POST-CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING: TOWARD A BALANCE BETWEEN STATE AND HUMAN SECURITY

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ABSTRACT

The African continent has been plagued by conflict since the commencement of the post-colonial independence movements in the late 1950s. Today, state failure and violence continue to permeate and cripple the region. United Nations post-conflict peacebuilding operations—when properly executed—provide a vehicle through which lasting peace can be achieved. However, the process as it exists today is flawed because it only ensures stability in the short-term. In a region where weak state structures and corruption are rampant, a greater inclusion of people-centered policies in the peacebuilding process ensures the emergence and development of a stronger and more capable civil society. This empowerment of the people serves as a precursor and foundation for sustainable security, as state and human security function in a symbiotic manner. This paper argues that including more human security policies in post-conflict peacebuilding missions creates the conditions necessary for more sustainable post-conflict societies. To demonstrate the imbalance, a qualitative study of the process as it exists today is presented, and an analysis of the post-conflict situations in Liberia and Sierra Leone is carried out to test the hypothesis. The findings reveal a greater balance between human and state security in Liberia than in Sierra Leone. This investment in the Liberian population’s human security helps foster a strong, healthy, educated, informed, and empowered civil society, and lays the foundation for lasting peace.
The research and writing of this thesis
is dedicated to everyone who helped along the way.

Many thanks,
Elyse Stines
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INTRODUCTION

The African continent has been plagued by conflict since the commencement of the post-colonial independence movements in the late 1950s, and today state failure and violence continue to permeate and cripple the region. To address this instability, the United Nations has deployed numerous post-conflict peacebuilding missions to Sub-Saharan Africa. However, the majority of these missions have failed to create sustainable and lasting stability. Due to the globalized and interconnected nature of the international system and the transnational nature of today’s crises, instability in one region has the power to impact—and potentially destabilize—other regions, and is thus of strategic importance to the United States and the international community. UN post-conflict peacebuilding operations, when properly executed, provide a vehicle through which lasting peace can be achieved. However, the process as it exists today is flawed because it only ensures stability in the short-term. There is greater emphasis placed on nation building, which aims to secure and promote the stability of the state, rather than capacity building, which addresses needs at the individual level. In a region where weak state structures and corruption are rampant, a greater inclusion of people-centered policies in the peacebuilding process ensures the emergence and development of a stronger and more capable civil society. This empowerment of the people serves as a precursor and foundation for sustainable security, as state and human security function in a symbiotic manner. Focusing primarily on the state excludes those who comprise that very state: the population. This paper will argue that including more human security policies in post-conflict peacebuilding missions creates the conditions necessary for more sustainable post-conflict societies.
Definitions

For the purpose of this paper, key terms must be defined. This thesis will employ the United Nations Development Programme’s definition of human security, which includes food, health, environmental, personal, community, economic, and political security. State security refers to the threats faced at the state level, a position which is rooted in the realist conception of war and peace. Stephen Walt described the primary focus of security studies as, “the study of threat, the use and control of military force, and the conditions that make the use of force more likely.”\(^1\) This approach is articulated in detail in the first section.

The field of post-conflict peacebuilding is defined in numerous ways, using several labels and terms. This thesis, however, employs the term post-conflict peacebuilding in lieu of post-conflict reconstruction, as the latter implies the physical rebuilding of a state and thus omits the human security agenda. The term peacebuilding includes both the physical reconstruction of the post-conflict state and the development of lasting peace within the society. Fundamental in lasting peace is an empowered civil society. The distinction made between state and human security is not to imply that the two should be separated when applied to real world situations, because human security and state security are symbiotic and work together to create a truly secure society. The differences are identified to demonstrate the need for a broader, more balanced understanding of ‘security’ in the field of post-conflict peacebuilding.

This paper seeks to answer many questions, namely what are the conditions missing from current post-conflict peacebuilding process? Why have some post-conflict peacebuilding

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missions failed to create lasting peace and stability in many Sub-Saharan countries? Does the current process as it exists today meet the needs of the people as well as the state? The answers to these questions will help develop a new framework for the conceptualization of post-conflict peacebuilding—one that integrates the needs of the people and the priorities of the state. Lastly, what constitutes a successful post-conflict society? In this paper, I define success as a society where the human security has progressed so far, the people are so inspired, the state is so strong, that reversion back to conflict is not possible.

To explicate this need for greater human and state security balance in post-conflict peacebuilding operations, the first section provides a theoretical framework, locating both paradigms in international relations theory. This section demonstrates the evolution of the term ‘security’ through an analysis of old and new wars. The second section explores the causes of state weakness and failure, specifically the underlying factors that make states prone to violence, and the triggers of internal conflict. This chapter highlights the lingering impact of colonialism and the destabilizing effect of the Cold War as particularly applicable. The section ends with an examination of the new security threats facing Sub-Saharan Africa and their role in state instability. The third section discusses the post-conflict peacebuilding system as it currently exists, presents the feminist critique of the process, and calls attention to the disparity between what is required and what is actually implemented on the ground. Finally, the fourth section analyzes the state and human security levels in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and identifies Liberia as having made more progress toward creating the conditions necessary for peace. This chapter also demonstrates the stabilizing impact of greater human security. The summary and conclusion
section presents recommendations for improvement, and concludes that the power and future of a stable post-conflict state lies in a strong and empowered civil society.
CHAPTER I: NEW AND OLD WARS

The central argument of this paper is the post-conflict peacebuilding process is flawed, as it does not sufficiently incorporate the needs of the populace. This omission forms an imbalance in the host country’s society, creating a situation in which reversion back to conflict is likely. This chapter outlines a theoretical framework for understanding post-conflict peacebuilding, and provides background on the evolution of the concept of war and security threats. It begins with an explanation of several theoretical perspectives, highlighting their emphasis on state security. Subsequently, it presents the feminist critique of the field, as this serves as the underpinning of the human security paradigm. The section concludes with an analysis of old and new wars, demonstrating the need for a shift in thinking.

The Origins of ‘State Security’

While the concept of security is widely discussed in many theoretical frameworks, most of these perspectives assume a state-security focus. Realists purport that the state is the referent in the existing international system; this anarchic system causes a struggle for power between self-interested powers; and military preparedness is the mechanism through which state security is ensured. Consequently, national security and survival, the foci of national interest, are always maximized and ensured.

While the international relations field has evolved considerably since the end of World War II, Hans J. Morgenthau’s writings have served as the foundation for realist conception of the international relations, and continue to shape policy today. His six principles of political realism

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address the nature of politics, but the first two are particularly applicable to post-conflict peacebuilding, as they help explain the evolution of the realist approach to politics and security. The first principle establishes that politics is governed by objective laws deeply rooted in human nature. Morgenthau advances this principle when he avers human nature is inherently selfish, and label humans as power-seekers. This principle explains the strong emphasis placed on military power, a mechanism through which state security is ensured. While the politics are governed by objective laws, ultimately it is the power-seeking statesmen who shape the political landscape. Morgenthau’s second principle purports that state interests serve as the ultimate guide for states within the international system. However, the second principle can also be applied domestically. When operating in an anarchic system, in order to compete—or survive—power-seeking statesmen attempt to strengthen the state as much as possible. This attempt to bolster state security is done through enhanced military might, and this process translates into a greater focus on state security as opposed to human security in the rebuilding of a country after it has experienced war.

Upon reflection and analysis of the international system, supported by contemporary and historical examples, these principles for the most part continue to hold true. However, the weakness in the argument is its failure to conceptualize the so-called “New World Order” and the evolving threats facing states and individuals. As evidenced by the multiple terrorist bombings in the last decade, one can bear witness to the fact that new world order is not only

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4 Ibid., 5.
comprised of states and state interests, but equally as important are the needs and interests of the individuals who live within those states.

This emphasis on state security also extends to other branches of realism. Neorealism posits that rather than the maximization of power, states attempt to optimize their own security.\(^5\) This struggle for the security of the state is an outcome of the structure of the anarchic international system, which constrains their choices. It is this anarchic system which determines the outcome of states’ actions, not human nature or domestic pressures. Neorealist conceptualize ultimate security by protection of the state from external threats. This understanding of the issue does not account for the power or needs of those at the local level, because neorealists do not perceive them to be a significant threat to state stability and security.

In liberal and neoliberal institutional theories, the state-centered model remains the approach employed when discussing security. Liberalism differs from realism in that it acknowledges other types of power besides military might. Power extends to economic and social influence, but the defining factor remains state preferences. Also in neoliberal institutionalism, international rules and organizations play a significant role in managing state-to-state interaction and mitigating the likelihood of conflict.\(^6\) However, for the most part, such organizations—e.g. the African Union, United Nations Security Council, the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance—have prioritized state security, omitting the needs of individuals. This omission of human security in the aforementioned theories has only perpetuated the cycle in the


international system, since these theories continue to serve as guiding principles for international relations.

**Human Security**

Due to its focus on the individual, the literature on human security largely falls within international relations (IR) feminist scholarship. Feminist IR theorists identify the *individual* rather than the *state* as the main actor, and employ a “bottom up” analytical approach to their understanding of security issues. While current U.S. foreign and security policy focuses on increasing the level of state security, human security aims to identify and eliminate the *insecurities* present in the world. These ‘problems without passports’ include—but are not limited to—environmental problems, public health concerns and disease vectors, natural resource abundance and scarcity, and population growth and demographic concerns. Moreover, viewing perils in the international system only as threats to the state excludes those who comprise that very state: the population.

Feminist scholars (Tickner 2001, Hoogensen and Rottem 2004, Kaldor 2007, Mine 2007, Gibson and Reardom 2007) decry the current conceptualization of security as inadequate, and stress the need for a redefinition of the term ‘security’. The authors argue state security is incapable of protecting individuals from the diverse risks they encounter in today’s globalizing world. It is because “state security has often been inadequate that discussions of reorienting the referent have arisen in the first place.”7 Feminist scholars advocate for a modification in how security and war are understood, highlighting that the vulnerability of individuals does indeed

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pose a threat to global security. Additionally, feminists aim to understand how the security of people is affected by violence, both physical and structural, at all levels.⁸

The definition of human security—food, health, environmental, personal, community, economic, and political security—can be divided into three dimensions: the rights-based approach, humanitarian approach, and sustainable development approach.⁹ The first dimension is rooted in the liberal assumption that human beings have a basic right to ‘life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness’.¹⁰ This approach claims the international community also has an obligation to promote these fundamental rights, and believes in the application of rule of law and treaty-based solutions through international institutions to solve human security problems.¹¹ This approach widely differs from the realist conception of war, which avows violence cannot be eliminated, only managed. The paradigm also seeks to bolster the normative legal framework at the international and legal levels, since it maintains that the peacebuilding process must take place in accordance to international norms and through international institutions.

The second dimension, or the humanitarian approach, and the third dimension, sustainable development, are very much interconnected. The humanitarian approach—also known as ‘freedom from fear’—holds the safety of the population as the key objective during international interventions. This approach draws a moral distinction between combatants and non-combatants, since it identifies war as the primary threat to human security, and stresses the need in addressing the root causes of conflict in order to completely eliminate this type of

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¹⁰ Ibid, 5.
¹¹ Ibid, 17.
violence. The humanitarian dimension calls for ‘integrated approach’ to human security. The sustainable development aspect points out the fact that underlying many of the problems that emerged in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries—AIDS, drug trafficking, terrorism, global poverty, and environmental problems—are the “fundamental problems of inequality and a lack of social justice in international relations.” This dimension is also known as ‘freedom from want’.

Although human security is rooted in IR feminist theory, the field has since evolved since the term was coined in the 1990s to include scholarship by non-feminist scholars. The works pertaining to post-conflict peacebuilding also include scholarship non-traditional threats to the security. For example, Charles Keely (2003) avows population growth leads to political violence and social instability in 4 situations: resource scarcity; unemployment stemming from urbanization; little access to political and economic power among the urban population; and migration to areas with established ethnic, religious, or national identities. These situations exacerbate existing tensions and increasing the likelihood of conflict. Furthering the discussion of population growth, environmental degradation, and competition over natural resources is Colin Kahl’s exploration of neo-Malthusian and neo-Classical explanations of civil strife. Kahl argues that the complex combination of the three aforementioned factors causes conflict in two ways: state failure and state exploitation. ‘New threats’ to security are addressed in the

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12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid., 18.
following section, while the causes of state failure are explored in greater detail in the following chapter.

The distinction between state and human security is not to imply that a separation should be made when the concepts are applied to real world solutions, because human security and state security are symbiotic and thus work together to create a secure society. The differences are identified to demonstrate the need for a broader, more balanced understanding of ‘security’ in the realm of post-conflict peacebuilding.

*New Threats and New Wars*

Following the Cold War, a completely transformed the international system witnessed the evolution of a gamut of new security concerns. Without a bipolar system in which two major powers supported weak governments in the developing world to preserve the balance of power, many of the previously unstable countries collapsed. State failure did not only weaken state security, it also imperiled the lives of the local populace. As noted by Rob McRae and Don Hubert, “when states fail, civilians suffer foremost. Because the international system that grew up in the twentieth century was designed to protect states and state sovereignty and to enhance security between states, the international system is struggling to protect civilians within states.”

Moreover, the system put in place to address such issues in post-conflict rebuilding has maintained the realist approach of bolstering state security, thereby excluding those who suffer most from the violence.

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The prevalence of protracted, intrastate conflicts with deeply-rooted and inter-connected causal factors that fail to be appropriately addressed in the rebuilding process has created a situation in which individuals living in these failing states experience violence on a continuum. During war, civilians are the targets as well as the victims, and during times of peace they bear the brunt of the consequences of war, as wars typically breed a cycle of violence in a society. During armed conflict, civilians are often the primary targets, as violence is deliberately inflicted on them. Moreover, civilians are particularly vulnerable since they do not have the same protection as military forces, and because it is often difficult to differentiate combatants from non-combatants during conflict.18

During times of peace, individuals also experience insecurity. One particularly salient example is the spike in unemployment after a conflict has ended. Wars completely destroy a country’s economy and infrastructure, as well as the social fabric that holds societies together. The result is a large group of idle, unemployed, traumatized and morally lost individuals. Compounding this volatile situation, those who were active participates in the conflict suddenly have nothing to occupy their time and thus turn to a life of crime. Second, financing for war often entails hostage-taking, kidnapping, smuggling, illegal drug activities, and looting.19 Once the conflict has subsided, these criminal activities seep into the post-conflict society. Therefore, in addition to the social and economic destruction, there is an evolution in the personal insecurity facing the general public: from direct violence to indirect violence. In societies where the unemployment rate was previously very high, the situation is only exacerbated by war. Women

19 Ibid , ix.
also particularly affected by this cycle of violence, because during times of war, rape is frequently used as a tool of intimidation and weapon of war, and during times of peace, domestic violence—a problem in many societies—drastically increases. An adage in the international relations field is a stable and secure state translates into a society in which the needs of the population are met, but numerous examples reveal the inaccuracy of this realist assumption. This analysis and understanding of the various insecurities that emerge from war stems from the feminist analysis of the consequences of war, rather than a sole focus on the causal factors.

Although realism identifies the state as the referent, and prioritizes military power as the vehicle through which state stability is sustained, Morgenthau’s writing on the role of the state in the preservation of domestic peace reveals the shortcomings of a security solely reliant state power and military buildup and confirms the power of a strong civil society. He writes, “…the state is part of the society from which it has sprung, and prospers and decays as the society prospers and decays. The state, far from being a thing apart from society, is created by society.” An empowered public with all of its needs and most of its desires fulfilled, living in a secure environment, will only help ensure state stability. The following chapter explores the causes of state decay and failure, many of which have emerged as a result of the human and state security gap.

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20 Ibid, viii.
21 Morgenthau, 340.
CHAPTER II: UNDERSTANDING STATE FAILURE

State decay occurs in stages, and the states that undergo this process are classified into three groups: weak, failing, and failed. As states move further along this continuum, they become more susceptible to internal conflict, because the state’s ability to absorb a sudden shock decreases, while the destabilizing effect of the shock increases. Robert Rotberg (2004) argues that states fail when they are consumed by internal violence and stop providing their citizens with positive political goods. These intangible goods, which help to ensure human security, include state security, rule of law, an effective judicial system, political freedom, a functioning economy and infrastructure, and health/medical care. A failed state is “a polity that is no longer able or willing to perform the fundamental tasks of a nation-state in the modern world.”

These states lose their legitimacy with their respective populations and the international community; they no longer provide the abovementioned political goods to their people.

State weakness differs from state failure, because with the right tools these states can be removed from the ‘failing’ category with greater ease. Certain states are “inherently weak because of geographical, physical, or fundamental economic constraints; or they may be basically strong, but temporarily or situationally weak because of internal antagonisms, management flaws, greed, despotism, or external attacks.” Such states also often harbor ethnic, religious, or linguistic tensions which may not have yet materialized. However, they have not reached the point of total collapse. These states may still provide some social services to their citizens, so the situation has not reached an anarchic point, where individuals are forced to fend

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22 Ibid., 6.
for themselves. Conversely, when states reach the point of failure, the chaotic situation fuels instability within the country causing ‘domestic anarchy’, as. What then emerges is a contemporary survival of the fittest among the local populace.

Michael Brown (2001) identifies four sets of underlying factors make states prone to violence, and four triggers of internal conflict. These four conditions are structural factors, including a colonial legacy and weak state structures; political factors, such as discriminatory political institutions, exclusionary national ideologies, inter-group politics, and elite politics; economic and social factors, including but not limited to discriminatory economic systems and underdevelopment; and cultural and perceptual problems, specifically cultural discrimination against minorities, group histories, and perception of self and the other.24

Although Brown divides these conditions into four sets of factors, they can all actually be traced to the impact of colonialism. The ramifications of this period are often cited by scholars in the field as the root cause of many contemporary issues. African countries were forced “to replicate [a] largely unpremeditated and uncoordinated evolutionary process…on a ridiculously short timetable and with a predetermined set of goals.”25 The concept of the nation state and its acceptance as the sole unit of political organization for global order was adopted and imposed by European powers during their colonial legacy. This system—which was drastically different from the acephalous, segmentary lineage societies which comprised the African continent—created a state-centric international order. African societies were historically divided along cultural lines, not politically or regionally. The territorial entities created by colonial powers

fragmented the homogeneous ethnic communities, creating states which were very often composed of hostile ethnic groups. Consequently, the abrupt creation of nation-states by external powers crippled the existing societies and enforced a new operational system. The end result was poor governance, the creation of weak economic and political structures, and the explosion of ethnic tensions.

The colonial period and ‘carving up’ of Africa created a large number of states unable to operate on their own, which the Cold War superpowers sustained financially and militarily for many decades. Such countries were able to maintain relative internal and regional stability, since “the superpowers were concerned with cultivating clients in all parts of the world and therefore were willing to help African nations crush ethnic rebellions or threats from neighbors.” The goal of this policy was to maintain the balance of power in the region. The military support provided to African nations had drastic repercussions, as it contributed to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, many of which are still used today. Weapons of this sort include but are not limited to assault rifles, submachine guns, rocket-propelled grenades, and land mines. After the Cold War, tens of millions of these weapons became available, arming ethnic militias and paramilitary groups. Ill-equipped for independence and forced into a global order controlled by former colonial powers, the end result of this combination was a string of failed states across the African continent.

26 Ayoob, 35.
The presence of the underlying conditions discussed above cause state and regional instability, but they do not directly spark outbreaks of violence. Instead, Brown (2001) argues conflict in weak or failing states is triggered in four ways. Internal, mass-level factors, specifically state-level destabilizing domestic problems, e.g. rapid economic development or systematic political or economic discrimination. Colonial rule delayed the natural transformation of colonies from modest economies to modern ones, forcing countries to quickly enter into the modern market economies. This process worked as a destabilizing force in African societies, suppressing the growth of commercial and industrial social classes. The process of rapid modernization also weakened many societies, as the growing inequalities in political and economic power politicized ethnic and communal identities. Colonial and postcolonial modernization included urbanization, literacy, industrialization, and internal migration. Unprepared to deal with the consequences of this process, many African societies allowed these problems to intensify and further weaken their countries.

A second trigger is the presence of external, mass-level problems, or state and regional level factors, such the destabilizing spill-over effects of refugees or rebels. A conflict or the loss of central authority in one country can lead to an influx of refugees and combatants or rebels into another. This involuntary migration of people does not only put a strain on already scarce resources in the receiving country, but it also spreads and intensifies insurgent movements. As noted by Christopher Clapham (2004), state decay in the various regions of sub-Saharan Africa,
namely the Horn, the Great Lakes, southern Africa, and Liberia/Sierra Leone, has been a regional problem; none of the conflicts in these region exist in a vacuum or one particular state.\(^{31}\)

A third trigger is the presence of external, elite-level factors, specifically discrete, deliberate decisions by governments to trigger conflicts in nearby states for political, economic, or ideological reasons. Lastly, elite-level factors, such as corrupt or poor domestic leaders, can transform volatile situations into deadly confrontations through power struggles, ideological contests, and criminal assaults.\(^{32}\)

The emergence of ‘new’ security threats, namely those discussed in the previous chapter, have also posed challenges to the already weak, failing, and failed states on the African continent. Factors such as rapid population growth, natural resource abundance and scarcity, and environmental insecurity act as threat multipliers, worsening existing security problems.

\(^{32}\) Ibid.
CHAPTER III: POST-CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING

The post-conflict peacebuilding or reconstruction process as it exists today is separated into four pillars: security, governance and participation, social and economic well-being, and justice and reconciliation. When rebuilding a post-conflict society, the first priority is the establishment of a safe and secure environment, since it serves as the foundation for a stable society. However, this notion of security extends further than state stability. “Security means a condition of acceptable public safety, particularly the establishment of an environment wherein citizens can conduct daily business relatively free from violence and coercion directed at them by the government, organized crime, political organizations, and ethnic groups.”

The security pillar addresses all aspects of public safety, particularly the creation of a safe and secure environment for the state and the individual. Essential elements of this pillar are effective policing, the establishment of the rule of law, and the development of legitimate security institutions. The integration of policing into the rebuilding process is critical, as it establishes the groundwork for long-term security. Effective policing is especially important, because it is the body which promotes and preserves personal security for the local population. While the military focuses on external threats, the police addresses the internal threats and provides public safety.

The governance and participation pillar focuses on the creation of legitimate and credible political and administrative institutions, as well as fair participatory processes. After security,

35 Feil, 43.
this is arguably the most important component of the rebuilding process, since the government is responsible for safeguarding the stability established by security forces, the provision of social services, the creation of a stable economy, and helping to foster a safe and open environment for reconciliation. A fair government, one that provides its citizens with these services, is formed through equal participation in the political and election process. The practice of good government entails an exchange between the administration and the governed. The bottom-up component occurs through elections, political parties, advocacy groups, civic organizations, and/or the media.\textsuperscript{36} A critical aspect of ensuring success in this pillar is the creation of a strong civil administration capacity.

The social and economic wellbeing pillar addresses all aspects of the wellbeing of the local populace. This includes the distribution of emergency relief, the restoration of essential services, the creation of a local economy, and laying the groundwork for the beginning stages of a sustainable development program.\textsuperscript{37} In complex emergencies, as the situation on the ground improves, a transition should be made from humanitarian relief to long-term social and economic development.\textsuperscript{38} The justice and reconciliation pillar, which aims to create an impartial and accountable legal system to serve as a mechanism through which past abuses can be addressed, includes an effective law enforcement, open judicial system, fair laws, human corrections systems, formal and informal channels for resolving injustices.\textsuperscript{39}


\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
Mary Kaldor (2007) identifies five principles that should serve as a compass for peacebuilding efforts: a primacy of human rights, legitimate political authority, multilateralism, the bottom-up approach, a regional focus. The first principle is the distinguishable factor between the human security and state security approaches. From the state security position, the concern with human rights has traditionally been the debate on the conditions under which human rights should precede state sovereignty, but the human security position highlights the applications of human rights in military operations, claiming that killing should be avoided at all costs, unless it is critical and legal.\textsuperscript{40} Also, in humanitarian operations, protection of civilians is the ultimate goal.

The establishment of a legitimate political authority involves the formation of legitimate institutions that have the trust of the people and have enforcement capacity.\textsuperscript{41} This principle is achieved by engaging local government or pursuing regional and international political arrangements. This principle identifies the drawbacks of the use of military force and consequently emphasizes the need for functioning and trustworthy local, regional and international political arrangements.\textsuperscript{42}

Multilateralism, or working through a UN framework and with regional organizations, should guide peacebuilding operations as this approach ensures legitimacy. In the case of Sub-Saharan Africa, these organizations would include the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West-African States (ECOWAS). The bottom-up approach, which emphasizes that interventions should incorporate the needs of the people being affected by the violence,

\textsuperscript{40} Kaldor, \textit{Human Security}, 185.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid, 187.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.
places a large focus on civil society. This principle approaches security issues from the perspective of those being impacted. This principle stresses local ownership of security measures, along with partnership and participation.43 A large emphasis should be placed on communication, consultation, and dialogue with civil society.44

Lastly, because today’s wars have no clear boundaries, they require a holistic approach to the problem, namely a regional focus to the solutions implemented. Spillover effects often occur because problems in neighboring countries were not addressed at all or in a timely fashion. More importantly, because the peace built after a conflict is extremely fragile, if there is instability in neighboring countries, the likelihood that the violence will spill over into the nascent peace is high.

By employing a “bottom-up” technique, our understanding of security will shift from state to state relations to individuals, those who bear the brunt of insecurity problems. Tickner contends world politics contributes to the insecurity of people, primarily because of the destructive impact of military action on civilian populations.45 This approach stems from the feminist analysis of the consequences of war, rather than a sole focus on the causal factors. Feminist understanding of international relations to politics reach “from the micro to global level and from the personal to international.”46 Every level of society is significant.

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43 Ibid., 189.
44 Ibid.
CHAPTER IV: REAL WORLD APPLICATION: LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE

This assessment of human and state security in post-conflict peacebuilding is particularly applicable to post-war environments in Liberia and Sierra Leone. While both countries emerged from conflict around the same period—Liberia in 2003 and Sierra Leone in 2002—the rebuilding process in Liberia has been able to create the conditions necessary for long-term peace and stability.

The spark of civil war in Sierra Leone was rooted in the ongoing instability in Liberia; the civil war was a direct outcome of the deliberate policies pursued by Charles Taylor to destabilize Sierra Leone, obtain access to its diamond fields, and finance the ongoing war in Liberia. In addition to the presence of lucrative resources, Sierra Leone was particularly susceptible to conflict because of its colonial past and subsequent weak state structures and underdevelopment. During its reign over Sierra Leone, Great Britain implemented a system of indirect rule over the majority of the country. This concept of tribal administration solely focused on implementing an effective judicial system to help maintain control over the region.47 The administration did not develop Sierra Leone’s education, health, transportation and economics sectors—all of which are essential for a functioning society. This flawed system created a recipe for underdevelopment which was intensified when with the emergence of weak state structures and prevalence of corrupt leaders. Additionally, poor governance and the low level of human security allowed Taylor to monopolize the diamond fields.

47 Created by Frederick Lugard, this mechanism was appealing to Britain as it guaranteed harmony; natives would be less likely to revolt against ‘leaders’ who resembled them. The system allowed Britain to rule over African states by using its local traditional authorities. Gerard Prunier, Darfur: A 21st Century Genocide (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008, 29.
To help stabilize and rebuild both countries, the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission has invested millions of dollars in all four pillars of post-conflict peacebuilding. The data available from the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission reveals a better balance between human and state security in Liberia than in Sierra Leone. The data from the United Nations Development Programme confirms the positive impact this combination has on a society.

The most recent figures from the Peacebuilding Commission reveal how the money was invested in both countries. Tables 1 and 2 below combine the available data and show the overall trends in the distribution of funds. Table 1 demonstrates a balance between human and state security projects in Liberia and a significant imbalance in Sierra Leone. Of the 25 projects implemented in Liberia in 2008, 11 aimed to strengthen state capacity and 13 focused on strengthening civil society. 48 In Sierra Leone, of the 22 projects implemented in 2007, only 5 were implemented at the local level, whereas 17 focused on bolstering state capacity. 49

Table 2 classifies these projects into the four pillars of post-conflict peacebuilding. The figures reveal a greater trend toward conflict resolution in Liberia and state security in Sierra Leone. 50 In Liberia, the largest sum of money was spent in the justice and reconciliation pillar. Of the 12 existing projects, 7 were focused on civil society. This investment in people and dialogue has served as the foundation for reconciliation, a prerequisite for long-lasting peace and

50 The most recent data available on the Peacebuilding Commission website were for projects implemented in 2008 in Liberia and 2007 in Sierra Leone.
forward movement as a society. In Sierra Leone, the pillars with the most projects were security and rule of law and governance and participation. It must be noted that the security and rule of law projects were primarily used to strengthen local and state security forces, not to increase the rule of law for the local population. Moreover, the projects funded with the goal of boosting governance and participation were primarily implemented at the ministerial levels—the state level. Although Sierra Leone’s economic and social wellbeing pillar did receive the majority of the funding, $9 million of the $13 million was allocated to an emergency support project for the energy sector. The project implemented at the local level—one for youth enterprise development—received the remaining amount. While energy is extremely important in ensuring environmental security, the high number of unemployed youth in Sierra Leone has been identified by the United Nations as the largest threat to the existing fragile peace and is therefore more crucial.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Top-Down Projects (State-centered)</th>
<th>Bottom-Up Projects (People-centered)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Table compiled from Peacebuilding Fund Approved Projects and Progress Updates
Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pillar I: Justice &amp; Reconciliation</th>
<th>Pillar II: Security &amp; Rule of Law</th>
<th>Pillar III: Economics &amp; Social Wellbeing</th>
<th>Pillar IV: Governance &amp; Participation</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>$15,000,000</td>
<td>12 projects 6 projects 4 projects 2 projects</td>
<td>Monitoring &amp; Evaluating the implementation of the PB Fund $100,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$7,422,688</td>
<td>$2,313,910</td>
<td>$3,913,402</td>
<td>$1,250,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>$34,799,101.52</td>
<td>6 projects 7 projects 2 projects 7 projects</td>
<td>Independent Review Panel $25,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$6,802,056.2</td>
<td>$8,183,826.9</td>
<td>$6,707,311.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Table compiled from Peacebuilding Fund Approved Projects and Progress Updates

While there are few tangible outcomes available to measure the impact of the peacebuilding projects, from the information provided in the UN Peacebuilding Commission’s progress reports, it can be assumed that the immediate effectiveness of these programs has varied. One reason for the limited results is time. The civil wars ended less than a decade ago, so the development of these societies is still nascent. However, conclusions and inferences can be made from the available information.

Liberia has made considerable progress in the short time, but there are also areas that need much improvement. Although Liberia invested the least amount in governance and participation, according to UN reports, it has made considerable progress in this area. The government has approved amendments to the voter registration regulations, and has continued ongoing efforts to increase women’s political participation. The Peacebuilding Support Office has assisted in drafting a manual for the 490 aspiring female political leaders who start training.

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this year. Liberia has also made strides in the reconciliation pillar. Though there is still a lot of improvement needed, in a 2010 report, the Chair of Peacebuilding Commission remarked government officials, members of civil society, representatives of political parties, and citizens appeared to be very balanced in their views. This balance represents considerable progress, as this would have required some reconciliation and dialogue. This growth could not have occurred without considerable efforts in the justice and reconciliation pillar. Although members of civil society continue to stress the need for additional advancement in reconciliation, the report also noted Liberians did acknowledge the noticeable improvement in national reconciliation. It must be noted that progress in this pillar is slow and spans across generations, as hate, distrust, and stereotypes are extremely difficult to overcome and abandon. The primary challenges remain in the governance and participation pillar, as Liberia is in dire need of judicial reform. In the recommendations section of the abovementioned report, the Chair listed judicial reform as the first priority for the government of Liberia.

Sierra Leone, on the other hand, made progress in the governance and participation and security and rule of law pillars. The government has been active in the fight against corruption, and as indicated in the Peacebuilding Commission report, Sierra Leone has also made some progress toward inclusive democracy. Although the UN has commended the government of Sierra Leone for its establishment of the Joint Drug Interdiction Task Force, its effectiveness in the fight against illicit drug trafficking has been minimal since the narcotics trade is ongoing.

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53 Ibid.
Despite the $8 million spent on security and rule of law projects, criminality is rampant. Absolute poverty has fueled this situation, since individuals have few opportunities to provide for themselves.\textsuperscript{54} The criminality level, which can be presumed to be an outcome of the high rate of unemployment, has been a significant challenge to peacebuilding in Sierra Leone. Lastly, the Peacebuilding Commission has pledged to intensify its efforts to promote nation unity and inter-party dialogue.\textsuperscript{55} This declaration implies a gap in the justice and reconciliation pillar.

The impact of these projects on the level of development in Sierra Leone and Liberia is evident in the UN Human Development Index. Below is a chart (table 3) with the applicable human development indicators for 2010. While several of the indicators are almost equal, two significant factors are higher for Liberia. When measuring the level of poverty and the intensity of deprivation, Liberia and Sierra Leone have approximately the same score; both countries are underdeveloped. In the breakdown of gender inequality, again, the countries are at similar levels. The only exception is maternal mortality rate, with is significantly lower in Liberia. While one’s poverty level and the intensity of gender inequality are important determinants in one’s quality of life and a reflection of the pace and quality of development in the country, they are not as reflective of progress as the others.

In both, health and education, Liberia scored higher. Although the overall income is lower in Liberia, its population is healthier and better educated than Sierra Leone’s population.

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
The undernourishment rate—which is a reflection of one’s access to food and water—is lower in Liberia. Similarly, the life expectancy in Liberia is almost 10 years higher than that of Sierra Leone. Moreover, Liberia’s population is also better educated. Its adult literacy rate is 7.5% higher than Sierra Leone’s. Across the board, people spend more time in school in Liberia.

These statistics have several implications. The first is that education and poverty can serve as determining factors in how easily influenced individuals are. An individual with a higher level of education tends to not be as easily influenced to join rebel movements, for instance. Conversely, a population with a low level of education and high poverty rate is more susceptible to outside influence, e.g. bribes or intimidation. Secondly, poor health conditions translate into higher death rates and an overall weaker population. Thirdly, an educated and healthy population is an empowered population. Such conditions lay the foundation for other peacebuilding initiatives; they create a situation that fosters stability. However, it is the combination of this enhanced human security and sustained state security that creates the ideal conditions for long-lasting peace. In addition to higher health and education rates, Liberia has invested a considerable amount in justice and reconciliation and has progressed further than Sierra Leone in this pillar. Moreover, in the reports available, governance and participation were listed as the priority for future peacebuilding projects in Liberia, whereas in Sierra Leone, criminality, drug trafficking, high youth unemployment, and inadequate advancement in justice and reconciliation were also identified as issues to tackle immediately. This comparison could suggest a higher level of overall security in Liberia.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3</th>
<th>2010 Human Development Indicators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Health</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevalence of undernourishment in total population</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure on public health (% of GDP)</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortality rate (under 5 years, per 1,000 births)</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy</td>
<td>48.2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult literacy (both sexes, 15 years and above)</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure on education (% of GDP)</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average years of schooling (adults)</td>
<td>2.9 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected years of schooling (children)</td>
<td>7.2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita (2008 purchasing power parity, US$)</td>
<td>825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNI per capita (2008 purchasing power parity, US$)</td>
<td>6.7 LN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poverty</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multidimensional poverty index (k greater than or equal to 3)</td>
<td>0.489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensity of deprivation</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population living below $1.25 per day</td>
<td>62.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal mortality ratio (deaths per 100,000 live births)</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population with at least a secondary education (female/male ratio)</td>
<td>0.465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender inequality index</td>
<td>0.755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human Security</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>32,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate (% labor force)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide rate (per 100,000)</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery rate (per 100,000)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Table compiled from 2010 UNDP Human Development Indicators cited in Sierra Leone and Liberia’s Country Profiles
Although the peace is extremely fragile, the state and human security balance in Liberia’s peacebuilding projects have assisted in laying the foundation for a longer lasting peace and lower chance of reversion back to conflict. Liberia’s investment in both the state and population helps create a strong state coupled with an empowered civil society. Sierra Leone’s focus on state stability and security has created an imbalance in the projects implemented on the ground. Moreover, the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission’s most recent progress report identified a significant gap between the expectations of the population and government’s provision of basic social services. As identified by Orr, the inability to provide basic social services serves as an indicator and cause of instability. Consequently, the information available reveals that the peacebuilding process in Sierra Leone has not created the foundation necessary for a stable peace in the post-conflict society.

It is important to note that Liberia is not yet a complete ‘success story’, but it is on its way. By investing in health and education, it is contributing to a strong, healthy, informed and empowered population for the future. By investing in its population’s human security, the government of Liberia is laying the foundation for a strong civil society to match the investment in state security. Moreover, an educated and informed population can help develop and bolster the fragile democracy. A strong civil society also holds decision-makers accountable for their actions or inaction, as they observe the behavior of the government and confront state officials when they fail to provide entitled public goods. In the absence of a functioning government, a strong civil society can also provide otherwise absent public services for other citizens. Liberia

has not yet reached the point where the human security has progressed so far, the people are so
inspired, the state is so strong, that reversion back to conflict is not possible, but it is on its way.

The post-conflict situations in Sierra Leone and Liberia are only two examples and
cannot be used to forecast the evolution of post-conflict peacebuilding in other regions or even
other African countries. However, the peacebuilding process employed in these countries is
significant and suggestive of the existing pattern. While these examples cannot be used to
measure and diagnose the failures of post-conflict peacebuilding across the board, they can be
used as a guide for future operations.
The conclusions drawn from this research has significant implications for U.S. security strategy, UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions, the development and stability of Sub-Saharan Africa, and the evolution of human security as an accepted paradigm. The argument outlined in this proposal reflects the major tenets of current U.S. foreign policy and national security, which underscores the interconnected nature of development, defense, and diplomacy. This thesis also demonstrates that the current post-conflict peacebuilding process does not reflect a merging of the three pillars of U.S. foreign policy. This gap has significant implications for policies the U.S. presents and advocates for at the United Nations Security Council, and for the types of projects U.S. funding is allocated to in the peacebuilding process. Moreover, by underscoring the critical overlap between development and security and highlighting the existing gaps in the peacebuilding process, this thesis has implications for the types of programs that are implemented and funded by U.S. agencies, specifically the Department of Defense from its regional military headquarter in Africa, U.S. Africa Command, and the funding allocated to non-governmental organizations on the ground by the U.S. Agency for International Development. Finally, the nexus explored in this thesis also serves as a resource for U.S. diplomats currently working with local governments on such issues.
RECOMMENDATIONS

► Strengthen Civic Culture

The future of stable post-conflict societies is in a strong civil society, as civil society has an important role to play in the peacebuilding process and long-term development and stability of a country. Moreover, in the peacebuilding process, the international community must work with local and international NGOs to engage civil society at every level: social, cultural, political. This form of engagement helps foster a sense of community empowerment among the populace. At the social and political levels, such organizations can serve as a vehicle through which needs and interests are conveyed to political leaders. Working with local NGOs to create a space in which the local population is engaged in the political process helps create the foundation for a healthy democracy. Apart from formal elections, the general public is typically left out of the political process, creating a gap between the local population and the decision-making process. Engaging the local population may help to close this gap and eliminate feelings of alienation and frustration, especially among the youth. Lastly, this engagement can also help facilitate reconciliation. The end result is the projection of human security values and the beginning stages of a robust civil society.

► Incorporate development programs in the very beginning of the peacebuilding process

International development plays an important role in the rebuilding and preservation of peace. A satisfied, educated, and empowered population helps create a stable society. Development is an
integral component of growth in a country and must therefore be incorporated in the very beginning of the peacebuilding process.

► *Increased emphasis on youth empowerment*

In conflict zones, the young—specifically young boys—are often recruited by rebel forces and thrown into the conflict. Compounding this disastrous situation, during conflict, social safety nets and previously existing educational structures are completely destroyed. The outcome of this amalgamation is a large group of traumatized and idle young boys. When combined a high unemployment and poverty rates, it creates a situation ripe for conflict. To stop this cycle, from the very beginning of the peacebuilding process, numerous youth reintegration and empowerment programs should be incorporated and implemented.

► *Greater gender mainstreaming in peacebuilding projects*

The general exclusion of women’s issues from the peacebuilding process has highlighted the need for gender mainstreaming, as without gender equality, economically and physically secure societies, free from structural violence are unattainable. Women are assets post-conflict scenarios: they often serve as peacemakers in post-conflict societies, and also typically sustain the social fabric of their societies. Women face unique insecurities during war, necessitating the urgency for gender mainstreaming. The failure to address gender issues in the peacebuilding process has the potential to undermine rebuilding efforts and the long-term development of post-conflict societies. Moreover, post-conflict peacebuilding can serve as a median to transform
societies, namely the opportunity to develop outdated rules and institutions into those which will strengthen and promote gender equality.

► **Regional solutions to problems on the ground**

Cross-border spillover—such as involuntary migration, the spread of infectious diseases, small arms proliferation, and narcotic trafficking—during and after conflict can potentially weaken peacebuilding efforts and exacerbate existing tensions. Working with neighboring countries and regional organizations from the beginning helps foster regional security and ensure greater success in the peacebuilding effort.

This thesis presents a unique perspective on African security—one that incorporates the needs of its local populace. This new understanding of security and stability provides a more ‘representative’ lens through which problems in the field can be understood and solved. This thesis also serves as a guide for the evolution of peacebuilding operations. The prevalence of failed states and post-conflict societies does indeed present a threat to global stability among states, but equally as important is the threat this instability presents to the lives of millions of people every single day.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


