more sustainable peace, based on Justice and Participation.

Since 2015, the CDJPB has set up Justice and Peace Clubs in 31 Catholic schools (primary and secondary) in the diocese of Bafoussam. Nowadays, certain clubs are created just by watching the neighbouring clubs working, or noticing the behaviour of the supervisors of the justice and peace clubs, and the positive effects our clubs have. As the year 2018 begins, we accompany 28 operational clubs and intend to implement a new strategy allowing them to work more independently.

These clubs are located in the primary and junior secondary schools. They run at chaplaincy time once a week. The clubs are gender sensitive (girl and boy pupils) and the responsibilities are shared evenly between

the two genders independently of religion and age. This diversity requires much tact and impartiality on the part of the supervisors, as well as a passion for group work so that the support really provides an impetus towards true comprehension, collaboration and good relations.

As for the follow-up, the CDJPB makes arrangements to be regularly present in the schools to observe and adjust the event at grassroots and strengthen the secondary structures. Each club has the support of one or two teacher-supervisors. The supervisor is the person who oversees the efforts of the members of the club and helps them remain within the scope of peaceful education. The supervisors have the support of their respective CPJP. When a problem arises, each elder has a member of a Task Force who can also be recruited from the CPJP and who can intervene. All are trained by the CDJPB on the key elements of the concept of the School Justice and Peace Club.

In the clubs, we work first of all with the force of the pupils. This means that we are confident the children have the capacity to begin a maturing process. It is not only a question of listening and repeating, as often happens in the schools in Cameroon, but with the School Justice and Peace Clubs the pupils themselves make the connection between the subjects covered in the clubs and their daily lives. They are the grassroots of this learning process. The foundations of all the work are their own lives and knowledge.

Alongside confidence that we give the pupils through their strong participation and self-determination in the clubs, there are other pillars;

- ◆ We focus on social interaction: the CDJPB has developed the Interaction programme, which is part of the activities in the Clubs, in addition to the exchanges and discussions about different subjects all concerning a facet related to a peaceful life. The great value of the Interaction programme is not only creating a cooperative and non-competitive activity, but also leading the pupils to think about how they comply with the rules of the group that they set themselves.

- ◆ Another very important pillar of our concept is mediation: it concentrates on the peaceful resolution of a conflict the parties to which seem to be incapable of resolving. In the case of a conflict in which the mediation approach has led to success, we are in a “win-win” situation, which facilitates peaceful cohabitation. The Clubs and the support structures learn this technique from the CDJPB. Thus the School Justice and Peace Clubs help the schools to transform conflicts by non-violence and respect for a life marked by sustainable peace.

With these clubs we boost the capacities of the schools to create a peaceful context and help to improve the climate of peace in the establishments. But in addition, we hope to create a culture of peace that will affect not only the pupils and the secondary schools, but also their envi-



*Viviane Lontsi, CDJP Bafoussam, in Interaction with the exercise “the node of men” at the Justice and Peace Club of St. André Primary School in Baham*

ronment at all levels to take a step forward towards sustainable peace in Cameroon.

The story at the beginning of this article was already an example of the dissemination of the culture of peace to the family environment. At the level of the schools there are clubs that intervene each Monday during the assembly of the pupils, and handle an observed situation that could hinder peace, by making suggestions for improvement.

Another example that gives us hope is that the diocese of Bafoussam has acknowledged the value of peace culture in the School Clubs, and has asked the CDJPB to make the different modules available in order to introduce them into the training of the diocese' candidates for the sacrament.

# Secrets and sustaining peace

By *Flaubert Djateng\**

Let us start with a story about the Bamileke peoples. Anyone who belongs to this group is astonished when for the first time they see a European open gifts in public. With the Bamileke, this is not the done thing. And for good reason. It was the influence of the Western Churches that introduced monogamy into marital practices. Bamileke families were entirely polygamous, one man with several wives. When the husband brought gifts to his wives, they each discovered the contents in their own hut with their children. This avoided jealousy and envy among the wives when gifts were being shared. Secrecy about the content of gifts was already being used as a system for reducing conflicts among co-spouses.

The Bamileke are a community of people in the West of Cameroon who are very dynamic and often active in agriculture, finance and commerce. These peoples are governed by a set of regulatory arrangements all attached to the Chieftdom. The chieftdoms, although today called “traditional”, continue to influence the lives of the people. Working days, market days, forbidden days, sowing seeds, land ownership disputes, welcoming newborn babies, rituals surrounding twins, burials and funeral services, in short, numerous practices of daily life are punctuated by the values, laws and regulations of the customary code. The region of the West which is home to the Bamileke in Cameroon is recognised as being one of the areas where the “tradition” is still alive.

\* mobile team for the CPS Africa, Bread for the World, and coordinator of Zenü Network, Cameroon



Secrecy is among the values of these groups. The Chieftom is strong and alive. Within it, there are systems of governance of several types. Generally, all are under cover of associations and “societies”. These structures are spaces that serve to analyse and find solutions for the problems of the village or groups of villages. These problems are of various orders and affect the daily experience of the inhabitants.

In all the chieftoms, there are one or more “secret societies”. These are instances in charge of discussing and finding solutions that are essential for the village, including geostrategic decisions related to wars in preparation or in progress, management of large scale conflicts, alliances to be negotiated, and epidemics to be brought under control. The secret societies are separated by gender: there are secret societies for men and others for women. Within the women’s secret societies, there are no men at all, whereas, in the strongest secret society of men sits the sister of the Chief, who was with him when he was initiated and inducted. This last observes and only intervenes in the case of a serious conflict. She is the only one who can mediate in the event of deep divergences between the Chief and his elders. Having been initiated and trained like her brother who became Chief, she possesses the “secrets” of the village and the wisdom necessary for making decisions when the village is threatened.

Secrecy as a system is part of the internal governance within the chieftom. Secrecy is a system of protection or regulation. The people who take part in these instances are also protected by the seal of secrecy. You must be a member of the “society” to know who your fellow members are. Otherwise no one is allowed to know you and your spouses should keep the secret and not expose you. During major ceremonies, if these people have to “come out”, in other words, perform dances and rituals; they must wear masks to avoid being recognised. The mask is at the same time a ritual object, for dancing, and also fulfils functions in terms of governance.

In Western Cameroon, the traditional secret societies are magical-religious brotherhoods, which the chiefs lean on to enforce their authority.

Their strong presence in all the activities demonstrates their determination to be informed about everything that goes on in the chiefdom. Zoom on 10 traditional secret societies in the West of Cameroon. The case of the Bandjoun Chiefdom.

**1 - Jya:** This is one of the most dangerous and largest secret societies in Western Cameroon. It practices only magical-religious rites, for the purpose of protecting the chiefdom and its members against natural disasters (epidemics, invasions, etc.) and supernatural disasters such as the “ke” (witchcraft period). Its role is to ensure the regularity of rainfall and to facilitate the fertility of the women and the soil, through magical practices.

**2 - Mkamvtt:** Means literally “the nine elders”; this is a society whose political and religious role is essential for good management of the chiefdom. It is in charge of designating the new Fo. It is the guarantor of peace, stability, customary justice, and the religious and mystical rites required for the good of the community. It also has a right of scrutiny over all the other secret societies.

**3 - Kungang:** This is a magical-religious society, which protects the chiefdom and the chief. Once a year, the members come together for a ritual in the course of which they strike the ground rhythmically to preserve the fertility of the soil and chase away evil spirits. During major events, they are also remarkable for their mastery of ku dancing.

**4 - Kwe'Si:** This society is the source of a warring fraternity established in certain chiefdoms. It is composed of the rich and powerful who belong to the chiefdom. Its mission is to collect human and financial resources when the honour of the village is at stake. It also has an administrative function, which allows it to organise works in the general interest on behalf of the chiefdom.

**5 - Kwintan:** This is a judiciary society that is greatly feared and very discreet. Its role is to enforce the decisions against those who have disobeyed custom or who have perpetrated reprehensible acts that are harmful to the community. It is the chief's secret police.

**6 - Majon:** Formerly, it was a warring fraternity to which everyone had to gain access to learn the art of war. Today their activities are oriented towards works in the public interest. It is in charge of collecting tax and provides support to the community. Each zone possesses its majon with its own particular song.

**7 - Mapfali:** This is one of the oldest religious societies of the chiefdom, which still conserves numerous mysteries that are difficult to penetrate. The members are the heirs of the grand dignitaries close to the chiefdom. Belonging to totemic society, they have the power to combat the evil spirits that haunt the village through the intermediary of animal totems. Their presence is only noticed when a grand dignitary passes away.

**8 - Msop:** This is a society similar to the majon, from a disciplinary point of view. It is one of the oldest brotherhoods, with a considerable number of members. Open to all categories of the population, the most influential members wear tsamabu type masks, which play

a significant religious role. They are present at the major funeral ceremonies.

**9 - Kamjya:** This is a religious fraternity guardian of customs. The members are well-off elders, initiated, with perfect knowledge of the customs and traditions of the chiefdom. As a veritable doctor in customary law, it is called upon to rule on the disputes that concern custom, and to pronounce sanctions. Even the Fo submits to their demands.

**10 - Kamkwa:** A warrior society founded in 1925 during the civil war of Bandjoun, by the partisans of Kamga II who were combating his rival, prince Bopda. The members wear a black hood. Their motto is to wait in place for the enemy and to die. Still, today the ritual hut of the Kamkwa with their call drum remains in the market square of Bandjoun.

Source: aulech.com

<https://www.cameroonweb.com/CameroonHomePage/entertainment/D-couvrez-10-soci-t-s-secr-tes-traditional-Bamil-k-413142>

On an international scale, secrecy is also observed as a tool in international agreements. We hear rumours about classified files or top secret defence matters.

The interests of the parties—sometimes in contradiction with those of the populations concerned—are better preserved and protected.

In European cultures transparency is often seen as an essential value in cohabitation and social life. However, it is not always clear whether total transparency is acceptable or even possible. As an African saying goes: you don't undress in public in front of everyone else.

Secrecy can be an element for managing conflict and an instrument of governance, just as it can be a tool for dictatorial abuse.

We can see in the case of the Bamileke that a fragile balance between members of the family, groups of a community or communities is based on a complex system of governance and control, enabling the monitoring and support of power. Destroying it without replacing it with a suitable culture of democratic cohabitation can create violent, acute conflicts.

The best example of this are the governmental systems copied from the West that often lead to cultures of abuse, corruption and uncontrolled power.

It is therefore not enough to banish secrecy and extol the virtues of total transparency.

Sustaining peace requires the creation of systems of governance that are legitimate in the eyes of all and incorporating into them the management of “secrecy”.

# **Sustainable peace within the CPS network: What – who – how?**

Reflections on the work for sustainable peace  
in the CPS Cameroon network, example of the project  
“Theatre for Peace and the Oppressed”

*By Alexandra Will and Jeanne Medom\**

## Introduction

Following failures in peace work, public opinion believes it has understood that sustainable peace should be accepted or principally supported by the “local” population (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2013).

But what exactly is “peace”? Who are the main players involved? And how, with what strategies can this peace be built?

The answers to these questions are not merely theoretical, but have a major influence on the conceptualisation of projects and in all the daily work of the peace workers, also in the Civil Peace Service (CPS) network.

## The question of sustainability

Even though, in the 15 years between 1988 and 2003, more wars ended through negotiations than in the preceding two centuries (Suhrke and Samset, 2007), 50% of countries emerging from a violent conflict run the risk of it re-igniting in the 5 years following the negotiation, according to a report by the secretary general of the United Nations (Annan, 2005). Ricigliano (2015) considers that professionals, the international

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community and researchers have made progress in ending wars, but the challenge is to achieve *sustainable* peace. In addition, the international community has not often succeeded in avoiding the triggering of violence.

And so it is a question of building sustainable peace.

This text is an invitation to reflect on your own work according to different conceptions. As a case study, the text analyses the CPS project “Theatre for Peace and the Oppressed” (TPO) according to these implicit ideas on peace.

## Conception, strategies and actors according to peace concepts

Peace means different things to different people (Jeong, 2005).

But what peace? How can it be built? And by whom?

Peace work can depend on three different rationales:

1. Peace is something that can be imposed by international organisations (liberal peace model)
2. There are experts, especially in the West, who have to show those who do not have the skills how to build peace (model 2, strengthening)
3. Peace is varied and differs according to each community and so solutions to internal problems can only be found internally (model 3, emancipating local agency).

The three models present hypotheses about how to contribute and who can contribute to which sort of peace.

*CONSIDER:*

*Which of the models seems most sustainable to you? And why?*

*Which concept encompasses your work within the framework of the CPS network?*

*In your opinion, what are the key elements and conditions favourable to peace?*

*Which players can contribute to peace in your context?  
How can they build this peace?*

How did the three models mentioned above match in detail these questions raised?

1. The **liberal peace model** is driven by international players and comprises intrusive strategies intended to assure sustainable peace as a form of international liberalism, including powerful States, good governance, democracy, development, liberal markets, free trade, personal liberty (Healy, Resources and Bradbury, 2010) and human rights (UN Documents, 1992).

The economic reforms aspired to and promised by institutions such as the World Bank follow a neoliberal market, capitalist rationale (Pugh, 2013). If the so-called factors favourable to peace quoted above do not exist, the solution proposed or imposed depending on this model is the

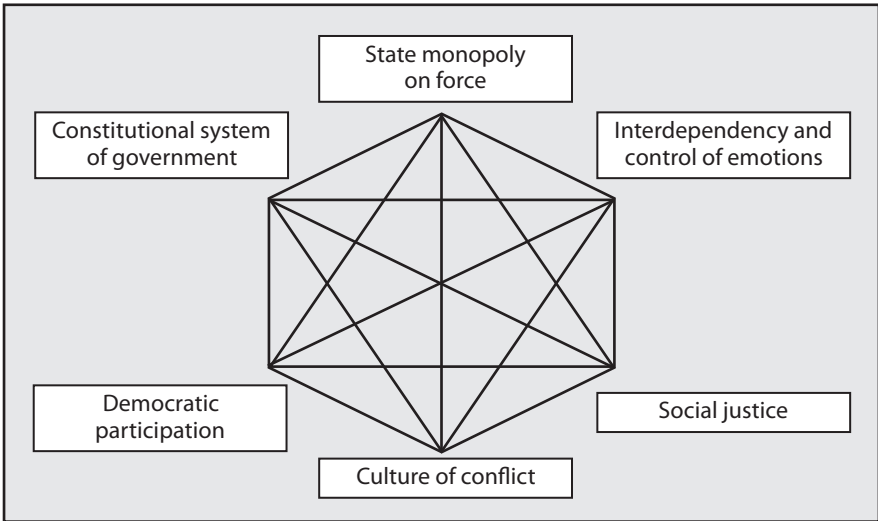


Figure 1: *The civilisational hexagon (Senghaas, 2008)*



automatic introduction of these factors. The external players are perceived as the ones who have the knowledge about peacebuilding and who intervene in favour of the local population. Building sustainable peace is considered to be equivalent to statebuilding.

One partisan of this concept is researcher Dieter Senghaas (2008) who created the “civilisational hexagon” (figure 1) which indicates, as the foundations of peace, six governmental factors and two psycho-social factors:

#### CRITICISM:

The “Transmission of norms and concepts from the “global North” is always the priority for these are hegemonic and implicitly considered superior to the “African” norms (Kohl, 2015, p. 346).

But the idea of one solution for all has failed all too often (United Nations, 2010) and is criticised for exercising “structural and governmental power against the local” (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2013, p. 773) or even as a reincarnation of the “civilising mission” of colonialism (Brettell, 2012, p.22).

The execution of these conditions seen as favourable to peace sometimes includes violent methods (Francis, 2010) justified by the “protection of the population”, for example their human rights, even if the local population cannot be protected by the outside.

The critics say peace implemented from the outside favours the interests of the global North rather than those of the local population. For example, Professor Virginia (Cawagas, 2017) of the “University for Peace” quotes statistics that show that 40 percent of the aid in countries emerging from a conflict is spent on external consultants. The triggering of the conflict shows that external solutions do not work for diverse contexts.

2. The second concept of **local strengthening** (“empowerment”) is intended to render the local populations autonomous as the main authors of peacebuilding, which means building positive social relations to

transform conflicts. Peace workers cooperate with the local population to boost their capacities (Paffenholz, 2015), in particular with the so-called “middle-range” leaders (Lederach, 1997).

But local autonomy is not leadership that should still be vested with, for instance the UN.

The factors of sustainable peace are then related in the transformation of society, in particular the people, their relations, culture and structures (Lederach, Neufeldt and Culbertson, 2007). The externals therefore have the responsibility of boosting the other internal players to be transformed.

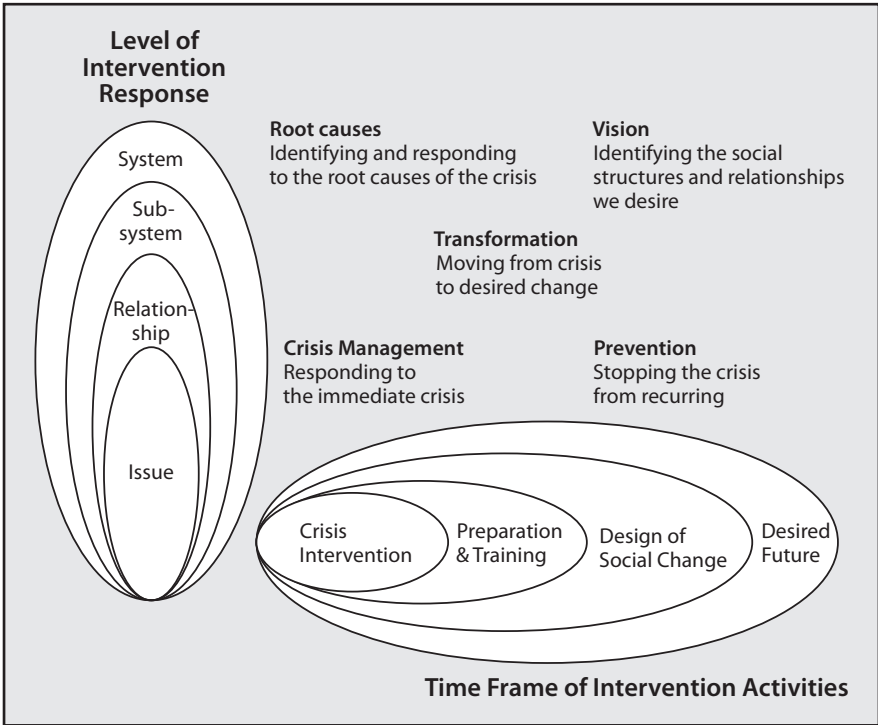


Figure 2: Integrated peacebuilding framework (Lederach, Neufeldt and Culbertson, 2007)

#### CRITICISM:

Critical authors show the soft power of external peacebuilders, where the local players are co-opted into “the liberal undertaking of peace building” of the NGOs, where new elites are installed as the people in charge of the organisations funded by the North. The externals bring western knowledge and skills which are multiplied by local peace workers.

Terms such as “local ownership” and “self-supporting” are used to obtain the compliance of the local population. But different ideas and mindsets persist on the conflicts and visions of peace (Autesserre, 2016, Kohl, 2015, Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2013 and Paffenholz, 2015).

3. The third model of “**emancipating local agency**” is based on the criticism of the other concepts. The criticism indicates that boosting the so-called Western values reproduces the colonial hierarchies where peacebuilding forms a new branch of the economy exploited by the international players, the banks, national governments and NGOs and other co-opted national players. This model is often accused of neglecting local knowledge, inserting capitalist rationales and exercising international skills levels (Healy et al., 2010). Then “local” is conceptualised as resistance against these dominant international peacebuilding projects and a quest for post-liberal order based on “emancipating local agency” (Paffenholz, 2015, p.860): the model favours an ascendant strategy where local players analyse the necessities and build a peaceful society while respecting the tradition and the social context. It comprises the right of a society to make its own choices (Donais, 2009) or in the form of “African solutions to African problems” (Brettle, 2012; Tafese, 2016), or as “hybrid alternatives”. Hybrid alternatives are conceptualised as a mixture of international and local peace governance, as, for example, the “Gacaca” tribunals in Rwanda (Mac Ginty, 2011). The factors for sustainable peace are then above all local knowledge of conflict management and of life in general, the emancipating agency of local players and the economic and decision-making independence of the local population.

CRITICISM:

Critical points include the binary international and local construction and the perception that international equals West while neglecting, for example, the influence of the BRICS States (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). The supposition that all the national players cooperating with the international ones are co-opted can be seen at least as a generalisation. The partisans of the “emancipating local agency” concept blame liberal international peace and neglect the power of local elites on the marginalised, for example in the hybrid alternatives. This is particularly true for Africa where Paffenholz (2015, page 864) describes the African State as an often public-private hybrid, the “subject of criminal capture by the elites” and a failure for those who are not in power. And despite the fact that the researchers affirm having a link with prac-

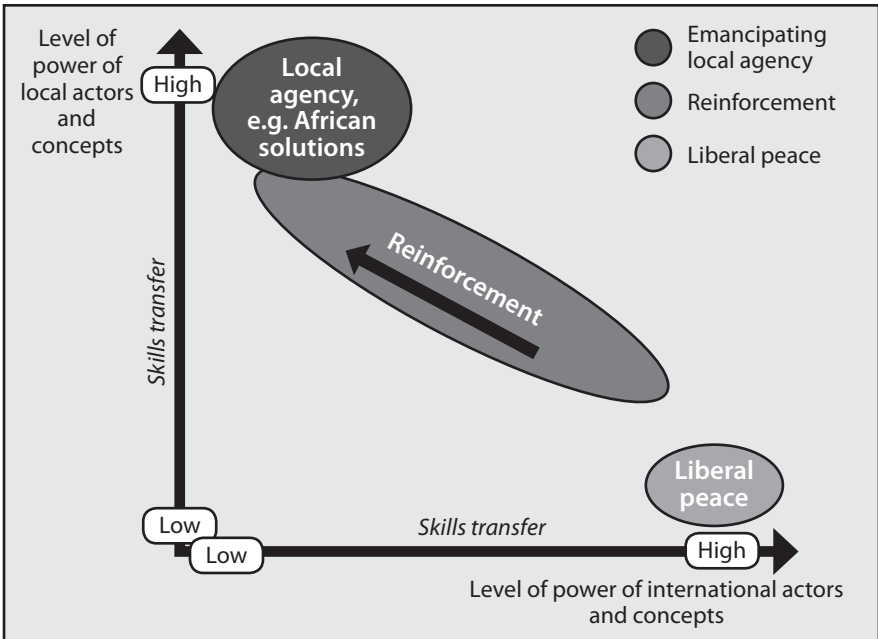


Figure 3: The different models of peace

tice, it is not yet clear how the local section can be put into practice (Paffenholz, 2015).

Given that power is the important word, it will be useful to create a graphic of the power dimensions in the peacebuilding models (figure 3).

CONSIDER:

*Where did your ideas fit in with the models?  
And your work with that of the CPS network?*

## Theatre as a tool for peacebuilding

The reflection on the implicit conception at the level of the CPS Cameroon network shall be carried out through the case study of the project “Theatre for peace and the Oppressed” (TPO) at Cameroon NGO CIPCRE (International Circle for the Promotion of Creation). CIPCRE has been using the theatre as a tool for peacebuilding since 2012. But what form of peace?

Theatre can be a tool for each of the peace models.

### 1. Theatre for liberal peace

While the contents consist of conceptions of liberal peace, the play is produced by international actors and the strategy is awareness raising and one-way transmission of messages; the local population is neither integrated on the stage nor is a dialogue opened on the key elements of their ideas on peace. They are only the passive receivers of the messages transmitted by the externals. This form of theatre can be classified under the concept of liberal peace. We can imagine a play that explains the values of the key elements of liberal peace such as good governance, as seen at least partially in the project “Theatre for Good Governance” (Arts for Action, 2015) through a British organisation and international actors.

## 2. Theatre for boosting the local population

Another form of theatre tries to reinforce the population with theatre as a tool. There are professionals, often external, who aspire to reinforcing the local population by means of the theatre: they train them in dramatic arts which should boost their knowledge, awareness and skills in communication and behaviour—the factors favourable to peace. With the theatrical performances we also try to reach a wide audience and touch on questions of structure and culture. The British charity organisation “Theatre for a Change” describes its actors as a partnership between the United Kingdom and Malawi. The funding, and some specialists in theatre and in the respective topic come from the North; in Malawi, international and local professionals work together. The targets are trained in the theatre workshops and present the performances themselves. With this strategy, the project aims to promote personal, relational, structural and cultural transformation, as in the project “Behaviour Change for Sexual and Reproductive Health”.

## 3. The theatre of emancipating local agency

The concept of the theatre of the oppressed (Boal, 2004) is that it opposes the influence of those theatre professionals who want to educate their audience on a subject which is not their own problem. This theatre opposes the external players who criticise the problems of others and transmit messages or make proposals for solutions related to these problems.

The main actors are those who are concerned by the problem. They decide which subjects (types of oppression) they have experienced and where to seek solutions. Thus peace is not determined by others but should be explored by those concerned. And it is those concerned themselves who identify the subjects, show the plays and normally do not give solutions, but include the audience in the search for positive alternatives when faced with a reality perceived as problematic. Dialogue

itself as a strategy is perceived as a process that emancipates from all the oppressive forces – and so not only from international forces, but also from local oppressors. By dealing with the subject, we make ourselves aware of the threats to peace and through dialogue we seek peaceful visions. What is important: there are no “right answers” from the actors on stage, nor from the trainers, nor from certain members of the audience. All the answers are taken into account. In forum theatre, those members of the audience who have an idea for a positive solution can even interact on stage and try to improve the situation for the oppressed person in the play. The public is invited to act on the stage and afterwards in real life. We behave like actors of our lives by changing reality.

### The CPS project “Theatre for Peace and the Oppressed”

With the questions for reflection you have maybe already answered, we are going to try to classify the CIPCRE TPO project:

*In your opinion, what are the key elements and conditions favourable to peace?*

*In the TPO project, there are already certain answers to this question: overcoming social fragmentation, combating prejudice and hatred by the construction of elements of the personality and relations, self-confidence, communication, free expression and public dialogue. These key elements emerge from discussions between local and international peace workers and after analysis of the specific context. These are elements that can be filed under the strengthening model because the beneficiaries and the local workers have seen their skills boosted by the international workers. At the same time, the subjects of the plays are often based on the problems identified and experienced or the positive visions of the participants themselves. In some productions the approach to the theatre of the oppressed with exchanges between the audience and the actors is used: the actors on the stage are themselves*

concerned by the same subjects and the problems that the audience pose, but do not give solutions; the open exchange should contribute to the search for alternatives and answers to the questions of peace.

*Which players can contribute to peace in your context?*

In the project, the visible players are the actors on the stage. They are young people and members of Inter-faith committees, which means they are local players. In addition, they are actors who are either marginalised, or in conflict—which means they themselves are the ones concerned and not the local elites. The public—often engaged in the exchanges after and during the performance—also constitutes concerned persons and sometimes also the local authorities. In addition, there are the theatre supervisors, in particular teachers and the head pupils in the theatre clubs, relay persons for the Inter-faith committees and the team from CIPCRE's Peace and Conflict Prevention Programme—three Cameroonian peace workers and one international theatre professional. The actors here are local and international, professional and amateur. On a financial level, the CPS budget comes from Germany.

The project can once more be classified as a mixture of the concepts of strengthening and local agency.

*How can they build this peace?*

CIPCRE was given the opportunity to have a theatre educator through the international professional skills, and as theatre is very effective in an oral society like ours, CIPCRE made it a working tool. The theatre was previously set up to denounce the problems that harm society, to place before the eyes of the public all the injustices and violations. The concept of the Theatre of the Oppressed is not local but comes from Brazil; the CIPCRE team has adopted it and undertaken to boost the capacities of the participants, particularly in the dramatic arts and the methods of the theatre of the oppressed. From their rationales of trans-



formation, the professionals rarely convey messages, but rather pose questions and give their opinions or the opinions of certain theorists to inspire the debate on peace without pretending to have all the answers. Then the participants themselves identify and analyse the problems and seek solutions.

## Conclusion

There are three different models which give diverging answers to the question of what peace is, who the actors are and how to build it. We note above all the different levels of external influence, in particular of the global North, and the liberty of each individual to find solutions, whether peaceful or not. The projects of the CPS in Cameroon, funded by the German government and Christian NGOs in the North, are largely conceptualised in partnership with the international and national players. But the influence of the targets, of the people concerned, differs for each organisation and CPS project. While the power remains at the level of the organisation, or maybe only with the leaders of the organisations, there is the risk of not supporting local agency, but of also reproducing the hegemonic norms of the North as workers for local peace.

If we want to support an approach that involves local solutions, the targets must be included in the conceptualisation of the project, in the identification and analysis of their problems and needs and in the ideas for transformation. If we want to avoid supporting or even creating local elites, we have to include the people who are the most concerned by the conflict and the marginalisation.

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# SiLNoRF: Making women's land rights a reality in Sierra Leone

By *Santigie Sesay\**

“Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others”. This is what article seventeen (17) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 says.<sup>1</sup> Dozens of other International Human Rights Instruments and even some domestic laws have emphasized the essence of protecting and promoting equality the world over especially in Sierra Leone. However, some schools of thought are of the view that equality is something that Sierra Leone is yet to boast of especially when it comes to the area of women's land and property rights.

Land has become a contentious commodity in Sierra Leone with a huge struggle between men and women competing to enjoy exclusive rights of utilization and ownership. In many cases, men always have the edge over women when they compete over land and other property rights. It is therefore an undisputable fact that land has become a means through which women are marginalized and discriminated against with regards to their equality and property rights.

Out of the over seven million people in Sierra Leone, a little over four million are living in the rural areas accounting for (59%) of the country's population<sup>2</sup>. The majority of this population in the rural areas

1 [http://www.un.org/enudhr/bookpdf/udhr\\_booklet\\_en\\_web.pdf](http://www.un.org/enudhr/bookpdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf)

2 2015 population and housing census-summary of final results

\*Communications Officer of SiLNoRF

are engaged in either subsistence or commercial agricultural activities. Research has also shown that more women are engaged in agricultural activities than men<sup>3</sup>. Additionally, whilst women constitute the majority of the agricultural workforce, they have limited rights to control over land and other properties in Sierra Leone<sup>4</sup>. This means that in many parts of the country, women can only access land through their husbands or other male family members and since their rights are not guaranteed, they are bound to lose in cases of divorce or widowhood.

Sierra Leoneans, like the people of all countries, regard access to land as a fundamental right because they need it not necessarily for the land itself, but for survival, for human settlement (residence) and for investment purposes. For the majority of Sierra Leoneans, particularly women in the Provinces, land is a crucial resource in their lives. Invariably, it is a principal source of livelihood and material wealth. However, the great majority of women do not have ready access to land and most of them could be described as landless as they are invariably tenant farmers engaged in subsistence agriculture<sup>5</sup>.

In an article published on 8th April, 2015, the Director of Namati; Lawyer Sonkita Conteh argues that the application of rules of customary law in ordinary life has tended to affect women more adversely than men. He maintained that at least 95% of the land in Sierra Leone is governed by customary law. This means that for the majority of citizens, the unwritten traditional rules and practices of tribes or communities determine who is able to hold, use or transfer land. In many ways, on important issues, women are often treated as minors-needing the

3 The Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) of the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) reports that while women constitute the largest group of agricultural labourers in Sierra Leone (in Sierra Leone, about 60 to 80 percent of the people working in the agricultural sector are women), they have never had secure rights to land, which is governed by customary rules. See: social institutions and gender index (SIGI) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), country profile on Sierra Leone, available online at: <http://genderindex.org/country/sierra-leone>

4 *ibid*

5 The National Land Policy of Sierra Leone, final version six, pp59

agency of a man to act. In worst case scenarios, they are regarded as chattel<sup>6</sup>.

Subsequently, even the newly-enacted National Land Policy has decried the gross marginalization of women, as it states that:

“Because of certain traditions and cultural restrictions prescribed by the rules of succession under customary law, women are often denied access to such communal or family land<sup>7</sup>.

Women are not only at a disadvantaged position as far as inheritance to land is concerned. Due to the prevalence of customary rules of succession based on the patrilineal system in Sierra Leone, they are also unable to access land due to the fact that they are, invariably, not economically otherwise adequately endowed to acquire land rights in the open market.<sup>8</sup>”

The situation of women however became worse following the influx of multinational companies to undertake large scale land investments for agribusiness or fuel production for the European market. Since 2009 when the President of the Republic of Sierra Leone publicly declared Sierra Leone open to foreign investments<sup>9</sup>, the country has witnessed an influx of multinational companies like the such as Addax Bioenergy, Socfin, Sierra Leone Agriculture, African Minerals, London mining, etc.

According to estimates by the NGO coalition Action for Large-Scale and Acquisition Transparency (ALLAT), at least 1,154,777 hectares, (21.4) percent of the country’s total arable land, were leased to foreign agribusiness investors in the short time period between 2009 and 2012.

6 <http://slconcordtimes.com/protecting-womens-land-rights-in-sierra-leones-draft-national-land-policy/>

7 The National Land Policy of Sierra Leone, final version six, pp60

8 Ibid

9 The President of Sierra Leone, His Excellency Ernest Bai Koroma, from a speech delivered at the 2009 Sierra Leone Trade and Investment Forum in London (Koroma 2009).

According to SiLNoRF's Monitoring Report (2014<sup>10</sup>), the coming of these investors saw the dispossession of and exclusion of women from land deal negotiations, women not benefiting from lease rent paid to the men all because of their sex. Even those who are the rightful owners of such plots of land were victims of discrimination.

In a bid to change the status quos of women's land rights especially in the Northern Region of Sierra Leone, the Sierra Leone Network on the Right to Food<sup>11</sup> (SiLNoRF) is a household name. Through its partnership with the Civil Peace Service (CPS) Network, SiLNoRF has mainstreamed peace building activities in its day-to-day activities. It is no longer a secret that land is a sensitive issue in Sierra Leone and according to (Richards et al., 2004); Sierra Leone's civil war is believed to have been partly fuelled by inequitable access to land and unequal power relations as well as conflict over minerals<sup>12</sup>. Therefore, in order not to cause more harm to communities while executing our duties, a peace building approach is a major strategy SiLNoRF uses in its advocacy drive.

SiLNoRF is of the view that the present state of land management in Sierra Leone has the potential to spark conflict in the country. This proposition is supported by Williams and Oredola-Davies (2006) who posit that:

“Widespread confusion over land rights was having an impact on transaction costs and leading to insecurity and corruption among land officials”<sup>13</sup>.

According to the Programmes Coordinator of SiLNoRF; Abass J. Kamara, there has been a spread of violence in Sierra Leone over land issues

10 SiLNoRF 2014 Monitoring Report on the Addax Bioenergy project in Sierra Leone

11 [www.silnorf@silnorf.org](http://www.silnorf@silnorf.org)

12 Richards, P, Bah, K. and Vincent, J. (2004) 'Social Capital and Survival: Prospects for Community-Driven Development in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone', Social Development Paper No 12, World Bank: New York.

13 Williams, S. and Oredola-Davies, P. (2006) 'Land and pro-poor change in Sierra Leone: scoping Study', prepared for joint EU-DFID Country Assistance Plan for Sierra Leone, July 2006.



*Founder and National  
Coordinator of SiLNoRF;  
Mohamed S. Conteh  
speaking on women's  
land rights*

between communities, investors and state apparatus. He cited instances of the African Minerals police saga that saw the shooting and killing of a woman who resisted the company over her land and wages. He added that the Socfin issue is another unfortunate issue that has made the landowners of Sahn Malen Chiefdom and the company strange bedfellows<sup>14</sup>.

Kamara advised that actions must be taken now to avert future occurrences of conflicts over lands in Sierra Leone. This is where he said that SiLNoRF has stood its ground over the years to ensure that conflicts do not take place within its primary operational areas as is happening in other parts of the country.

“We believe in dialogue and multi-stakeholders engagement with the relevant authorities in our advocacy drive. We believe that for peace to be achieved mediation is a key strategy and this is where we focus our energies. And the obvious result is that, major conflicts have not been reported in areas we operate”, said Abass Kamara.

<sup>14</sup> <https://awoko.org/2011/10/07/conflict-in-pujehun-over-land/>



As strides are being made toward achieving effective and efficient land management systems in Sierra Leone, it is worth noting that the issue of women's land rights has gained prominence in the national land debate, which is as a result of the advocacy work of Civil Society Organizations especially SiLNoRF. SiLNoRF has over the years played a lead role in promoting Women's Land Rights in Sierra Leone. In 2012 SiLNoRF established a women's land rights advocacy coordination office at its secretariat. The advocacy works have been led by Mariama Tarawali who serves as the Women's Land Rights Coordinator of SiLNoRF. Mariama Tarawali has made tremendous gains in upholding the rights of women to land. In August, 2013 SiLNoRF with support from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Funds for Global Human Rights (FGHR) organized the very first National Women's land rights conference in Sierra Leone. The conference brought together one hundred and fifty (150) women representatives from all across Sierra Leone including local authorities, government officials and Civil Society Organizations to deliberate on issues concerning women's access to and ownership of land.

This conference became the stepping stone for the change in the narrative for women's land ownership rights in Sierra Leone. Women representatives at the conference made key recommendations which stirred up the government to put a premium on women's land rights issues in the country. As a way of responding to the demands of women representatives at the women's land rights conference in 2013, the National Land Policy Review Committee made a very strong recommendation calling on government to remove all drawback clauses that impede women's right to own land. The policy further recommended for women to own land irrespective of their background, religious and cultural differences. Without any form of hesitation, SiLNoRF commends government's efforts in promoting the rights that women own land as manifested in the National Land Policy. Similarly, it is worth reminding the government that we have to move beyond policy development to actual implementations. Also, outdated laws should be reviewed to address

contemporary challenges facing women and to conform to international best practices.

In August, 2017, SiLNoRF in collaboration with Bread For All<sup>15</sup> (BFA), the World Rainforest<sup>16</sup> and other partners organized a five (5) day International Workshop on *corporate strategies and tactics of oil palm companies in Sierra Leone*. The said workshop brought together over seventy five (75) participants of which eighty percent (80%) were women mobilized from regions negatively affected by the activities of large scale land investments in the country.

As an outcome of that workshop, a women's mobilization platform was set up with the aim of empowering women to champion their land rights campaign dubbed as "*we want our land back*". The campaign was initiated by the women participants after a critical and in-depth analysis of how operations of multinational companies are negatively affecting them and their livelihoods.

During the official opening of the workshop, the founder and National Coordinator of SiLNoRF; Mohamed S. Conteh challenged women to take center stage in advocating for their rights. He thus argued that:

“Women are mostly affected whenever multinational companies dispossess them off their lands. In other words, when women are affected, the society is affected in its entirety.”

Responding to the clarion call of women to support their initiative, SiLNoRF in November, 2017 formally launched the '*we want our land back*' campaign in Makeni. The launching ceremony also brought together executives of the women's mobilization group and core members from the four regions of Sierra Leone. Women were allowed to share their experiences and challenges they are facing in their various com-

<sup>15</sup> <https://breadforall.ch/>

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.worldrainforest.org/>



*A cross section of women in a determined mood using the Port Loko workshop in August, 2017*

munities. At the end of the occasion, participants developed advocacy and campaign strategies.

Highlighting some of the challenges they continue to face as women in the hands of multinational corporations; Hannah Deen, a woman land rights advocate in Sahn Malen Chiefdom in Pujehun District noted that ever since they lost their lands to Socfin<sup>17</sup>, life has become unbearable for them. Their husbands and fathers made huge mistakes by allowing the company to take over their land which she said is their main source of livelihood. She said that they are now ready to stand behind their husbands to correct those mistakes so that their children will not suffer for their actions today.

“Life for us before the coming of Socfin was far better than now. The paltry sum of money the company pays as lease rent is not commensurate to the benefits they are getting. Their coming has not just deepened the level of poverty here, but it has further divided us as a people”, Deen regrettably said.

<sup>17</sup> <http://ejatlas>conflict>socfin-agric...>

According to Madam Deen, after the workshop in Port Loko, her colleagues from Sahn Malen with support from the other women and SiLNoRF, they mobilized themselves on International Human Rights Day to stage a peaceful protest against the company. They hired two vehicles to take them to strategic locations when security personnel stopped them on their way and instructed that they should go no further with their intentions.

“Tensions were beginning to rise and had it not been for the timely intervention of the SiLNoRF and other members of the Action for Large-scale Land Acquisition and Transparency (ALLAT<sup>18</sup>), the situations would have gotten out of hand. Preventing us from expressing our dissatisfaction did not come to us as a surprise. In many occasions, indigenes of Sahn Malen have been arbitrarily arrested, jailed and suppressed from venting out our anger. But this will not deter us from peacefully resisting the antics of multinational companies in the country,” she vowed.

As the campaign resumes in 2018, SiLNoRF has also organized a one day training/planning session for the women’s mobilization group on the 28th December, 2017. According to the Project Officer of SiLNoRF, Lansana Hassan Sowa, who is leading the Women’s mobilization campaign, the campaign will place women in a better position to take the lead in advocating for their interests. He maintained that SiLNoRF is placing a premium on empowering women to promote their own rights noting that it will swiftly effect the changes we are anticipating.

“As a human rights focused organization, SiLNoRF stands for equality between men and women. We are of the view that both men and women are born equal and we should enjoy all our rights including

18 ALLAT is network of CSOs working on land rights issues in Sierra Leone

the rights to access and to own land in Sierra Leone.” Sowa emphasized.

The project officer disclosed that the campaign team is working assiduously to mobilize ten thousand (10,000) women across the country in 2018. He retorted that this mobilization of women will take place before the March 7, 2018 elections. Concerns from women across the country on land rights will be put together and submitted to various political leaders vying for leadership positions before the elections. He said that if those concerns are not addressed by the would-be leaders, they will be held accountable at the end by not voting for them.

“This is the only way the concerns of women will be addressed by duty bearers. Those who will not pledge commitment to upholding the rights of women, will not be voted for during the elections”. He concluded

On the next pages you find a declaration by women who were at the workshop in Port Loko.

Port Loko Declaration:  
Women say “We want our lands back!”  
Women and the expansion  
of industrial oil palm plantations

We, leaders of groups of women affected by the expansion of industrial monoculture plantations, particularly oil palm plantations, coming from all regions in Sierra Leone and different countries from West and Central Africa;

We, national and international organizations involved in the struggle for the rights of women and local communities in Africa, Latin America and Asia, signatories of this declaration, met from 14 to 15 August 2017 in Port Loko, Sierra Leone.

Considering the pivotal role women play in maintaining their families and securing food for their children;

Considering the essential role of land to produce food for our families;

Considering the importance and diversity of the traditional use of oil palms, ranging from food to building materials to medicines, providing over 30 different products of great importance for women’s livelihoods;

Considering the impacts and human rights violations suffered by women, specifically the dramatic increase of sexual violence against women and children, as a consequence of concessions to oil palm companies that invade communities’ territories;

Considering the duty of governments to protect the rights of people and women, as enshrined in several international human rights related conventions that they have signed;

Aware of the fact that women play a central role in the struggle against land grabbing and the deprivation of their communities;

**We denounce:**

- ◆ monoculture plantations, particularly oil palm plantations, for robbing women of everything they have as they take the agricultural lands and forests that women depend upon for their livelihoods and for feeding their families.
- ◆ the expansion of oil palm plantations for leading to a substantial increase of local food prices due to the loss of agricultural land for food production and the resulting need to import food from far away areas, additionally threatening food security.
- ◆ companies for coming with lots of promises (such as schools or hospitals) that never fulfill.
- ◆ the lack of participation of women in decision making processes related to oil palm plantations, as they are neither invited to meetings nor ever consulted, and women in the countries of the region are not even allowed to own or buy land.
- ◆ that, as a result, only men are involved in these decision-making processes and that families without male members are excluded.
- ◆ chiefs and paramount chiefs who accept bribes, which often leads to concessions being granted without the consent of the women and the community as a whole.
- ◆ companies for not employing local people, but bringing in outsiders, or if they do hire some local people, discriminating against them and providing them with the lowest ranking jobs

with precarious working conditions, such as dangerous tasks involving the application of agrottoxins without adequate safety equipment.

- ◆ plantation companies and those family members who only see women as laborers.
- ◆ the long hours that women laborers must work, putting their children at risk.
- ◆ the expansion of plantations for causing women and children to suffer from increased violence and sexual violence such as rape and other sexual harassment, with a consequence that women are restricted from moving around freely and are afraid of leaving their houses or going to work.
- ◆ the intimidation and criminalization of women who denounce the impacts of plantations and the violation of their rights.

**Women demand:**

- ◆ full participation for women in all decisions regarding the land. Women want the right to own and make decisions over land.
- ◆ the right for communities and women to say no to industrial oil palm plantations.
- ◆ the respect of the rights of communities.
- ◆ the right for women to speak freely.
- ◆ that, at the very least, the conditions for handing over lands to companies and the respective contracts are revised and the companies fulfill their promises.
- ◆ access to education and safety for their children.
- ◆ their lands back from industrial plantation companies.
- ◆ protection against intimidation and violence for women and human rights defenders.



We, Women want our land and forests back so that we can have an agriculture that feeds us. We want a change that allows us to provide livelihoods that allow for good, healthy lives in dignity for our communities.

### **Signatories**

1. Women's Action for Human Dignity, Sierra Leone
2. Women's Forum, Sierra Leone
3. Human Rights Committee, Sierra Leone
4. Sabulla Women's association, Sierra Leone
5. Women's Center for Human Rights and Progress, Sierra Leone
6. Tamaraneh Women's Association, Sierra Leone
7. Women's Initiative Forum for Empowerment (WIFE), Sierra Leone
8. Advocacy Movement Network, Sierra Leone
9. Defense for Children, Sierra Leone
10. Culture Radio, Sierra Leone
11. Association pour le Développement Durable et la Protection de l'Environnement en Guinée (ADAPE-Guinée),
12. Women's Forum for Human Rights and Democracy, Sierra Leone
13. MALOA Landowners and User Association, Sierra Leone
14. Surprise Dem Social Club, Sierra Leone
15. Kataittmma Women's Association, Sierra Leone
16. Munafa Awnie Bom, Sierra Leone
17. Dimdin Women's Association, Sierra Leone
18. Tawopaneh Women's Association, Sierra Leone
19. Makula Landowners and Users Association, Sierra Leone
20. The Natural Resource Women Platform, Liberia
21. Sierra Leone Network for the Right to Food (SiLNoRF),  
Sierra Leone
22. United for the Protection of Human Rights, Sierra Leone
23. RADD, Cameroon
24. World Rainforest Movement
25. Bread for all
26. GRAIN

# Responsible media are an essential condition for peaceful elections and sustainable peace

*By Mustapha Momoh  
and Abdulai Kamara\**

As Sierra Leone prepares for another democratic election in March 07, 2018, the media have a significant role to play before, during and after elections.

By now, we are all aware that the media has had tremendous effects on our society; in politics, business, on social life and the world at large. The media are essential to democracy, and a democratic election is impossible without media. A free and fair election is not only about the freedom to vote and the knowledge of how to cast a vote, but also about a participatory process where voters engage in public debate and have adequate information about parties, policies, candidates and the election process itself in order to make informed choices

Furthermore, media acts as a crucial watchdog to democratic elections, safeguarding the transparency of the process. Indeed, a democratic election with no media freedom, or stifled media freedom, would be a contradiction in terms.

In 2005 the yearly World Press Freedom Day international conference produced a declaration that stressed “independent and pluralistic media are essential for ensuring transparency, accountability and participation as fundamental elements of good governance and human-rights based development”. Furthermore, the declaration urges member states to “respect the function of the news media as an essential factor

\*YMCA Sierra Leone

in good governance, vital to increasing both transparency and accountability in decision-making processes and to communicating the principles of good governance to society”.

In order to fulfill their roles, the media need to maintain a high level of professionalism, accuracy and impartiality in their coverage. Regulatory frameworks can help ensure high standards. Laws and regulation should guarantee fundamental freedoms essential to democracy, including freedom of information and expression, as well as participation. Meanwhile, provisions such as requiring government media, funded out of public money, to give fair coverage and equitable access to opposition parties, help ensure appropriate media behavior during elections.

The media have traditionally been understood to refer to the printed press as well as radio and television broadcasters. In recent years however, the definition has become broader, encompassing new media including online journalism, and social media. Citizen journalism is widely gaining traction, including in countries where traditional media is either controlled or strictly regulated.

Social media websites are some of the most popular haunts on the Internet. They have revolutionized the way people communicate and socialize on the web.

Social media is defined as “a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of users-generated content”.

Furthermore, social media depend on mobile and web-based technologies to create highly interactive platforms through which individuals and communities share, co-create, discuss, and modify user-generated contents.

They introduce substantial and pervasive changes to communication between businesses, organizations, countries, and individuals.

These changes are the focus of the emerging field of techno self-studies. Social media differ from traditional media in many ways, including quality, reach, frequency, usability, immediacy and permanence.

Social media operate in a dialogic transmission system (many sources to many receivers). This is in contrast to traditional media that operate under a monologic transmission model (one source to many receivers) (Wikipedia).

Most notable social media sites are; Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram, Viber, Imo to name but a few. Social media in this dispensation has become fertile ground for political campaign. Therefore, politicians have jumped on the social media bandwagon.

### Role of the media before elections

A prime concern of media coverage of elections is the right of voters to full and accurate information, and their rights to participate in debates and dialogue on policy matters and with politicians. Inherent to this task is the entitlement of parties and candidates to use the media as a platform for interaction with the public. Furthermore, the Electoral Management Body (EMB) has a need to communicate information to the electorate—and to a variety of other groups, including the political parties and candidates. The media themselves have a right to report freely and to scrutinize the whole electioneering process. This scrutiny is in itself a vital safeguard against interference or corruption in the management or conduct of the electoral process.

The media should ensure to give adequate airtime and coverage to all politicians and political parties contesting the election so that they can share their manifestoes to the electorates.

### Role of the media during elections – 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections as a case in hand

The 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary election attested to the proper functioning of the democratic system in Sierra Leone but also confirmed the important role that media can play in regularity, transparency and reliability in the polls. Journalists went to the polls to report

live, interviewing observers, members of the polling stations and the public, to check whether everything was going normally. They also reported irregularities, fraud and threats of violence to get authorities to respond. Groups of thugs who were plotting to disrupt the vote during the elections were arrested after the media reported on it. And all day long, you had people and political leaders calling the radio and TV stations to tell them about any cases of wrongdoing, so that journalists could fact-check and report. The greatest role the media played in the election process was after the voting was over. In the evening, radio and television stations provided live results that were posted at polling stations. During the electioneering process, the media's underlying function is to set the agenda for public discussion.

## Media after elections

The media's role after election is equally a very significant part in the entire electioneering process where the media embark on preaching peace and reaching out to aggrieved candidates and supporters. The media should also engage the politicians by reminding them about the promises they made in during campaign.

In the bid to achieve this important mandate, the media should be guided by codes of practices so that they do not create a situation where there will be unrest and public disorder

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda is a case in point which provides a telling case study of how the media can be used to create violent conflict or worse trigger genocide. The Rwandan genocide was among the most appalling man-made catastrophes of the 20th century, and media played a significant part both internally and internationally in the quagmire.

Prior to the genocide, radio stations and newspapers were carefully used by the extremists to dehumanize the potential victims, Rwanda's Tutsi minority. During the genocide, radio was used by the Hutu extremists' to mobilize the Hutu majority, to coordinate the killings and ensure that the plans for extermination were faithfully executed.

While a series of terrible massacres of Tutsi were carried out and as signs of ever-increasing violence grew, Rwanda was mostly ignored by the international media.

At another level Sierra Leone, after the 2007 Presidential and Parliamentary elections which ushered in another political dispensation, saw a situation wherein the incumbent All People's Congress (APC) We Yone Radio Station and the main opposition Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) Unity Radio, almost led this country into the abyss of public disorder by their propaganda messages to their party supporters and loyalists.

But for the prompt intervention of former Vice President, Alhaji Sam Samuel Sumana, who closed down both radio stations, the situation could have spiraled out of control. Though it was not as fast and timely as was expected it was badly needed even at that late point in time.

Editorial judgment, media ownership and media biases tend to undermine and dictate media operations, thereby compromising the way the media ought to operate in a democratic society. Even though there is a regulatory body in place, as well as statutory instruments such as Sierra Leone's Constitution, Act no 6 of 1991 which is under review and section 46 of the 1965 public order Act, some media institutions and journalists still continue to breach the law.

Finally, the media serving as a voice for the voiceless has a constitutional mandate to hold the government responsible, transparent and accountable to the people of Sierra Leone through its watchdog role.

Without independent and responsible media and professional journalists who respect deontology the currently so popular "fake news" threatens peaceful development and coexistence everywhere on this planet.

# The role of the media in promoting sustainable peace

## Media during election times

*By Aminata Finda Massaquoi\**

Elections are an important process for promoting peaceful transitions of Governance in any democracy. The challenge however is that the process which seeks to foster peace in itself or by nature can be a source of creating divisions if not carefully handled because this very tool that creates democracy can also create tensions, divisions, promote splitting into different factions, different platforms and different positions. There are various stages in the electoral process that includes campaigns and manifestos. Manifestos should be allowed because they show what a political party or a set of people wants to do in creating the desired change in the governance system. It is also fair that campaigns provide for people or political parties to sell their ideas, programs and plans to the voters. However, because their differences have to be pronounced and shown to the voters, there is often a big division and a potential for open conflict between one set of people and the other. There is a big distinction and sometimes discrimination amongst people because they want to show the difference. In developing countries, there have often been divisions along ethnic, geographic regional, colour or tribal lines. These divisions are more pronounced during election times and keep being emphasised. Whilst elections are supposed to lay a foundation for peace by allowing to set up legitimate governments, they often promote differences. Different programs are not seen as a variety of choices

\* Culture Radio, Freetown, Sierra Leone

but as exclusive platforms that everyone has to adhere to, unanimity being the goal. Diversity turns into polarity between people and sometimes leads to violent and aggressive behaviour. Therefore there is a negative opportunity for power players to take advantage of this, manipulate people and promote tension. If the tension is not controlled it can lead to violent conflict, even to civil war. So it is important to realise that the very process we see as a tool to maintain peace and democracy can also be a recipe for chaos if not handled properly.

Therefore, we need another sort of estate (the fourth estate or the media) to be able to moderate these tensions and create an unbiased platform for all parties to participate. The media can explain, pacify and calm the heightened possibilities of conflict for everyone to understand that it is just a process of choice between diversities. The media need to come in strongly because the three most powerful estates namely the Judiciary, the Legislative (parliament) and the Executive (government) can be biased during elections and are therefore no stable foundation. In election times, the Judiciary has nothing to do unless an issue is taken to them by way of petitions, the Parliament is dissolved or in recess and the Government can be an active player in the whole process which most times project their actions as not being neutral.

The second other very important element during electioneering periods is Civil Society. They also play vital roles of organising the people for non-violent activities and voter education and most times they are very active in ensuring that there is fair participation and lack of exclusion. The media therefore can then give space to Civil Society organisations and Human Rights activists that are focused on peace building, in ensuring that leaders are accountable for whatever they do and are also focused on conflict prevention. The media have the channels and also the opportunity to describe the issues through their writings or programs giving a clear choice to the electorate. The media can make sure there is more attention drawn to plans and manifestos of the different players than to their ethnic, religious or regional origins. They can also expose any bad practice around the elections. Of course they



also have to beware of bias. Care must be taken in ensuring that there is fairness as well as accuracy in their reports and that they create a platform for all players. The media have a clear role to find the facts that can show and ideally counter the doings of bad leaders bringing about tension. The media can generally support civil society to show their abilities to promote peace: they highlight the activities of connectors that can help communities with potential conflicts in identifying common interests because the dividers and dividing factors are often being projected during election times. The media should then serve as a reliable source of information in being factual with projections and predictions because whenever the media is biased, the public's need for information and analysis will be left in the hands of the politicians. Only non-partisan media can bring out the actual facts on what opinion polls have shown and will be careful with how they communicate that.

In a nutshell media Institutions have a big responsibility regarding peaceful change in society and regardless of their personal opinions, journalists and media workers need to do their work professionally and in a non-partisan way.

# The media in latent war zones – an example from DRC

*By Kennedy Muhindo Wema\**

## I. A complicated context

Although the Northern part of North Kivu (in French the “Grand Nord” with connotations I don’t agree with) is tormented by persistent fighting, celebration is part of the local culture. Festivities are not only an opportunity to express joy at being a part of a serene humanity, but they are also, especially at certain times of the year, in a certain way, an occasion for letting off steam, of not thinking about all the deaths of all kinds, forgotten and/or ignored, as well as the hostages, members of families gone missing, who are struggling in the ranks of the militia and other rebel groups somewhere in the brush and forests of North Kivu.

On 24 December, it was the eve of the Christmas 2017 celebrations. In every village and town, goats, pigs and even cows were being sacrificed. The country people had invaded the streets of the towns to come not only to sell some produce from their fields, but also to buy new clothes, shoes, or cloth to make a dress... All a question of respecting the festive custom. The Christian parishes had been decorated with freshly cut banana leaves and other wild plants. Crèches had been built to commemorate the coming of the Messiah... It seemed that nothing unforeseeable could come and disturb those grandiose preparations which have preceded Christmas for eons... Except that, in the

\*journalist and peace worker in Butembo, Eastern DRC

small hours of the morning of the 25th, people who were not otherwise identified decided to attack a symbol of the State, and not just any symbol: they set fire to the private residence of President Joseph Kabila during the night... Situated in a farm around ten kilometres from the town centre of Butembo, it was completely ravaged by the flames lit by “anti-socials”<sup>1</sup>

The well-known Catholic radio station Moto was the first to broadcast the news. In reality, other radio stations in the town had been informed but frankly hesitated. They quite simply censored themselves. “*We received the information around 6 o'clock in the morning, and from reliable sources, that people had attacked and burned the home of the President, but we decided not to speak about it, but to wait to see if the neighbours would confirm it*”, we were told by a chief editor at a Butembo radio station. And it didn't stop there. One of the people in charge of Moto assured us, while remaining anonymous, that pressure followed as a consequence: *How did you obtain the information? Why did you broadcast it without waiting for a statement from the authorities? Did you assess what it would imply and the prejudice it could cause you?*

And so in the process, a piece of news like that, with nonetheless verified facts, did the radio stations in Butembo succeed in managing the pressure? Despite the eagerness of the local leaders to make the incident political and place the blame on the sons of the region, the radio stations played their role of appeasement. They reported the facts, without accusing anyone. However, everyone was afraid the situation would escalate. The burning of the President's residence could not be perceived as a banal occurrence. But the journalists in this part of the country have understood their role. Working in an area in continuous conflict requires a profound sense of responsibility at the risk of making an already precarious situation worse. Sustainable peace is supposedly the principle and the opposite of the exception. But there is a paradox. Sustainable peace and good governance are notions that must be lived

<sup>1</sup> At the time of writing, the perpetrators of this act had still not been formally identified, and even less so the real circumstances surrounding the incident.

so that independent, pluralistic media can blossom. From the obligation to accountability, via the promotion of human rights, the journalists here stake their all.

## II. Choose your behaviour

In the region, there are dozens of armed groups springing up, sometimes with evocative names: Maïmaï Malaïka (angels) or Mazembe (in the name of the most famous Congolese football team—but with nothing to do with it-), maï maï Shetani (Satan), Maïmaï Leopard... and each group, of course, wants to be featured in the media. But how can this be done without offending other sensitivities, for these motley groups are just as antagonistic... in this environment, the journalists are between a rock and a hard place... Journalism is not an easy job. Not only does it require a deep sense of commitment, but it also and above all requires an acceptance of the risks, as expressed so well on the site [www.officiel-prevention.com](http://www.officiel-prevention.com): *“Journalists must face the psychosocial and physical risks of a profession subject to stress from both the speed and the quality of the information to be delivered, from the dangers of frequent movements, in particular in areas of armed conflict, or near to disasters or accidents, terrorist attacks or relative to dramatic news events”*.<sup>2</sup>

The question of participating in the blossoming of peace journalism and the notions of sustainable peace are posed acutely specifically for the journalists in this part of the country. Not only is the question of good governance posed here as everywhere else, but we may wonder how to boost sustainable peace in an area of latent war. How to convey the notions of sustainable peace in an area where the population, sometimes including the journalists, are victims of every type of evil and exactions from the warring parties? In fact, the journalists here have succeeded, in their own way or in a certain fashion in applying the principles of Johan Galtung, the celebrated critic of war journalism. Among

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.officiel-prevention.com/formation/fiches-metier/detail\\_dossier\\_CHSCT.php?rub=89&ssrub=206&dossier=562](http://www.officiel-prevention.com/formation/fiches-metier/detail_dossier_CHSCT.php?rub=89&ssrub=206&dossier=562), September 2016

so many others, they dare at least to separate propaganda (only in the specific case of the armed conflicts in the region) from the interests of all the forces.<sup>3</sup> Certainly, not all the journalists in the region are saints or angels. There is no shortage of deceitful ones but I think there are grounds for understanding them while not condoning their behaviour. They are often the first to arrive at the scene of the crime or the fighting, even before the authorities. They are taken for the spokespersons appointed by the population. They even embody a sense of social leadership and it is not surprising to hear people persist in assertions such as: *“the radio has not yet spoken”*. And this is the case; even the authorities do not have a choice for addressing the governed. *“When there is fighting, it’s the word of the radio that people wait for to go back to their homes. As long as the radio has not said anything, people continue to wait, to hide in the brush”*, according to Halisi Kakule of the rural radio of Kanyabayonga.

But the other obstacle is that the journalists of the region, or at least a large proportion of them, were trained on the job. They have not studied in journalism schools. However, the radio has imposed itself here as the reference media and the radio journalists with absolutely no training tinker about, they model themselves on such and such a famous radio personality to become, gradually, in time and in fact, the journalist of their village, for their fellow citizens have confidence in them. Those who have the opportunity to study journalism, then take care of training others as much as possible, despite the lack of resources, in so far as they really express the need to learn and improve their skills. In fact, in the region, a kind of peace journalism learnt on the job is practised, from both personal and collective consciousness. I would tend to say it is based on common sense. Certainly, they are not yet committed to a journalism of sustainable peace but they are building this possibility, for their fellow citizens, to dream of sustainable peace.

3 See Johan Galtung, The missing journalism on conflict and peace and the Middle East, Transcend 2005, [www.transcend.org](http://www.transcend.org).

The continuous difficulty is when the loyalist forces fight against the militia, which is a very frequent occurrence. We know what to expect, sometimes. Would you believe that the rebels occupy the city and come to the radio. They demand that their messages be broadcast in full. These are people who fear neither god nor man. You risk your life if you try to stop them. But you have a patriotic duty as a citizen. And so we turn to the theory that comes up often: *“Must we tell the truth? Yes, of course, but not just any old way, any old how, at any old time. Nothing but the truth? Without a doubt. The whole truth? Well, no! Who can boast that they have never done it? I defy anyone to prove to me that they have never taken into account the interests of their family, company, or their future. And so why would you not take into account your company, your nation, the interests of the Republic, the ideals of humanity, rather like in Montesquieu’s famous profession of faith? (...) then*<sup>4</sup> often, to avoid finding yourself in a compromising situation, the directors of the radio stations prefer to simply shut down the radio, momentarily, until the situation calms down. *“Unfortunately, the belligerents sometimes take it out on the media facilities. They pillaged the radio facilities of Victoire Horizon in Kipese on Saturday 15 July 2017. It is not easy but we have to put up with it”*, witnesses Amuri Kasongo, coordinator of the Victoire Horizon Radio and television channels.<sup>5</sup>

### III. Self-discipline for sustainable peace

To be able to work as a journalist in an area of permanent conflict such as the Northern part of North Kivu, you have to stick to the principles. It is an absolute necessity to commit to the principle of doing better. It is also important to understand, even in the facts, to believe in peace. Peace is in fact a question of behaviour. Peace is not just an idle concept

4 Daniel J. in: *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Paris, 21 September 1995, p. 3

5 Several media were vandalised by forces from all sides, including the facilities of Radio Moto in Masereka Kaviniro on Sunday 08 October 2017 after confrontations between FARDC and maïmaï militia.

spoken by the journalists on the radio without experiencing it. Peace cannot be preached by words alone. The message is conveyed better when we adopt peaceful behaviour in our lives. The advantage of committing to a journalism for peace is that war journalism (even when you live and work in a conflict zone), is rather a question of choice. We work first of all for our fellow citizens. Journalism for peace, as opposed to the journalism of war, is oriented towards the conflict, the people, and the solution. While the journalism of war is oriented towards violence, propaganda, the elites and victory. This nuance is an asset mastered almost spontaneously by the journalists in Northern North Kivu.<sup>6</sup>

For several years we have had the opportunity of meeting and working with the journalists from the region. We may affirm that they have this sense of commitment to working for their fellow citizens in the interests of peace. Even when politicians from all sides set up radio stations for their propaganda, we feel a certain line between serving politics and serving the population. This way of doing things would be better if they subsequently had the benefit of training specific to peace journalism. They would be able to contribute better, not only to maintaining social peace between peoples, but especially to reinforcing this fragile peace threatened by the armed groups that scour the countryside. They would more resolutely walk the paths of sustainable peace. The fruits of this commitment are certainly not visible from afar. But if the core elements of civil societies are active here, if the local human rights NGOs are more active here, often without resources, it is also partially thanks to the service and facilitations offered by these straw media who carry out work oriented towards the future, the vision of sustainable peace remaining at the centre of this creative will.

6 Laurie Mécréant in "Alternatives non violentes", 2012

# Peace is not a word, it is behaviour

By *Evariste Mfaume\**

“Solidarity of the Volunteers for Humanity”, abbreviated to SVH, is a non-profit organisation under Congolese law. Set up on 20 May 2003 following general political unrest in DRC, particularly in the Fizi, Uvira and Mwenga territories in South-Kivu. SVH is involved in the activities of research and analysis on the topics of peace and conflict transformation, human rights and natural resources ([www.svh-rdcongo.org](http://www.svh-rdcongo.org)). Within the scope of the Civil Peace Service network, the efforts of SVH on the ground in building a culture of peace and non-violence have been supported by “EIRENE”, the international Christian Service for Peace, since 2015.

## Efforts of Civil society in creating sustainable peace in South-Kivu

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Dialogue at the service of peace and non-violence:

Young people are vectors of peace in the high plateaus of Fizi and Mwenga

Since September 2017, SVH has been running a project called “Vijana Tunaweza” (Youth we can) in the highlands of Fizi and Mwenga; in the Basimukinji 1 and Basimwenda groupings (in Mwenga territory) and the Basimunyaka South grouping (Fizi territory). The Vijana Tunaweza project seeks to reduce the social and political marginalisation of the

\* SVH coordinator



young men and women in these areas by reinforcing youth leadership, promoting responsible and active citizenship and creating spaces for exchanges between young people and the authorities to discuss questions concerning the young people, and together find ways out in order to build peace. They have the advantage of systematic training on conflict and gender sensitivity, on leadership, entrepreneurship, on the techniques of prevention and non-violent management of conflicts. These young people, mostly compartmentalised in this very landlocked area of the province of South-Kivu composed essentially of the Babembe, Banyamulenge, Bafuliru and Banyindu communities, believe deep down inside that the reality of life in their village is the reference of the situation in the whole province of South-Kivu, in the whole of DRC, in the Great Lakes region. They are fortunately eager to discover other young people, other ideas, and other experiences for their development; today they are conveying messages of peace to their peers, becoming educators of the new culture of peace and non-violence. Over a period of two years, this networking concerns the young people at local level; in parallel, at regional level, the peace and reconciliation experiences of young people in the neighbouring countries of Burundi and Rwanda in particular, will be capitalised on.

### Public speaking forums

These are places for public dialogue favouring connections between the authorities and the community on central questions concerning the challenges of peace in the villages. Young people and women who often have no say are actively involved in this process and contribute to the discussions. Gradually as the population becomes familiar with those in power, the two parties become closer; certain authorities internalise the fact that the population is an indispensable partner entity for the identification and participatory construction of peace solutions. The same can be said for questions relative to security; SVH is at work with this innovation on the population's participation in the process of civilian

protection in the high plateaus of Minembwe and Itombwe. Despite the pre-eminence of the local armed groups in this area, the local authorities, the community and religious leaders, young people, women and the media all work together on analysing the context, in order to acquire a critical view of the situation with concrete proposals on the issues at stake in terms of peaceful cohabitation, and good management of transhumance by farmers and stockbreeders. SVH works to boost the resilience of the cohabitation between Burundi refugees and the host communities along the villages of Lusenda, Lulinda, Katungulu I and II in Fizi territory. Connection points, in particular the solidarity of the host community, which today offers free patches of land for a limited period in the growing season to those families who express the need. Since October 2017, out of 108 households of vulnerable Burundi refugees who asked for land, 56 households are effectively using the areas of land they were given, others are being prepared for work and the process is well underway. The churches and mosques are places of confidence which bring the two communities closer together in a fraternal communion; as the markets are the same, the two communities trade with each other, their common economic interests going beyond the stereotypes, prejudice, hatred and contributing to the building of peace and social cohesion.

### Context analyses

From February to March 2017, there were violent clashes between the pygmies and Banyamulenge and Fuliru stockbreeders; these are repercussions from the intercommunity conflict in the provinces of Tanganyika and Maniema towards Fizi territory. Violent clashes between the pygmies on the one hand and the Banyamulenge stockbreeders and the Fuliru migrants on the other were the cause of the massive displacements of the first waves of population from the villages affected by the armed conflicts towards the villages of Ngalula, Nyange, Lubichako, Butale and Tulongé in Fizi territory. Manipulations of identity stereo-

types and economic interests are at the centre of this new situation which could cause the violence to escalate, radicalise the conflicts at the edges of the provinces of Tanganyika, South-Kivu and Maniema, in an area already weakened by conflicts related to transhumance with the consequence of repeated attacks against the Banyamulenge stockbreeders, followed by fatalities and the theft of livestock. Control of the land and pastures remains the major economic issue at the centre of this conflict. To this is added the control of the Ngandja area to gain control over the mining sites of Ngandja, Nyange, Ngalula, Lubichako, Butale, Misisi and Lulimba with links to the areas of tension of Misisi in Fizi territory and Namoya in Kabambare territory between the local communities and the multinational mining corporations Leda Mining (CASA Mining) and Banro, whose cohabitation poses serious problems in terms of modes of claims, rights, duties, responsibilities, community development, etc.

During the week from 29 June to 5 July 2017 there were armed clashes between the FARDC and the Mai Mai from the “Coalition of the People for the Sovereignty of the Congo” (CNPSC) led by Yakutumba; the population of the villages of Namisha, Isee, Akela, Lubondja, Lulimba, Misisi, Lubichako, Ngalula and Nyange were directly affected. This situation provoked a massive displacement of the population estimated at more than 200,000 people. According to the testimony of the displaced, more than 2,000 people of all ages headed for lake Tanganyika, climbing over the Ngandja mountain range from Ngalula, Lubichako and Misisi. Exhausted by a difficult three-day journey through the forest with no provisions of food or water, 8 people (3 women, 3 children and 2 men), lost their lives and were abandoned by their relatives who had no way of helping them or of burying them. These same sources report that 3 women gave birth in horrendous conditions on the journey, not forgetting the 3 children who drowned crossing the river Kimbi which separates Misisi, Lulimba from the village of Kalonda Kibuyu. It is important to note that the former displaced from Tanganyika and Maniema suffered a second movement of displacement before subse-

quently returning to the sites of their initial displacement. The competition for access to the means of subsistence between these latter and the host families remains a potential for conflict between the two layers with respect to the precarious economic situation of the host communities. Since the month of August 2017, these thousands of displaced persons have returned to their villages, creating a dramatic humanitarian situation.

We have to face humanitarian, social and economic problems, but which are initiated or even reinforced by cultural manipulations, prejudice and hatred between ethnic groups. All this takes place against a backdrop of poor governance. The often irresponsible attitude of the political class can be added on top.

### Advocacy actions

In the face of this complex context, SVH mobilised community leaders and the authorities at different levels in work sessions to remind them of their obligations in respect of civilian protection. We insisted on questions of fundamental rights and liberties, combating impunity, the protection of human rights defenders; this has perhaps limited the collateral damage to the civilian population from military operations until today.

The “human rights situation monitoring” section of SVH has compiled verified information on how the situation is changing on the ground; well-documented concrete cases have served to feed early warnings, and technical advocacy memos. Our cooperation with the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) in Uvira helped to organise the multiple sector evaluation missions on the ground to survey the humanitarian situation through interviews with the communities, the risks, the threats to protection with concrete proposals at the level of the different units of the clusters.

In July 2017, taking advantage of the visit to Baraka of the special representative of the secretary general of the UN and head of MONUSCO,

Mr Mamane Sidiku, the SVH team presented him with a technical advocacy memo on the protection of civilians during the military operations of the FARDC with the support of MONUSCO against the armed groups.

### Combating popular justice in Fizi

Contrary to local cultural values that consider the death of a person to be a violation, an unfortunate event affecting the entire community, where neighbours show all their solidarity with the bereaved families and support them in their mourning, since 2015–2016 an inhumane phenomenon has taken on very worrying proportions in Fizi territory in general and more particularly in the coastal part of the Tanganyika sector. Each time a person dies, groups of young people go back to the traditional healers who reveal to them a list of people allegedly responsible for the death. With unimaginable brutality, they turn against the members of the bereaved family who are suspected of witchcraft; they are spontaneously beaten up; lynched; lapidated, burnt with petrol and they die murdered in full view and in the full knowledge of everyone. In most cases, old people and particularly defenceless old women are the victims of this violence. In addition to participatory research on the ground which supported the groups of local leaders in the area (in particular the religious leaders, Civil society organisations, women's groups, youth groups) in awareness raising actions directed towards combating acts of popular justice, with the technical and financial support of EIRENE, SVH has worked on the consequences and opened spaces for dialogue on peace and reconciliation.

### Public broadcasts/delocalised discussions in Makobola

SVH organised delocalised discussions recently on popular justice, in synergy with Bukavu-based Radio Maendeleo and the media and peace component of the Maison de la Presse based in Bujumbura. In Makobola

on 17 December 2017, members of the families of the victims, witnesses, young people, the customary authorities and the police took part in the exchanges before a wide audience. The village chief, the representatives of the police and the LPD and the other members of the communities made various commitments against popular justice: "... never again popular justice in Makobola ... responsiveness of the Congolese national police in the face of popular justice ... firm investigation of the dossiers in justice.... exchange of information in terms of early warnings in coordination, to be reinforced by the Local Peace Dynamics and the other players". This live debate relayed by the local media covers all of the province of South-Kivu. Through dialogue, non-violent communication, the commitments made contribute to building trust between the authorities in place and the communities in search of collective peace solutions.

## Exchanges between communities

At the local level there are movements of young people from the Bashi community who travel by vehicle or on foot from Bukavu and the surrounding area to the high plateaus of Fizi, Uvira and Mwenga territories. They are commonly known as "the Chinese" because of their entrepreneurial spirit. They supply this relatively inaccessible area with basic necessities, and they bring back produce from the fields, livestock and minerals; they weave relations and these exchanges are precious for boosting social cohesion.

At regional level, observing the day-to-day movements of the economic cross-border exchanges by women, young people and men between Burundi and Fizi and Uvira territories on the one hand, between Tanzania and Fizi and Uvira territories on the other there is room for hope that the realities of the daily lives of the communities maintain an atmosphere of good neighbourly relations which goes well beyond the political and diplomatic interests of the States concerned and calls them out to further the liberalisation of this sector.

Sustainable peace cannot be achieved solely by military or political intervention backed by the United Nations, the different countries of the region or coming from Kinshasa at the other end of the country. It is above all a question of building a culture of cohabitation and peace among the local population at provincial, national and regional levels.

## “Lumpen-radicalism and other diseases of tyranny”<sup>1</sup>

Inspired by the arrest in Cameroon and subsequent deportation of writer Patrice Nganang, philosopher Achille Mbembe discusses the place of the intellectual in the political sphere, how to resist dictatorship and how to imagine change.

*By Achille Mbembe\**  
*LE MONDE 28. 12. 2017*

From the end of the colonial period to the beginning of the 1990s, the vast majority of Africans were living under civil or military regimes. Capitalist or socialist, the adjectives were of little importance. As decolonisation hardly opened the way to democracy, these were generally one-party regimes headed by a tyrant. In Southern Africa, where the Europeans had established settlements at various phases of the long imperialist expansion, racial segregation was the law. Negroes were quite simply not political subjects with rights, and the rest was a consequence of this fundamental principle.

After the fall of the Berlin wall, major protest movements, carried for the main part by a piecemeal assortment of autochthon forces, led to a relative liberalisation of the political sphere, the end of single-party

<sup>1</sup> [http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2017/12/28/le-lumpen-radicalisme-et-autres-maladies-de-la-tyrannie\\_5235406\\_3212.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2017/12/28/le-lumpen-radicalisme-et-autres-maladies-de-la-tyrannie_5235406_3212.html)

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regimes and to the coupling of our economies to market principles. This was all in the wake of the decline and disappearance of communism in Eastern Europe, before what was later to be called “the Arab springs”.

## A blocked future

Almost a quarter of a century after these protest movements, the landscape is not exactly heartening. Today, scarcely a handful of post-colonial states can boast a truly democratic regime. For all the others, democracy remains a metaphor. Certainly, military coups have become rare, but in many cases, politics is still perceived as a barely disguised form of war, while armed force as such is far from being the monopoly of legally-constituted States. The markets for violence are thriving, and the rifle is becoming a working tool like any other.

On the other hand, almost everywhere, the multiparty system has become the rule. But in many countries, particularly in central Africa, periodic democratic changes in government are unknown. As the political cycle of the nation merges with the biological cycle of the tyrant, mentioning the leader’s death in public is tantamount to blasphemy. Power changes hands only when they die, when they flee abroad or during manipulated successions. When the leaders do actually change, it rarely leads to systemic transformations in institutional practise or in the culture of power. Often, things having taken a more harmful turn than before, struck by a mixture of nostalgia and melancholia, many end up wishing for a return to the past.

We have therefore not yet emerged from the crisis of legitimacy levelled at many an African political regime prior to the relative liberalisation of the 1990s. On a philosophical and cultural level, the main cause of this crisis was their inability to unblock the future. The absence of any perspective that the future would be qualitatively different from the present has not really been overcome. With some rare exceptions, election mechanisms have been eliminated everywhere. They are rigged in ways that are generally accepted by the international observers. Far from

being catalysts of change, the electoral cycles have become synonymous with cycles of bloodshed. The “African style” democracies have shown that they could combine with almost any genre—authoritarian restorations, father-to-son successions, lifetime powers, or even changes at the head of the State initiated by armed movements or by foreign forces supported by mercenaries.

In reality, several authoritarian regimes undertook—and sometimes succeeded—their mutation at the beginning of this century. Drawing on the deregulation and privatisation of economies once regimented by the State, they were able to graft their powers onto the network of finance and resource extraction on a global scale, thereby endowing themselves with relative immunity. By doing so, they are no longer accountable to their own grassroots.

On the other hand, they have been able to buy themselves powerful support within their societies. Put together, these forces, the international dimensions of which we cannot ignore, defend the status quo. They are the best organised. They are the ones who possess the power of weapons, money, solid local and international networks. They promulgate laws that are in their own favour and have tribunals to enforce them or, when necessary, ignore them or bypass them. This block holding power is not devoid of internal contradictions. With the elites who have taken the head and “captured” the state, it is partly the result of the economy of extraction when grafted onto the circuits of financialisation.

### Sporadic and informal resistance efforts

Faced with this power block driven by a veritable class conscience, determined to defend its interests to the hilt, or even change sides if the circumstances demand it, fervently hoping the system will remain in place, society is hardly able to come together as a whole. Even less so to become a movement. The multiplication of non-governmental organisations, the proliferation of pastors and their churches, the liberalisation of the media, the access to new technologies have hardly permit-

ted the emergence of real counter-elites or forces of opposition. Despite sporadic and informal manifestations of resistance, the societies have shown that they can put up with almost anything—bloody wars, horrific epidemics and calamities, ecological disasters and their retinue of famines and droughts, vertiginous levels of social brutality and economic inequalities, even massacres and at least one large-scale genocide.

In the end, as in the colonial era, many Africans not only feel deprived of a future and so have nothing to lose. Very few Africans are free to choose their leaders or to get rid of the ones they no longer want, by peaceful means.

Governed in the main part against their will, many are those who no longer believe in democracy. Some are now combating the very concept. Others contest it by all sorts of other means. Most are dreaming of a strong, providential man to whom they could delegate all responsibility with respect to their lives and their future. Yet others seek leaders capable of destroying everything, convinced that nothing that would rise up afterwards could be any worse than what exists at present.

If this is indeed the historical moment we find ourselves in, then the question is increasingly why these tyrannies last so long. How come most of the attempts to topple them end up in resounding failure even though the demand for radical transformation has never been so manifest? If we assume they must be toppled, what should they be replaced with? How can we conceive of this change and put it into practice, and with which social forces? Where can we draw the energy and the forms of organisation and leadership capable of cultivating and driving the enterprise of change?

Having long been subject to almost complete abandonment on the part of the thinkers and the social movements, these questions are now being posed keenly. A number of answers are being given, and they vary depending on the specific history of the African States. Transcontinental dynamics are emerging. Convergences too. Here and there, they have led to relatively significant results. In some countries, many strive to overcome fear; the fear that has paralysed minds for more than half a cen-

tury – of arbitrary arrest, indefinite detention, the screams coming out of the torture chambers, being banished to the country's prisons or forcibly exiled. They seek, on their hands and knees, ways out of the "long, dark night".

The question of historic change is posed moreover at a time when anger, rage and impatience continue to escalate, and with them hysteria, despair and the temptation of giving in, or even fleeing the situation. Although understandable, these feelings prevent cool reflection in the face of a monster that is increasingly cold, cynical and determined, but at the same time increasingly aware of its shortcomings, and therefore hesitant.

This weakness of ideas and the illusion that thinking could be replaced by more activism constitutes one of the most serious reasons for the current impasses.

What is in fact the context? A cultural cycle is coming to an end, with the appearance on the social scene of the "lost generations", the first to have experienced directly the brutality of neo-liberalism in Africa and the ravages it has caused in the countries negatively exposed to any abrupt change in economic situation. Most have been very poorly educated, victims of schooling available to the highest bidder. Many are either in chronic ill health, have no work or are structurally unemployable. The external frontiers are tightening everywhere, they no longer have the same opportunities for migration their elders enjoyed. The churches have filled up and struggle to act as safety valves for the overflowing rage, anger and resentment. The new technologies gave them a glimpse of a fascinating outside world that they can never reach because they don't have the permits, visas and other authorisations. As the African States have adopted and applied the territorial logic inherited from colonisation, the internal borders are blocked. They are held in a vice, caught in a trap, captive in their own country: no movement, no mobility, and no significant change on the horizon.

## Nihilism and radicalism

Of all the responses to the blocking of societies, three in particular should retain our attention because they contribute to cultural and systemic transformations which will have enormous repercussions on the continent in the years to come.

First of all, there is the increasingly pronounced tendency to cling to the local, the increasing demand for autonomy, or even the wish for separation, in the form of either secession or federalism. A Jacobin model of the State called into question, including in the place where it was invented, appears more and more as a danger for many communities. Communities which seek to fall back on small basic units, which they hope will serve as a counterpoint to creeping predation, and especially as enabling factors of autonomous, equitable development.

Then come the practises leading to defection particularly through illegal migration, that is to say putting yourself into mortal danger.

What strikes us most is no doubt the fact that we become accustomed to atrocities and disasters, the grass roots struggles running out of steam and the escalation of what we would have to call lumpen-radicalism, that is to say a form of nihilism that passes itself off as radicalism. Lumpen-radicalism, the rise of which is favoured by access to digital technology, operates by annexing the categories and languages of emancipation and diverting them to causes and practices that have nothing to do with the quest for freedom and equality or the general project of autonomy.

Certainly, we must be careful not to stigmatise popular practices of politics, and the forms of resistance of the dominated and the servile, especially when this resistance is expressed in languages and rituals that have long been disowned by the dominant. And it is important not to adopt the opposite attitude, which consists in glorifying the subordinate at every turn and bestowing virtues on them that they do not have. Lumpen-radicalism refers to the ideas and practises which, far from contributing to the emergence of a public sphere with a spirit of civil-

ity or strengthening of democracy, pertain rather to illiberal practises, often in the service of a political entrepreneur adorned, for the occasion, with heroic and providential attributes.

To understand the rise of lumpen-radicalism in Africa, we have to return to the kind of subjects postcolonial tyranny has manufactured over the past twenty-five years. In general these are people who do not know the world, who have only had indirect experience of it, of its appearances, under the sign of dazzling merchandise, and the practically irrepressible desire it arouses. Furthermore, this is a generation that has never known anything other than tyranny and patriarchy. It has been forcibly enlisted in education systems that educate no-one and teach everyone to cheat.

Tyranny has taught this generation to speak a foul language devoid of symbols, the language of bodies and existences that have been transformed into gutters. It has produced numerous characters who are cracked, hundreds of thousands of failed lives for which unscrupulous political entrepreneurs today consider themselves, at their own risk and peril, to be the champions. These are lives eaten up by boundless resentment, thirst for vengeance, the intoxicating attraction of a celebration, that of the carnage and imbecile violence to which, they believe, our destiny calls us. This “lost generation” thinks the only thing left for us to do is to fight fire with fire, waste with waste, violence with more violence, turning the poison against the poison maker.

This is a generation that has been socialised in such a way that brutality hardly even appears to be something repugnant. Indeed, under the tyrannical regimes of Central Africa in particular, the cult of brutality is also present in the endless little rituals of humiliation and petty robberies—the heaping of invectives and outpouring of insults daily onto people we know nothing about, neighbours fighting in the streets, corporal punishment in the schools, provocation and bullying of all kinds, whether it be from the constable, the taxi driver, the police officer on duty or the civil servant behind a counter, minds, bodies and nerves are violated by the State and its representatives. These daily rituals are

accompanied by all sorts of punitive charges and bribes, extortion and predatory behaviour. Taken together they all form the mechanism of corruption, which demands a fundamentally arbitrary use of the law, particularly for the purpose of personal enrichment.

This is how the social machinery runs and these informal rules are known to everyone. They have to be obeyed to obtain anything at all. People compete for social status not to be able to topple these mechanisms but to be able to profit from them or to place their pawns inside the networks that control them. As a result, the tyranny is largely decentralised, almost cellular. Each holder of the most minute grain of authority uses it for their own advantage and the advantage of their chain of protectors. This molecular segmentation of brutality has ended up making tyranny a system largely anchored in the pores of society which is reproduced almost mechanically, including in the absence of the tyrant.

It is not the goal of lumpen-radicalism to radically transform society. It is a modality of the social and political struggle. It aims to capture the system and divert it for the profit of an aspiring tyrant or the assimilation of the latter and his henchmen within the system in order to take advantage of it for himself and, possibly, his entourage (the extended family, ethnic group, clan or various partners). The State, in a system like this, is neither public property, nor even shared. It is anonymous property that is grabbed by those who possess either force, or relays or protection networks, within a society that is not one of equals, but a society that operates, for the main part, on racketeering and extortion.

For the remainder, lumpen-radicalism can be distinguished by the following features. Its main clerks may well have tried to claim the status of intellectual when it suited them, but lumpen-radicalism is typified by its anti-intellectual inclinations. An impenetrable barrier is erected between the ability to think and the ability to act. Activism (including in the form of acting without thinking) is assimilated to heroism. Moreover, the desire for heroes takes precedence over any capacity to exercise critical faculties. Hence the hostility towards independent intellectual figures.

The other aspect of lumpen-radicalism is that it extends the culture of brutality into the public arena and the desire for subjugation. This extension is achieved through the verbal violence typical of extreme right wing movements, the colonisation of web forums, the intimidation of opponents and critics and the absence of restraint in language and manners. Typical of this approach moreover is the belief that the winner is always right and that in any struggle or confrontation, the means are of little importance, the result is all that counts. In addition to all this is an anti-egalitarian conception (big and small are not alike); an exacerbated virility cult and hyper-masculinism, with constant references to the male sexual organs and the denigration of supposedly female attributes, or even the identification of all women with prostitution.

Lumpen-radicalism also works by wiping out the memory of past struggles, or their fragmentation and utilisation for the purposes of dividing people. Everything must take place as if nothing had ever happened before and as if everything were starting now. Irrespective of what they have accomplished, all those who came before us apparently betrayed us. We, alone, are the depositaries of the sole truth which has never before been revealed. Even more decisively, lumpen-radicalism considers assassination as the eschatological manifestation of any political change worthy of the name. The ultimate hero is the assassin or, failing this, the martyr. He is the prototype of the strong man. The hero must be capable of killing or, failing this, of committing suicide, as suicide represents an advanced form of martyrdom.

It is therefore a question of violence with no political vision, that we have seen at work in the wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia, and beforehand in Ethiopia. It is at work in the corridor between the Sahel from the Sahara to the Red Sea. In its predatory form, it is also at work in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.



## Escaping from the trap

Put all the cards back on the table. Open up a thousand works in progress, a thousand seams for mining vitality. Understand that the struggle is fought on every battlefield and that it is all a question of coordination and convergence. Rehabilitate ideas and with them, the ability to imagine new alternatives, including the ability to dream of something other than killing or being killed. For if we do not think clearly for ourselves, others will do so for us.

The horizon is open. Politics must be recast on the principle of non-violence. In order to do this, we must necessarily immerse ourselves once again in the memory of past struggles to draw the lessons we can learn for the future. We shall also have to re-educate desire, because it is the preferential vehicle of all forms of oppression, the desire for failure and suicide which dresses up in the finery of liberation. We must also learn to be part of a group again, a community, when everything urges us to secede and separate. Above all, we will have to learn again how to care for our minds, our nerves and our bodies bruised and abused by tyranny. This is also one of the aims of political education.

It is not the role of the intellectual to take part in power struggles. Even less to seek to exercise power. The intellectual's role is precisely to relinquish all forms of power, as far as possible, to waive the right to exercise leadership. It is not to challenge anyone. It is to become, for once, master of asceticism. This is the condition under which the intellectual can take up the watchful role assigned them by my master Jean-Marc Ela, a function reserved for those who do not sleep; or as Frantz Fanon wrote, "We must shake off the heavy darkness in which we were plunged, and leave it behind" – in a word, servant and witness to what is to come.

Find out more on

[http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2017/12/28/le-lumpen-radicalisme-et-autres-maladies-de-la-tyrannie\\_5235406\\_3212.html#6OC5hMk3v8WYW5oj.99](http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2017/12/28/le-lumpen-radicalisme-et-autres-maladies-de-la-tyrannie_5235406_3212.html#6OC5hMk3v8WYW5oj.99)

# Peace: Building sustainable peace and global citizenship through education

Source: UNESCO\*

## Peace: political participation, peace and access to justice

*We are determined to foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies which are free from fear and violence. There can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development.*

*– The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*

- 1) Education makes people more likely to participate in political processes constructively and non-violently.
  - a) Education and communication campaigns can teach people how to participate in politics and access political information.
  - b) The right type of education and teaching promotes the transition to more participatory political systems.
  - c) Democratic regimes tend to result in more and better quality education.

\* excerpts from the Global Education Monitoring Report 2016. © UNESCO 2017. Published in 2017 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002474/247430E.pdf>

- 2) Better education is clearly linked to more women in political leadership.
  - a) Gender equality in politics is far from being achieved.
  - b) Women with more education possess more skills to take up leadership roles.
  - c) When there are more women in politics, gender gaps in education shrink.
- 3) An education that is provided equally, with inclusive teaching and learning materials, is a powerful preventive tool and antidote for conflict.
- 4) Conflict is taking an increasingly large toll on education systems.
  - a) Children, teachers and schools are frequently under attack.
  - b) Forcibly displaced people, especially children and youth, are in dire need of access to education.
  - c) Other forms of violence, including school-based bullying and sexual violence, are of concern.
- 5) Education should be better recognized in peacebuilding agendas for its role in helping with conflict resolution.
- 6) Education can reduce crime and violence against children and youth.
- 7) Educational programmes help marginalized people access justice and legal protection.

# PEACE

CONFLICT DESTROYS EDUCATION. SCHOOLS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS ARE BEING ATTACKED AND DISPLACED.



BUT CONFLICT MAKES EDUCATION EVEN MORE IMPORTANT.



SCHOOLS CAN BE SAFE PLACES FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES WHO ARE FORCIBLY DISPLACED FROM THEIR HOMES.



WHEN WE'RE EDUCATED, WE'RE MORE LIKELY TO VOTE, AND PROTEST PEACEFULLY, RATHER THAN WITH GUNS.



AND IF WE CAN'T READ DOCUMENTS AND UNDERSTAND OUR LEGAL RIGHTS, HOW ARE WE MEANT TO NAVIGATE THE JUSTICE SYSTEM?



THE RIGHT SORT OF EDUCATION CAN PREVENT CONFLICTS, EVEN IF IT'S NOT TALKED ABOUT IN OFFICIAL PEACE AGREEMENTS.



@GEMReport #SDG4All [bitly.com/sdg4all](http://bitly.com/sdg4all)

Violence can be prevented and stable peace is more likely in societies where institutions are democratic and representative—of women as well as minorities, of the poorest as well as the most affluent. Marginalized groups may resort to conflict and violence if there are no peaceful alternatives for resolving their grievances. It is projected that by 2030 up to 62% of people living in extreme poverty will be in countries at risk of high levels of violence (OECD, 2015).

Education has a key role in contributing to the political participation and inclusion vital to ensure social cohesion, and to prevent and mitigate tensions in societies that are—as described in the statement above from the preamble to the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)—‘peaceful, just and inclusive’ and ‘free from fear and violence’.

Sustainable peace also requires a well-functioning justice system that offers citizens, regardless of social status, a more attractive alternative to violence to resolve personal and political disputes. If people feel they have no access to justice to address their legal needs and to assert and protect their rights, they are more likely to resort to violent means, undermining the establishment and consolidation of peace.

This chapter is divided into three sections. It starts by documenting links between education and politics, showing that education offers transformative possibilities for participation, inclusion, advocacy and democracy. It then examines the multifaceted relationship between education and conflict and violence, especially in contexts where education is lacking, unequal or biased. It shows that education can contribute to conflict, but can also reduce or eliminate it. The chapter also shows how education can play a crucial role in peacebuilding and help address the alarming consequences of its neglect. It examines education and violence unrelated to conflict and war. The final section provides evidence of how education initiatives, in particular driven by civil society organizations, can help marginalized populations gain access to justice.

## Education and Literacy contribute to more participatory politics

Political inclusion is about facilitating participation throughout the political cycle, not just at elections. Active participation in political processes enables people to understand and engage with the underlying causes of social problems at the local and global levels. It also makes the electorate and polity more representative of society, holds governments more effectively to account and helps enforce constitutionally guaranteed rights. Education is a key ingredient for acquiring political knowledge, though opportunities to learn are determined by the availability of information, free from restrictions or censorship.

### Education matters in increasing political knowledge

Political participation requires knowledge and understanding. Educated people are more likely to know facts related to the key players and workings of their political system. In the county of Busia in the former Western Province of Kenya, a scholarship programme targeting girls from politically marginalized ethnic groups led to their increased participation in secondary schooling and boosted their political knowledge. Girls who benefited from the programme were 14% more likely to read newspapers that reported extensively on national politics. Political knowledge also went up—for instance, those who received scholarships were much more likely to be able to name the president and the health minister of Uganda (Friedman et al., 2011).

In countries where the predominant administrative language is spoken by a minority of the population, understanding this language gives individuals access to a wider range of political knowledge. In Mali, secondary or tertiary education attainment was the factor with the greatest effect on respondents' ability to name the heads of the assembly and of the majority party (Bleck, 2015).

Beyond formal schooling, civic education can instil specific political

knowledge. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Voter Opinion and Involvement through Civic Education programme, implemented in 2010/11, increased participation in the political decentralization process mandated by a 2007 law. Adult literacy was low, so a key strategy was to organize community education sessions using simple drawings and other images, resulting in significant gains in knowledge—by a full three correct answers out of the six questions asked about decentralization. The greatest impact was among the participants who had the least information before the programme began (Finkel and Rojo-Mendoza, 2013).

### Education helps shape electoral participation

Voting is generally considered one of the less demanding forms of political participation, and can provide equal opportunities for all to participate. But individuals need knowledge and skills to register to vote, understand the stakes and take an interest in the outcomes of an election.

In many North American and Western European democracies, formal education has been shown to have an impact on the probability that an individual will vote.<sup>1</sup> In the United States, for instance, studies showed that students receiving more educational interventions, such as being taught in smaller classes, getting extra mentoring and taking part in pre-school activities, participated in elections at higher rates (Sondheimer and Green, 2010).

In some developing countries, providing citizens with specific information affected voter turnout. In Mozambique, right before the 2009 elections, a voter education campaign was conducted with support and collaboration by a newspaper and a consortium of eight non-government organizations (NGOs). Three interventions provided information to voters and called for electoral participation—an SMS-based information campaign conveying neutral information about the elections, an

<sup>1</sup> The institutional contexts in which voting decisions are made also matter. In countries where voter registration is undertaken by local authorities and is compulsory (e.g. the United Kingdom), the impact of education on voting behaviour can be largely muted (Milligan et al., 2004).

SMS hotline receiving and disseminating information about electoral misconduct, and a free newspaper focusing on civic education. The three together increased official voter turnout by close to five percentage points (Aker et al., 2013).

In several young democracies, women are less likely to vote than men and, when they do vote, are more likely to follow the preferences of household males. In Pakistan, just before the 2008 national elections, a non-partisan, door-to-door voter awareness campaign provided information to women on the importance of voting and the secrecy of the ballot. Women who received this information were found to be 12 percentage points more likely to vote than those who did not, and significantly more likely to choose a candidate independently (Giné and Mansuri, 2011).

Yet, whether better-educated citizens decide to use their capabilities or deliberately disengage may depend on the political context. When electoral participation does not provide genuine input into a political process—because opposition parties are harassed, for example, or judicial institutions are biased—voters can express displeasure by withdrawing from politics. In Zimbabwe, the 2002 and 2005 elections were marked by severe repression of the opposition; bettereducated individuals deliberately chose to reduce their electoral participation, possibly believing that voting would legitimize the regime in power. This negative effect of education on electoral participation dissipated following 2008's relatively more competitive election, which initiated a power-sharing arrangement. Better educated people re-engaged with politics when political conditions allowed them to reflect their political preferences more meaningfully (Croke et al., 2015).

#### VOTER EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS CAN RESPOND TO ELECTORAL MISCONDUCT

In newly democratic low income countries, elections sometimes increase the propensity for civil conflict. Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe provide examples of election cycles marked by thousands of deaths. Pol-



iticians may secure votes by stirring up greed, rivalry and fear. Well-designed voter education campaigns can reduce such behaviour. In Nigeria, an anti-violence campaign, conducted in the run-up to the national and state elections in 2007, involved town meetings, popular theatre and door-to-door distribution of materials. It reduced intimidation, voter turnout was nearly 10% higher where the campaign was implemented, and independent journalists reported a decrease in the intensity of violence (Collier and Vicente, 2014).

In New Delhi slums, in India, during the run-up to the 2008 state legislature elections, door-to-door distribution of newspapers provided information about the performance and qualifications of the incumbent and the two other candidates. The campaign not only increased the average voter turnout by 4% but also decreased by almost 20% the use of vote-buying as an electoral strategy (Banerjee et al., 2011).

### Education can help people make their voices heard

While voting is a pivotal form of political participation, elections are not the only type of political or civic participation in which citizens can exercise regular control and influence on government actors and hold them accountable. A wide array of political activities can convey more precise demands and generate more pressure than a single vote. Better education can help people be more critically minded and politically engaged in such activities. It can also increase representation by marginalized groups, such as women (Box 1.1).

One direct form of political participation is contacting a public representative to request information or express an opinion. Across 102 countries, adults with a tertiary education were 60% more likely to request information from the government than those with a primary education or less—and 84% more likely in developing countries (World Justice Project, 2015). In Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, higher levels of formal education were associated with a greater likelihood of contacting an elected official (MacLean, 2011).

## Better education and women's involvement in national and local decision-making bodies are closely linked

Recent years have seen a rising tide of women's political representation. For example, more women than ever before are being elected to national assemblies, including in Argentina, Portugal and Rwanda. The global average has been climbing and in 2014 was close to 22%—far from equality but an improvement over 14% in 2000. The adoption of affirmative action measures – such as quotas on party electoral lists or reserved seats – has been critical in facilitating women's entry into national assemblies.

Yet, in local governance, women remain under-represented. According to one estimate, just 16% of mayors of capital cities across the world were women in 2015. In executive positions in governments, too, women continue to be very much in a minority and confined mainly to gender-stereotyped portfolios.

Structural barriers to women's involvement and advancement in formal representative politics include their relative lack of material resources to support their move into politics; their additional work burden, which denies them the time necessary to engage in politics; the prevalence of masculine models of political life and elected government bodies; and cultural values such as those barring women from the public sphere.

But girls' education helps give women the skills they need to take on leadership roles in public life—on community councils, in national office and on international bodies. In many countries, such as Sierra Leone, women who consider entering politics often feel disadvantaged by a lack of education and of the experience of campaigning and public speaking. A study drawing on the life histories of women leaders at various levels of government in eight countries, including Brazil, Egypt and Ghana, found that those

with higher educational levels held office in higher tiers of government.

Greater representation of women in politics and public office can also reduce gender disparities in education and provide positive role models for other women, increasing their educational aspirations and achievements, and thereby improving female educational attainment levels. Across the 16 biggest states in India, a 10% increase in the number of women involved in district politics would lead to an increase of nearly 6% in primary school completion, with a larger impact on girls' education. Similarly, in villages assigned a female leader for two election cycles, the gender gap in career aspirations shrank by 25% in parents and 32% in adolescents.

Sources: Beaman et al. (2012); Burchi (2013); Castillejo (2009); Domingo et al. (2015); Monteiro (2012); Powley (2005); Tadros (2014); UCLG (2015); UN Women (2011, 2015)

Better-educated people are also more likely to make their voices heard by participating in political and community meetings and processes. An analysis drawing on recent data from over 27,000 respondents in 20 emerging sub-Saharan African democracies found that people with primary schooling were three percentage points more likely to attend community meetings than those with no education. For people with secondary or post-secondary education, the impact was about twice that (Isaksson, 2014). In Benin, adults who had attended the first elementary schools established by the French were 32% more likely to be party members and 34% more likely to campaign for parties, and made up the majority of the few people who stood for election to political office (Wantchekon et al., 2015).

Schools are not the only locus for political socialization. Civil society plays an important role in educating adults and increasing their political participation, especially at the local level. In rural Senegal, a study of

1,484 voting-age individuals found that beneficiaries of NGO-run, non-formal education programmes were more likely to contact a political official or influential person to obtain help resolving community and personal problems. Furthermore, such programmes increased political participation even more than formal education did, a finding partly attributed to their being conducted in local languages (Kuenzi, 2006, 2011).

#### WELL-DESIGNED CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAMMES CAN INCREASE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

In many countries, youth involvement in political processes is low. Across 38 countries taking part in the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), only a small minority of 14-year-old students reported participating in organizations such as party youth groups, unions, environmental groups and human rights organizations (Schulz et al., 2010).

Students who attend schools that provide well-designed civics education are more likely to be actively involved in politics. Most teachers from the European countries participating in the 1999 International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study agreed that teaching civic education could make a difference for students' political and civic development: the percentages agreeing ranged from 53% in the Czech Republic and 65% in Cyprus to over 80% elsewhere (Torney-Purta, 2002). Moreover, civic education can have long-lasting effects. A study drawing on data from eight European countries, including Denmark, Poland and Slovenia, showed that some civic skills and political values acquired in school were retained into adulthood (Hooghe and Wilkenfeld, 2008).

In many countries, citizenship education is part of the compulsory curriculum, whether delivered in discrete lessons, integrated into other disciplines or taught in a crosscurricular approach (Eurydice, 2012). Yet, the impact of civic education critically depends on how programmes are designed, the kinds of teaching methods employed and the quality of facilitators or trainers. In the United States, the Student Voices in the

Campaign curriculum educated high school students on national and local elections during the 2002/03 school year. The curriculum included student-centred activities such as mock elections, meetings with those campaigning for local political office, letterwriting, and online polls and discussion boards. A followup evaluation with students after the 2004 elections found the curriculum led to increased and sustained interest in formal types of political engagement such as volunteering for a campaign (Pasek et al., 2008; Syvertsen et al., 2009).

In the Dominican Republic, Poland and South Africa, adults who were exposed to civic education programmes conducted by NGOs were significantly more active in local politics, for example attending municipal meetings or participating in community problem-solving activities. The impact was greater when individuals received more frequent exposure to civic education; when messages were taught through active and participatory methods; and when individuals had sufficient prior political resources to act on messages received through training (Finkel, 2002, 2003).

### Education can channel discontent into non-violent civil movements

From the Occupy movement to the Arab Spring and mass protests on the streets of Brazil and Turkey, people around the world are increasingly using unarmed tactics to challenge oppressive, corrupt and unfair political and economic systems. Education makes it more likely that discontented citizens will channel their concerns through non-violent civil movements, such as protests, boycotts, strikes, rallies, political demonstrations and social noncooperation and resistance. In China, citizens with a college degree not only agreed on the need to improve democracy, but supported various types of political participation, such as mass demonstrations and political rallies, and resisted the official government petitioning system (Wang et al., 2015).

Such non-violent actions take place outside traditional political channels, making them distinct from other non-violent political processes

such as lobbying, electioneering and legislating. For those who fail to get what they need from the political system through the electoral system or by direct communication or negotiations, non-violent civil actions offer the potential for issues to be heard and possibly addressed. Using data on 238 ethnic groups in 106 states from 1945 to 2000, a study found that ethnic groups with higher levels of educational attainment were more likely to engage in non-violent protests than those with lower levels of education (Shaykhutdinov, 2011).

Not all non-violent actions succeed, but such activities are effective means of achieving significant social and political change. An analysis of 323 non-violent and violent resistance campaigns for regime change, anti-occupation and secession from 1900 to 2006 showed that non-violent resistance was nearly twice as effective as violent resistance in removing incumbent governments from power. Moreover, countries where authoritarian regimes fall to non-violent uprisings are much more likely to transition to democracy and experience civil peace than if regimes fall to armed uprisings (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2011). Non-violent action was a central component of 50 out of 67 democratic transitions from 1973 to 2005 (Johnstad, 2010; Karatnycky and Ackerman, 2005).

In some countries, protest has arisen from higher educated individuals lacking suitable jobs. In the years leading up to the Arab Spring, the expansion of schooling in the Arab world increased the pool of individuals who had completed primary school and attained some secondary schooling (and beyond) but had not seen that education rewarded in the labour market. According to one study drawing on the World Values Survey from 2005–2007, in many countries in the Middle East marked by the Arab Spring, more educated individuals were more likely to engage in demonstrations, boycotts and strikes; the link between education and political protest was stronger among individuals who had poor outcomes in the labour market (Campante and Chor, 2012).

Investment in education and democracy can be mutually supportive

Broad and equitable access to good quality education plays an important role in sustaining democratic practices and institutions. Higher literacy levels, induced by the expansion of mass primary schooling, accounted for half the regime transitions towards higher levels of democracy over 1870–2000 (Murtin and Wacziarg, 2014). The likelihood of a country establishing and maintaining a democratic regime is higher the more educated its population. Oligarchic societies that started with a more equal distribution of education would be expected to democratize sooner (Bourguignon and Verdier, 2000). A study of 104 countries over 1965–2000 found that, even after controlling for country-specific effects, a more equal distribution of education was the main determinant for the transition to democracy (Castelló-Climent, 2008).

In many countries, greater access to tertiary education has played a critical role in promoting the transition to democracy and sustaining democratic regimes. University students were a driving force behind the popular protests that brought down many authoritarian regimes in sub-Saharan Africa in the early 1990s (Bratton and Walle, 1997). A study on Benin, Ghana, Kenya and Senegal showed that elected representatives with tertiary education formed the core of cross-party coalitions that initiated recent reforms (Barkan et al., 2004).

Just as equal education opportunities for all can facilitate democratic regimes, democratic governance tends to result in more and better education. The success of the Universal Primary Education programme in Uganda was heavily influenced by Uganda's return to multicandidate—if not multiparty—political competition in 1996. It increased the incentive for the government to successfully implement the programme because of perceptions that the government's performance would be judged accordingly. Ugandan voters indeed evaluated their president's overall performance highly, and the Universal Primary Education programme was one of the major reasons (Stasavage, 2005).

## How teaching is done matters for the political outcomes of education

An open learning environment that supports discussion of controversial political and social issues, and allows students to hear and express differing opinions, has been shown to lead to better political outcomes (Davies, 2009). Through interactions with peers, teachers and political leaders, students gain knowledge about the political process, engage in careful reasoning about policy issues and practise how to argue and debate. Similarly, active and participatory teaching methods, such as role playing, dramatizations and group decisionmaking, have a greater effect on individual political orientation than more traditional rote learning does (Harber and Mncube, 2012).

Drawing on data from 35 countries participating in the 2009 ICCS, a recent study showed that openness in classroom discussions, with students having the opportunity to discuss and give their opinion on political and social issues, was positively associated with individuals' future intention to participate in civic and political engagement (Quintelier and Hooghe, 2013). In Israel and Italy, an open and democratic classroom climate has been shown to help students become civically and politically involved by fostering citizenship self-efficacy (Ichilov, 2007; Manganelli et al., 2015). More specifically, an open classroom climate can foster political participation by students from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds, as a study in the United States showed (Campbell, 2008).

In South Africa, since the early 1990s, Street Law's Democracy for All programme has provided civic education in grades 11 and 12, including participatory activities such as case studies, role playing and mock trials. Students exposed to this programme at least weekly were found far more likely to correctly identify names of key South African political leaders and possess basic knowledge of the constitutional structure than students who received civics instruction less often or not at all (Finkel and Ernst, 2005).



In Guatemala, the Nueva Escuela Unitaria model's active participatory learning approach in rural and indigenous schools included self-instructional workbooks and teacher guides, an integrated active pedagogy, the development of pedagogical materials, and extensive community involvement. First and second graders attending these schools showed significantly more democratic behaviours (including turn-taking, expressing opinions, assisting others and leading) than their counterparts in traditional schools (De Baessa et al., 2002; Mogollón and Solano, 2011).

#### IMPLEMENTING LEARNER-CENTRED PEDAGOGY IS NOT WITHOUT CHALLENGES

The implementation of learner-centred pedagogy in classrooms can admittedly be difficult, especially in contexts with few textbooks and teaching materials, large class sizes and inappropriate furniture (Schweisfurth, 2011). It can also be challenging because pedagogy ultimately relates to power relations within classrooms and beyond (Altinyelken, 2015). In Ethiopia and Namibia, the basic tenets of student-centred pedagogy sometimes conflicted with local understandings of authority structures, obedience and teacher-student relationships (O'Sullivan, 2004; Serbessa, 2006). In some East Asian countries, teacher-dominated pedagogy prevails; it is considered more compatible with societies that value high stakes testing and show deference to teachers (Nguyen et al., 2006).

The external political environment can also shape the internal characteristics of classrooms. Interviews with teachers and school management in Ankara, Turkey, found that the authoritarian nature of political and social environments, combined with increasing limitations on freedom of speech, gave children a strong message that dissenting voices were not welcome and, worse, not tolerated (Altinyelken, 2015).

## The relationship between education and conflict is multifaceted

It is estimated that well over 100,000 people were killed in armed conflict in 2014—the highest annual fatality count in 20 years. There were important regional variations. The Middle East was the most violence-prone region, with developments in Iraq and the Syrian Arab Republic mainly responsible for driving up the death toll (Melander, 2015). The underlying causes of armed conflict are multiple and complex; lack of good quality education is seldom, if ever, the primary precipitating factor. But under certain conditions, it can exacerbate the wider grievances, social tensions and inequalities that drive societies towards armed conflict.

Too little education or unequal educational opportunities can make societies more prone to conflict

When large numbers of young people are denied access to a good quality education, the resulting poverty, unemployment and hopelessness can act as recruiting agents for armed militia. An analysis of 120 countries over 30 years found that countries with large numbers of young men were less likely to experience violent conflict if their populations had higher levels of education (Barakat and Urdal, 2009). In Sierra Leone, young people who had no education were nine times as likely to join rebel groups as those with at least secondary education (Humphreys and Weinstein, 2008).

Yet, more education is not automatically a panacea for the threat posed by the combination of mass unemployment and a high proportion of youth to adults. As was noted above, when education levels rise but labour markets are stagnant, the result can be a rapid increase in the number of better-educated unemployed young people resentful over their lack of prospects.

In Uttar Pradesh state, India, the disillusionment of educated youth (usually young men) who were unable to secure jobs was seen as under-

mining social cohesion and political stability (Jeffrey et al., 2007). In Peru, large-scale qualitative research identified dissatisfaction with public education, corruption in the education sector and a lack of mobility associated with education (particularly outside the capital) as key causes for the growth of armed factions, as these grievances were used to recruit both students and teachers (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación de Peru, 2003).

Inequality in education, interacting with wider disparity, heightens the risk of conflict. A recent study drawing on data from 100 countries over 50 years found that countries with higher levels of inequality in schooling due to ethnic and religious differences were much more likely to experience conflict (FHI 360 Education Policy and Data Center, 2015). Across 22 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, sub-national regions with very low average education had a 50% probability of experiencing the onset of conflict within 21 years, while the corresponding interval for regions with very high average education was 346 years (Østby et al., 2009).

A striking body of evidence suggests that people willing to use violence to pursue political ends are more likely to come from higher educated sections of society. Drawing on public opinion polls, a study found that, among Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank in the 1980s, higher levels of education did not necessarily decrease support for violent attacks. In Lebanon, Hezbollah combatants who were killed during paramilitary operations had more education than non-combatants of the same age group and regional background (Krueger and Maleckova, 2003).

Content and pedagogy can make societies more or less prone to violent conflicts

Why does access to formal education not always keep people from participating in violence, particularly in the context of violent extremism? Part of the answer lies not in the amount of education but in what and how students are taught. When sites of learning are used not to nurture minds, by teaching learners to think critically, but to inculcate prejudice,

intolerance and a distorted view of history, they can become breeding grounds for violence.

In many countries, curricula and learning materials have been shown to reinforce stereotypes and exacerbate political and social grievances. In Rwanda, a review of major education policies and programmes implemented between 1962 and 1994 argued that the content of education reflected and amplified ethnic inequality in society and contributed to categorizing, collectivizing and stigmatizing Hutu and Tutsi into exclusive groups (King, 2014). In India and Pakistan, textbooks and curricula have perpetuated images of the rival nation to suit their adversarial relationship and political goals (Lall, 2008).

Disputes over curricular contents have sometimes directly spilled over into violent conflict. In 2000, when overtly Sunni textbooks were introduced in Pakistan's Federally Administered Northern Areas, the local Shia population began to agitate for equal representation in textbook discussions of Islam. The conflict became acute in 2004–2005 as violent confrontations took place between Shia and Sunni communities, with the resulting curfews closing down schools for almost a year (Ali, 2008).

Language in education policies can be a source of wider grievances. In multi-ethnic countries, the imposition of a single dominant language as the language of instruction in schools, while sometimes a necessity, has been a frequent source of grievance linked to wider issues of social and cultural inequality (UNESCO, 2016). By one estimate, over half the countries affected by armed conflict were highly diverse linguistically, making decisions over the language of instruction a potentially divisive political issue (Pinnock, 2009).

Violent conflict has often followed group-based inequality exacerbated by language policies in education. In Nepal, the imposition of Nepali as the language of instruction fed into broader grievances among non-Nepali-speaking groups that drove the civil war (Murshed and Gates, 2005). Guatemala's imposition of Spanish in schools was seen by indigenous people as part of a broader pattern of social discrimination.

Armed groups representing indigenous people demanded bilingual and intercultural education during negotiations on a peace agreement, leading to a constitutional commitment (Marques and Bannon, 2003).

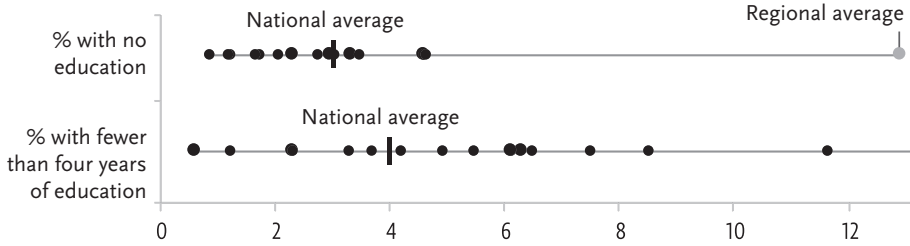
Armed conflict places a heavy burden on education systems

Armed conflict is one of the greatest obstacles to progress in education. In conflict-affected countries, almost 21.5 million children of primary school age and almost 15 million adolescents of lower secondary school age are out of school. Over the last decade, the problem of out-of-school children has been increasingly concentrated in conflict-affected countries, where the proportion increased from 29% in 1999 to 35% in 2014. This trend is especially marked in Northern Africa and Western Asia where the share increased from 63% to 91% (UNESCO, 2016). Recent estimates indicated that surging conflict and political upheaval across the Middle East and North Africa prevent more than 13 million children from going to school (UNICEF, 2015).

The experience of the Syrian Arab Republic provides a stark example of how conflict can reverse achievements in education. According to data from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), by 2001 the country had achieved universal primary enrolment and relatively high secondary enrolment. Yet, as the civil war spread, the primary net enrolment ratio, which was still at 98.9% in 2009, declined to under 71% in 2013, with the number of primary school-age children out of school increasing from 21,000 to 563,000.

Armed conflict also interrupts progress in education. Two decades of conflict in Afghanistan up to 2001 resulted in a loss of 5.5 years on the total average years of national schooling; Burundi's civil war cost the country over 3 years (UIS, 2010). Similarly, the 1992–1998 civil conflict in Tajikistan resulted in a decrease in school attainment for girls. Girls exposed to conflict were 12% less likely to complete compulsory schooling than older cohorts who completed their schooling before the conflict (Shemyakina, 2011).

**In the Philippines, children and youth in a conflict-affected region are left behind**  
*Percentage of children who had never been to school and of 20- to 24-year-olds with other regions, 2013*



Source: GEM Report team analysis (2016) based on 2013 data from Demographic and Health Survey.

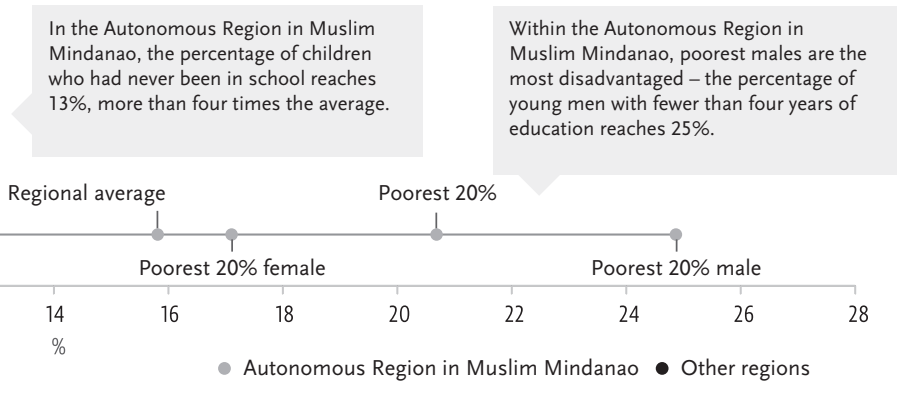
In addition, armed conflict exacerbates inequality. Conflict-affected areas are often marked by extreme disadvantage in education, with the poor typically faring worst.<sup>2</sup> Young adults in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao in the Philippines are four times more likely than the national average to have fewer than four years of education—and six times more likely for poor males (Figure 1.1).

When Guatemala’s civil war started in 1965, indigenous people averaged three years fewer in school than the average. By the start of the 1991 peace talks, indigenous people in areas not affected by the conflict had gained 3.1 years in education while for those in conflict-affected areas, the education gap with the rest of the indigenous population had increased from 0.4 to 1.7 years (UIS, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Intra-country comparisons should be treated with caution. It cannot automatically be assumed that conflict is the main source of educational disparity. Inequality associated with wider social, economic and political factors in conflict zones also influences opportunities for education.

and  
fewer than four years of education, conflict-affected region and

Figure 1.1



Children, teachers and schools are increasingly on the front line of conflict

Children, teachers and schools are on the front line of conflict and many have been deliberately targeted. State and non-state actors alike often blur the line between combatants and civilians. In the majority of countries with armed conflicts—including at least 26 between 2005 and 2015—government armed forces and non-state armed groups have used schools and other education institutions for military purposes. In addition to risking students’ and teachers’ lives and safety, the military use of education institutions impinges upon access to education, decreases the quality of education and compromises efforts to create safe learning spaces (Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack, 2015).

Deliberate destruction of education facilities is a longstanding practice in armed conflicts (UNESCO, 2011). Most of Timor-Leste’s education infrastructure was destroyed in the 1998–1999 war, and 95% of schools required rehabilitation. In Iraq, 85% of schools were damaged or destroyed by fighting during the conflict of 2003–2004 (Buck-

land, 2005). Between 2009 and 2015, attacks in north-eastern Nigeria destroyed more than 910 schools and forced at least 1,500 to close. By early 2016, an estimated 952,029 school-age children had fled the violence (HRW, 2016). By 2016, the Syrian Arab Republic had lost more than one-quarter of its schools—more than 6,000 damaged by the violence, forced to close, or used for fighting or sheltering hundreds of displaced families (UNICEF, 2016).

Teachers are at risk. During the Rwandan genocide, more than two-thirds of the teaching force in primary and secondary schools was killed or fled (Buckland, 2005). In Colombia, 140 teachers were killed over 2009–2013, around 1,100 received death threats and 305 were forced to leave their homes because their lives were at risk (Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack, 2015). As of 2015, in Nigeria, where Boko Haram has targeted education workers and students, at least 611 teachers had been deliberately killed and 19,000 forced to flee since 2009 (HRW, 2016).

The forced recruitment of children into armed forces, often through abduction, is widespread. It is an immense barrier to education, not just because child soldiers receive no formal education, but also because abductions and trauma have far wider effects on the children themselves and their home communities. Reliable and recent data on the global number of child soldiers are not available.

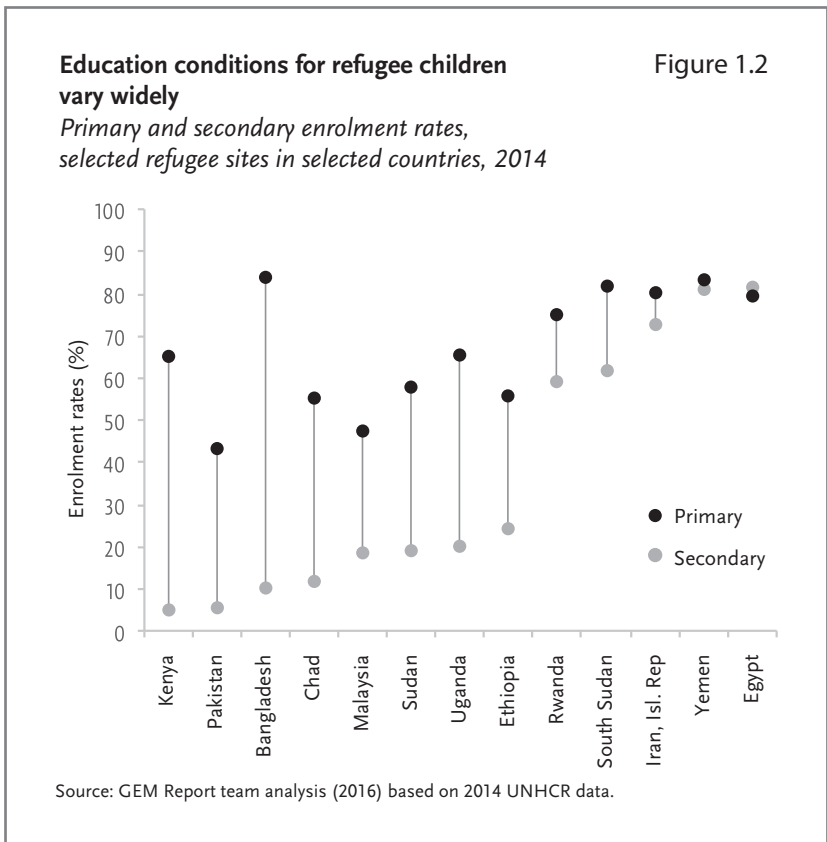
#### REFUGEES ARE A HUGE CHALLENGE FOR EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Almost 60 million people were in forced displacement in 2015, the highest number since 1945 (UNHCR, 2015). They include internally displaced people (IDPs), asylum seekers and refugees, a small percentage of whom are resettled. Moreover, people are spending longer and longer time in displacement and refuge, compromising prospects of durable solutions and reinforcing the urgency of a sustainable, comprehensive response by the international community.

Data remain limited for many refugee situations, but the most recent data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees esti-



mate that, worldwide, 50% of primary school-age refugee children are out of school and 75% of adolescent refugees at secondary level are out of school. Refugee children and adolescents are five times more likely to be out of school than their non-refugee peers. However, this average obscures significant differences across countries. Primary enrolment rates among the displaced are 80% in Egypt and Yemen but 40% at refugee sites in Pakistan. Enrolment rates are substantially lower at the secondary level: only 4% of 12- to 17-year-old refugees were enrolled in school in Kenya and Pakistan (Figure 1.2).



The provision and quality of education in some refugee settings are limited, with shortages of qualified teachers proficient in an appropriate language, pupil/teacher ratios as high as 70:1 and high proportions of unqualified teachers. Official learning validation and certification, which are important for the effective education of refugee children, are often ignored (UNESCO and UNHCR, 2016).

Education can help build societies after conflict

Segregation is a common legacy of conflict. Institutional environments play an important role in reintegrating post-conflict communities and can address differences between ethnic and religious groups (Alexander and Christia, 2011). On the other hand, where schools maintain the status quo, they can predispose young people towards segregation and engrain discriminatory attitudes, leading them to believe intolerance is socially acceptable (Ramirez-Barat and Duthie, 2015).

Integrated schools have been found to positively influence minority group identity, prevailing attitudes towards inclusion and exclusion, and a sense of forgiveness, with the potential to heal division and promote less sectarian perspectives (McGlynn, 2004). Members of communities educated together may develop more tolerance (Hansson et al., 2013).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, schools have been segregated along linguistic and ethnic lines since the end of the war in 1996. In some cases, students from different ethnic groups attend the same school but are physically separated, are taught in different languages and follow specific ethnic curricula. An interim measure meant to facilitate the return of refugees immediately after the war became an entrenched practice that impedes younger generations' learning to live together (Ramirez-Barat and Duthie, 2015).

In Northern Ireland in 2013, 15 years after the Belfast Agreement, 93% of children and youth attended schools segregated by religion. A bottom-up movement for integrated cross-community schools began in

the late 1970s, largely because of a campaigning group of parents known as All Children Together. As of 2008, 61 integrated schools had been created, where children from both communities are brought together daily to interact in the classroom and during extracurricular activities. The schools include training programmes to prepare teachers for cross-community settings, as well as a curriculum that includes opportunities to discuss potentially contentious aspects of the country's cultural traditions and sectarian conflict (Aiken, 2013).

In Israel, there are six Arab-Jewish bilingual schools, where mixed classrooms are a central aspect, reflecting the schools' commitment to strengthening group identity while encouraging tolerance and respect for pluralism (Bekerman, 2016). These schools have had some success in mediating conflicting national narratives, creating opportunities to talk about the conflict and recognizing ethnic, religious and other differences (Bekerman, 2012).

Curricular content can help or harm inter-group relations after conflict. Developing curricula about the recent past is difficult and may be contested. In Bosnia and Herzegovina three parallel education systems, each with distinct historical narratives, were created; in Rwanda the teaching of history was postponed for 10 years following the genocide (Freedman et al., 2008; Jones, 2012). In Guatemala, Peru and South Africa, while history education teaches about recent conflicts, it does not engage substantively with the causes of conflict and past injustices. Conflict is presented as exceptional, an aberration overcome by what is believed to be the present's democracy, active citizenship and a culture of peace (Paulson, 2015).

Education's contribution to peacebuilding also depends on the sensitivity of reforms and programmes to the legacies of past injustice. Transitional justice promotes accountability and the redressing of major violations of human rights. It is increasingly recognized as a fundamental part of peacebuilding efforts, helping to strengthen the rule of law, address grievances among affected communities and prevent the recurrence of violations. Adding a dimension of transitional justice to the

reconstruction of education after conflict is challenging, yet measures can be designed to establish links with and catalyse change in education (Ramirez- Barat and Duthie, 2015).

The success of any curricular reform or innovation in learning materials depends on the availability of motivated, engaged and trained teachers. Teaching in ways that encourage critical thinking and embrace complexity is difficult, all the more so in conflict-ridden countries, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Rwanda, where teachers may be reluctant or ill-prepared to discuss contentious issues, fear engaging with political issues or have been socialized to accept one-sided narratives. In Lebanon, teachers chose to avoid contentious historical issues in lessons, partly because their training had failed to equip them with skills to manage, contain or solve classroom conflicts (van Ommering, 2015). In Guatemala, teachers believed it was important to teach about the civil war but often felt unprepared to facilitate discussions for lack of appropriate training and learning materials (Bellino, 2014).

In Kenya, a review of peace education programmes in refugee camps and nationwide highlighted challenges for teachers in embracing learner-centred pedagogy such as participatory and interactive approaches. For example, classroom observations in Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps showed that most teachers had poor questioning skills (Mendenhall and Chopra, 2016; Obura, 2002).

#### PEACE EDUCATION CAN OFFER A RESPONSE TO DIRECT VIOLENCE AND HELP PREVENT FURTHER VIOLENCE

In many countries, thousands of children are being taught by educators using peace education curricula involving methods and learning processes that include inquiry, critical thinking, and dialogue towards greater equity and social justice. The scope of peace education has expanded in recent years to become more inclusive of areas such as human rights education, citizenship education, multicultural education, environmental education and social justice education (Bajaj, 2008; Bajaj and Hantzopoulos, 2016).

Although well-designed peace education interventions are rarely subjected to rigorous scrutiny, studies show they can reduce student aggression, bullying and participation in violent conflict, and increase the chances that students will work to prevent conflict (Barakat et al., 2008; Barakat et al., 2013; Davies, 2005).

Many NGOs have contributed to peace education. In Gujarat state, India, the NGO Navsarjan focuses on the rights of Dalits (formerly called ‘untouchables’), who make up around 16% of India’s population (HRW, 2014). To address widespread caste discrimination in schools and the high dropout rate of Dalit students, Navsarjan set up several schools that specially cater to Dalit children living in the surrounding communities. Classes and assemblies reiterate messages about caste equality to eradicate the notion that Dalit children are less worthy than their higher caste peers. Students are also encouraged to critically analyse their society and become active in their communities by spreading awareness, joining campaigns for equality and fighting for justice (Bajaj, 2012, 2014).

### Education needs more emphasis on international peacebuilding agendas

Building sustainable peace is a major challenge. A 2009 study estimated that 40% of all conflicts reignited within the first decade of peace, highlighting the need for concerted international effort focused not just on ending conflict but on post-conflict peacebuilding (World Bank, 2009). Despite growing evidence of the role of education in peacebuilding, international actors have prioritized security issues—such as spending in military and security personnel—as in Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone (Novelli et al., 2015). Of 37 publicly available full peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2005, 11 do not mention education at all. Even in those that do, education is addressed with great variation (Dupuy, 2008). Moreover, education stakeholders often lack skills and knowledge to integrate peacebuilding measures into education pro-

grammes or sector plans, or to lobby for education's role in peacebuilding frameworks (Novelli et al., 2015).

Violence is a challenge for all, not only for conflict affected countries

The costs of interpersonal violence are far higher than those of armed conflict. The death toll of disputes between individuals, including domestic and family violence, is estimated at nine times that of war and other such conflict (Hoeffler and Fearon, 2014). Could education make a difference? Policies designed to increase educational attainment can significantly reduce crime rates. In Italy, more than 75% of convicted persons had not completed high school in 2001, while United Kingdom incarceration rates among men aged 21 to 25 were more than eight times higher for those with no qualifications than for those with some qualification (Buonanno and Leonida, 2006; Machin et al., 2011). In Sweden, each additional year of schooling decreased the likelihood of a conviction for a violent crime by 10%, for property crime by 14% and for other crimes by almost 6% (Hjalmarsson et al., 2015).

#### EDUCATION CAN BE USED TO REDUCE VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN

A prominent share of violence against children occurs within their own households. Around 6 in 10 children between the ages of 2 and 14 are regularly subjected to physical punishment by their caregivers (UNICEF, 2014). Action from the education sector can make a difference. For instance, parental and family-based skill-building initiatives on child protection and early childhood development can lead to behavioural change. In Liberia, the Parents Make the Difference programme involved a ten week parenting intervention including training in positive parenting and non-violent behaviour. When asked later about the last time their child misbehaved, only 9% of those who had participated reported beating their child, compared with 45% of those who had not. Participants replaced harsh punishment with non-violent discipline strategies using newly acquired knowledge and skills (Sim et al., 2014).

Around 120 million girls under the age of 20 have been subjected to forced sexual acts, including intercourse, at some point in their lives (UNICEF, 2014). A Ugandan programme provided life skills to build knowledge and reduce risky behaviour, combined with vocational training to enable girls who had been forced into sexual acts to establish small enterprises. The programme reduced the incidence of girls who unwillingly had sex during the previous year by 83%, an impact largely attributed to life skills sessions and to discussion on negotiation, rape, legal rights and preventive measures (Bandiera et al., 2014).

All kinds of violence against children affect schooling, leading to lower educational attainment and poor employment prospects. Across 18 sub-Saharan African countries, gender-based violence—as measured by intimate partner violence, early marriage and female genital mutilation—had a negative impact on girls' schooling. In Comoros, Mozambique and Sierra Leone, the probability of attending school is, respectively, 42%, 25% and 15% lower for girls whose mothers justified intimate partner violence than for those whose mothers did not (Koissy-Kpein, 2015)—thus showing a cross-generational impact.

#### SCHOOLS ARE EXPOSED TO MANY FORMS OF VIOLENCE

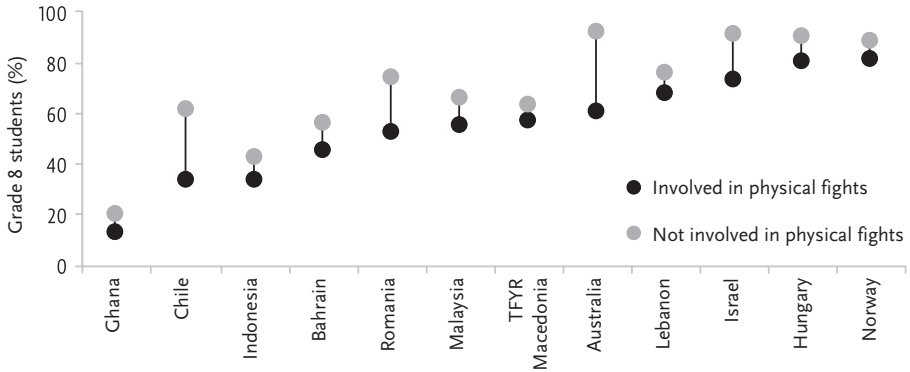
To help sustain peaceful societies, schools must offer children a non-violent environment providing appropriate skills and practices for school and home. Recent estimates from Plan International, based on the numbers of those affected by verbal bullying, a common form of violence in school, indicate that 246 million children suffer school-related violence every year (Greene et al., 2013). This violence and abuse can seriously harm children's health, well-being and ability to learn to their full potential, reducing school participation, learning levels and completion rates. In Brazil, Ghana and the United States, bullying has been shown to increase absenteeism (Abramovay and Rua, 2005; Dunne et al., 2006; Kosciw et al., 2013).

A study drawing on data from the 2011 Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) from 48 countries showed that

### Violence in school affects students' ability to achieve minimal numeracy skills

Figure 1.3

Percentage of grade 8 students scoring above the low international benchmark in mathematics, by their involvement in physical fights in school, selected countries, 2011 TIMSS



Source: GEM Report team analysis (2016) based on 2011 TIMSS data.

grade 4 students who reported being bullied weekly at school scored 32 points lower in mathematics than those who reported they had almost never been bullied (Mullis et al., 2012). New analysis of the same data shows that in many countries students in grade 8 who had reported being involved in physical fights in school scored lower in mathematics than those who had not. In Australia and Chile, the learning gap between students who were involved in physical fights in school and those who were not was almost 30 percentage points (Figure 1.3).

### Education can play a key role in building a functioning justice system

A functioning justice system that upholds the rule of law is considered critical for sustaining peaceful societies. Lack of knowledge and education, however, severely hampers citizens' ability to interact with the justice system. In 2011, according to court user survey results in the Former



Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, only 32% of individuals with primary education were 'well or partially informed' about the judicial system and its reforms, compared with 77% of those with higher education (World Bank, 2011). In Bangkok, many female victims of violence were unaware of the laws and legal procedures in place to protect them from, or redress, gender-based violence. Thus, even when financial resources were not a problem, they did not seek legal protection or justice (International Commission of Jurists, 2012).

Civil society is increasingly filling the wide gap in legal education provision

Increased awareness and understanding of legal rights can address many daily problems faced by the most marginalized populations. One promising mechanism is community-based education programmes, typically designed to advocate for the poor and enhance the legal empowerment of marginalized groups. In Bangladesh, the Human Rights and Legal Aid Services (HRLS) programme of BRAC had provided rights-based legal education to over 3.8 million people as of 2013. The HRLS model is based on legal education, legal aid and community mobilization. Women learn about their legal rights through legal education classes that aim to empower them with a basic understanding of their rights and the laws, the first step in seeking justice. The programme also uses street theatre, a popular community outreach tool, to promote behavioural change and create community acceptance of access to property rights for the poor (Kolisetty, 2014).

In Sierra Leone, over half of all people behind bars have not been convicted of any crime but are awaiting trial. Timap for Justice, an NGO, recruits and hires local community members, who receive basic legal training as paralegals. As a result of Timap's intervention, paralegals have succeeded in getting inappropriate charges dropped in 28% of cases, and secured bail for an additional 55% of suspects (Open Society Justice Initiative, 2015).

## Building the capacity of judicial and law enforcement officers is critical

Insufficient training and capacity-building for judicial and law enforcement officers hinders the carrying out of justice and can result in delays, flawed or insufficient evidence-gathering, lack of enforcement, and abuse. Many countries have critical shortages of trained police, legal and forensic staff. Only one doctor in Timor-Leste has reportedly been trained to collect evidence in sexual violence cases. Sierra Leone has just 100 trained lawyers, 90 of whom are based in the capital, Freetown, serving a population of more than 5 million (UN Women, 2011). In Rajasthan state, India, lack of skills has been identified as a barrier to effective policing. Training police officers in behavioural skills has had significant positive effects on the quality of police work and public satisfaction. In police stations where all staff were trained, victim satisfaction increased by 30%, while fear of the police was reduced by 17% (Banerjee et al., 2012).

Capacity problems are especially marked in postconflict settings or in the aftermath of crises, when levels of violence are exceptionally high. In Haiti, the national police went from being the least to the most trusted institution of the state over five years through a training programme established by the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti. The mission provided a seven month initial recruit training programme, rather than the typical two to three weeks often seen in post-conflict environments, alongside other specialized training programmes. When Haitian citizens were asked in 2009 whether they had seen a change in police work over the past year, 72% reported a positive change, and 83% reported that the security situation in the country was either a lot or at least a little better than in the previous year (UNDPKO, 2010).

## Conclusion

What makes a peaceful and non-violent society? How can development be made sustainable in conditions of violent conflict and insecurity? The answers are complex, yet education's role, though multifaceted, is crucial, whether it involves encouraging people, particularly the young, to vote, or supports participation in political processes and becoming politically active. What students are taught and how teaching is conducted are cornerstones of the relationship between education, conflict and peacebuilding. Peace and non-violence are not promoted simply by the virtue of children and youth attending school, but by teachers enabling students to acquire useful skills when confronted with circumstances that may lead to conflict or violence.

Education reflects social tensions, including conflict-related ideologies and stereotypes, so the relationship between education, peace and conflict deserves far more attention to enable the promotion of positive contributions to peacebuilding, access to justice and protection from violence, whether large-scale or intimate.

## Policy recommendations

- ◆ In order to foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies that are free from fear and violence:
- ◆ Expand the emphasis on global citizenship and peace education in curricula.
- ◆ Invest in civic education programmes that contribute to a functioning justice system, including participation and access for marginalized communities.
- ◆ Promote learning emphasizing the values of tolerance and peace education to help build less violent and more constructive societies.

- ◆ Teach in children's mother languages. Countries with high proportions of minorities should consider training teachers in methods for teaching second language learners, in both initial teacher training and professional development.
- ◆ For refugees and internally displaced persons, implement policies that expand the pool of qualified teachers proficient in their languages, and address the issue of official validation and certification of learning by refugees. Refugees who were teachers in their home countries could be an important resource.
- ◆ Incorporate education into official foreign policy, transitional justice efforts and the peacebuilding agenda when trying to prevent and recover from conflict situations.
- ◆ Ensure curricula and learning materials are not biased or prejudiced against ethnic and minority groups. Engender resilience in students and communities in post-conflict societies through curricula, teacher training, transitional justice programmes and supporting integrated schools.
- ◆ Fund civil society organizations and other institutions that provide legal and political education in communities.

# Sustaining peace according to the UN: the “what”, the “when”, the “who” and the “how”

Source: UNDP\*

## 1 What does “sustaining peace” mean?

On 27 April 2016, the General Assembly and the Security Council adopted substantively identical resolutions on peacebuilding (A/RES/70/262 and S/RES/2282 (2016), respectively), concluding the 2015 review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture. These resolutions are the most comprehensive and far-reaching resolutions on this issue. This ground breaking achievement outlines a new ambitious agenda and approach for peacebuilding. Member States demonstrated their commitment to strengthening the United Nations' ability to prevent the “outbreak, escalation, continuation and recurrence of [violent] conflict,” address the root causes and assist parties to conflict to end hostilities in order to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war” as stated in the opening sentence of the UN Charter.

The resolutions introduce the term “sustaining peace,” which, rather than redefining peacebuilding, provides for more clarity and an expanded scope. During the 1990s, peacebuilding was mostly understood in the UN as post-conflict peacebuilding. However, that position changed in the 2000s with the adoption of Security Council Presidential State-

\* [https://undg.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Guidance-on-Sustaining-Peace.170117.final\\_.pdf](https://undg.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Guidance-on-Sustaining-Peace.170117.final_.pdf)

ment S/PRST/2001/15 and the following 2007 Policy Committee decision that defined peacebuilding as aiming to prevent the outbreak, the recurrence or the continuation of armed conflict. This position was reaffirmed in the new resolutions A/RES/70/262 and S/RES/2282 in the preamble, when it states that “sustaining peace encompasses activities aimed at preventing the outbreak, escalation, continuation and recurrence of conflict.” Sustaining peace should in practical terms not be distinguished from peacebuilding. It does not imply any redefinition of respective roles, responsibilities or mandates of UN entities. Both sustaining peace and peacebuilding are ultimately intended to reduce the risk of lapse or relapse into violent conflict. It can be seen as an aspirational goal, aiming at fostering the ability and capacity to look beyond crisis management and the immediate resolution of conflicts. The resolutions offer an opportunity to increase the focus of the UN system to preventing conflicts, so that not only the symptoms, but also the root causes of conflicts are addressed. Hence, the concept aims at tackling issues that may otherwise fuel new cycles of conflict. The new resolutions stress that sustaining peace is a shared task that should flow through all three pillars of the UN system’s engagements at all stages of the conflict, and in all its dimensions. The resolutions offer an opportunity to increase the focus and capacity of the UN system to prevent violent conflicts, and Member States, civil society organizations and the UN system need to seize the opportunity presented by the resolutions. Sustaining peace should not be viewed as rebranding existing work but rather as a more practice-oriented comprehensive concept to prevent violent conflict, by addressing drivers of conflict, patterns of violations of human rights and international humanitarian law and underlying root causes of conflict, including different kinds of exclusion, systemic discrimination and marginalization with renewed vigour, based on joint analysis of conflict dynamics and joined-up strategic planning.

The resolutions are reinforced by other agreements and reports, including the report of the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO) and the Secretary-General’s follow up to the

report, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the World Humanitarian Summit, which all emphasize the importance of preventing violent conflicts.

## 2 Sustaining peace: the “what”

The concept of “sustaining peace” should, according to the resolutions, be broadly understood as:

- ◆ **a goal and a process;**
- ◆ Activities aimed at **preventing the outbreak, continuation, escalation and recurrence of violent conflict**; addressing root causes; assisting parties to conflict to end hostilities; ensuring national reconciliation; and moving towards recovery, reconstruction and development; Inherently a political process as addressing root causes and ending hostilities requires finding
- ◆ political solutions; and
- ◆ requires a **comprehensive, coordinated and coherent approach**, which could include:
  1. **Political processes**, including elections; inclusive dialogue; reconciliation; and conflict management capacity at national and subnational levels;
  2. **Safety and security**, including mine action; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; and security sector reform;
  3. **Rule of law and human rights**, including access to justice; transitional justice (including mechanisms for truth-seeking, accountability, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence); promotion and protection of human rights; gender equality; protection of civilians, including compliance with and accountability for applicable international humanitarian, human rights and refugee law; and voluntary, safe and durable solutions for internally displaced persons and refugees;

4. **Social services**, such as water and sanitation, health and education, including to the most vulnerable, such as victims of violence, internally displaced persons and refugees;
  5. **Core government functions**, in particular basic public administration and public financial management, at the national, subnational and local levels, including transparency, accountability and anti-corruption; and
  6. **Economic revitalization and livelihoods**, including employment, livelihoods and infrastructure.
- ◆ All programmes and activities should be conflict sensitive and “do no harm” guided by a conflict analysis. Broadly, depending on the theory of change based on an analysis of the causes and drivers of conflict, they could be clustered in two groups:
    - a) Activities **that are designed and directly aimed at sustaining peace**; and
    - b) Activities that, while not explicitly designed to sustain peace, can contribute to sustaining peace.

### 3 Sustaining peace: the “when”

- ◆ Peacebuilding is no longer treated only as a post-conflict activity, but should be a priority **during all stages of the conflict cycle—before, during and after**, implying that sustaining peace should take place simultaneously with peacekeeping, development and humanitarian activities.
- ◆ Sustaining peace requires a **long-term** perspective by national (state and nonstate) counterparts and a long-term engagement by the UN system and international community in terms of **political, technical and financial support**.
- ◆ Violent conflicts are **rarely linear, sequential processes** (moving from development to violence to humanitarian assistance and from peace-



making to peacekeeping and peacebuilding, followed by sustainable peace and development). Instead, circular or vicious cycles are more typical, with conflicts escalating to various forms of social tensions, strife and violence, particularly with the changing nature of violent conflicts in recent years.

#### 4 Sustaining peace: the “who”

- ◆ The primary responsibility for leading the process for sustaining peace rests with **national governments** and authorities, including sub-national and local authorities.
- ◆ **National ownership and leadership** in peacebuilding are important, whereby the responsibility for sustaining peace is broadly shared with the entire society, including all national and local stakeholders.
- ◆ **Inclusivity** is key to advancing national peacebuilding processes and objectives in order to ensure that the needs of all segments of society are taken into account. There are several strong paragraphs on the important role of **women, youth and civil society** in sustaining peace. This should apply to all aspects of sustaining peace, its various stages and to various groups, such as opposition parties, displaced people and marginalized groups. The people themselves should be recognized as agents of peace and their local capacities must be enhanced.
- ◆ Effective peacebuilding must involve the **entire UN system**, particularly through joint analysis and effective strategic planning across the UN system in its long term engagement in conflict-affected countries. We need to breakdown the silos, both at Headquarters and the field, across the UN system, in accordance with respective mandates, for a more coherent approach to sustaining peace.

- ◆ In line with the UN Integrated Assessment and Planning policy, while humanitarian action may support sustaining peace, the main purpose of humanitarian action will remain to address life-saving needs and alleviate suffering. Analysis and planning for sustaining peace should include humanitarian actors to ensure coherence and complementarity with other actors.
- ◆ Sustaining peace requires coherence, sustained engagement and coordination among the **intergovernmental bodies** of the UN, including the General Assembly, the Security Council and ECOSOC.

## 5 Sustaining peace: the “how”

Sustaining peace requires:

- ◆ a **change in mindset**, moving from a reactive mode to a preventive approach and from short-term and output-based interventions to longer-term sustainable and collective outcomes;
- ◆ that the UN system adapts to this new agenda, not the other way around;
- ◆ **actively breaking out of silos**, eliminating fragmentation and contributing to a comprehensive, coordinated and coherent approach to sustaining peace;
- ◆ **integrating sustaining peace in relevant corporate strategic plans, policies and trainings**; analysis and assessments; planning processes; and programmes and activities;
- ◆ the UN to do **more context-specific joint multi-dimensional conflict and risk analysis, joint identification of collective outcomes, joined up effective strategic planning and joint monitoring and evaluation**, including the gender dimensions in each step;

- ◆ that interventions, initiatives, activities and programmes are based on a conflict analysis and address the drivers of violent conflict through the **formulation of a theory of change**, specifying which action would lead to what peacebuilding outcome, for example, trust between the state and the population and among population groups through equitable access to justice or social services;
- ◆ effective, accountable and responsive **leadership** in UN country operations bringing the UN system together around a common strategy for sustaining peace;
- ◆ adequate, predictable and sustained **financing**; and
- ◆ **partnerships**, including with regional, sub-regional and international financial institutions, especially the African Union and the World Bank, and civil society organizations, women's groups, youth organizations and the private sector.

In sum, the following steps could be identified:

1. **Mindset:** Recognize that sustaining peace is a shared responsibility that needs to be integrated or mainstreamed in the work of the UN system throughout the life cycle of a conflict;
2. **Joint analysis:** Conduct joint analysis to arrive at a shared understanding of causes, drivers and triggers of conflict;
3. **Collective outcomes:** Formulate a shared vision and collective outcomes for sustaining peace;
4. **Strategic planning:** UN entities strategically plan together activities, interventions and programmes and who does what, where, how and when, within their mandates and with their comparative advantage, directly aimed at or contributing to sustaining peace;
5. **Activities and programmes:** UN entities individually plan activities, interventions and programmes through their own processes;

6. **Partnerships and financing:** Develop partnerships and ensure predictable financing; and
7. **Evaluation:** Evaluate activities and programmes and learn and share lessons.

Relevant paragraphs from general assembly resolution 70/262 and Security council resolution 2282 (2016) on sustaining peace

“**Recognizing** that ‘sustaining peace’, as drawn from the Advisory Group of Experts report, should be broadly understood as a goal and a process to build a common vision of a society, ensuring that the needs of all segments of the population are taken into account, which encompasses activities aimed at preventing the outbreak, escalation, continuation and recurrence of conflict, addressing root causes, assisting parties to conflict to end hostilities, ensuring national reconciliation, and moving towards recovery, reconstruction and development, and emphasizing that sustaining peace is a shared task and responsibility that needs to be fulfilled by the government and all other national stakeholders, and should flow through all three pillars of the United Nations’ engagement at all stages of conflict, and in all its dimensions, and needs sustained international attention and assistance,

**Reaffirming** the primary responsibility of national governments and authorities in identifying, driving and directing priorities, strategies and activities for sustaining peace, and in this regard, emphasizing that inclusivity is key to advancing national peacebuilding processes and objectives in order to ensure that the needs of all segments of society are taken into account,

**Stressing** that civil society can play an important role in advancing efforts to sustain peace, ...

**Emphasizing** the importance of a comprehensive approach to sustaining peace, particularly through the prevention of conflict and addressing its root causes, strengthening the rule of law at the international and national levels, and promoting sustained and sustainable economic growth, poverty eradication, social development, sustainable development, national reconciliation and unity including through inclusive dialogue and mediation, access to justice and transitional justice, accountability, good governance, democracy, accountable institutions, gender equality and respect for, and protection of, human rights and fundamental freedoms, ...

**Recognizing** that an integrated and coherent approach among relevant political, security and developmental actors, within and outside of the United Nations system, consistent with their respective mandates, and the Charter of the United Nations, is critical to sustaining peace, and essential for improving respect for human rights, advancing gender equality, empowering women and youth, strengthening the rule of law, eradicating poverty, building institutions, and advancing economic development in conflict-affected countries,”

UN Peacebuilding Support Office/Policy, Planning and Application Branch with inputs from UN entities through the Peacebuilding Contact Group, 17 January 2017



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