

Department of International Development public lecture

# Peacebuilding: what is it and why is it important?

**Judy Cheng-Hopkins**

*United Nations assistant secretary-general*

**Dr Stuart Gordon**

*Chair, LSE*

Suggested hashtag for Twitter users: **#LSEpeacebuilding**

**LSE** events



# Peacebuilding: What, Why and How?

**Judy Cheng-Hopkins**

United Nations Assistant Secretary-General  
for Peacebuilding Support

London School of Economics, 4 March 2014



# Introduction

- ✘ **Peacebuilding in the UN context**
- ✘ **Why is it important and what does it consist of?**
- ✘ **The missing link?**



## Stages of UN involvement in post-conflict countries



**PB important to prevent relapse and failed states**



# Peacekeeping vs peacebuilding

## ✘ **Peacekeeping:**

- 'Blue helmets' to help stabilize conflict areas
- Some integration with wider UN efforts to revitalize economies
- 15 peacekeeping missions, 13 'special political missions,' envoys and special advisers

## ✘ **Peacebuilding:**

- Build longer-term sustainable peace and stability
- Lay foundations for economic recovery and development
- Build institutions, infrastructures and capacities
- Overcome legacies and root causes of conflict



# **Why is Peacebuilding Important?**



# Less war, fewer coups, more democracy

<b>Democracies</b>	1946: 20	Now: close to 100
<b>Authoritarian regimes</b>	1976: almost 90	Now: 25
<b>Latin America</b>	1970-1989: 30 <i>coups d'état</i>	Since 1990: 3 <i>coups d'état</i>
<b>Africa</b>	1970-1989: 99 <i>coups d'état</i>	1990-2010: 67 <i>coups d'état</i>
<b>Conflict</b>	1992: 21 countries involved in inter-state and civil conflict	2011: 7 countries involved in inter-state and civil conflict

Source: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue



# But the problem of state fragility persists

- ✘ **Conflict and war occur in countries that have previously experienced civil war:** Relapse into violence in countries that have poor governance, weak institutions, high insecurity. Some decades long.
- ✘ **They matter** because they provide safe havens for terrorists (Afghanistan, Mali, Somalia, Yemen), are major sources of drug trafficking (Guinea-Bissau, Honduras) and other ills.





# Violent conflict often recurs

*Few countries are truly "post-conflict." The rate of violence onset in countries with a previous conflict has been increasing since the 1960s, and every civil war that began since 2003 was in a country that had a previous civil war.*

Decade	Violence onsets in countries with no previous conflict (%)	Violence onsets in countries with a previous conflict (%)	Number of onsets
1960s	57	43	35
1970s	43	57	44
1980s	38	62	39
1990s	33	67	81
2000s	10	90	39

Sources: Walter 2010; WDR team calculations.

Note: Previous conflict includes any major conflict since 1945.

The World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, Table F1.1



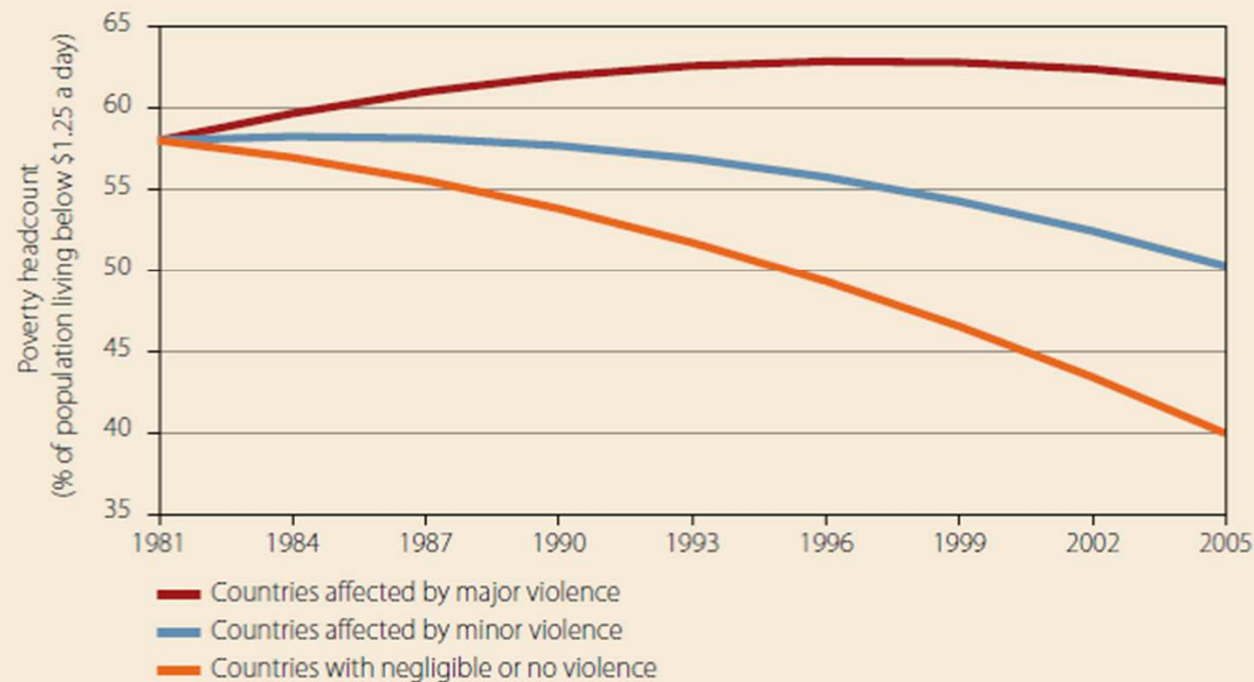
# Violence disrupts development

- ✘ **1.5 billion people** live with violence and conflict
- ✘ **42 million people** are displaced as result
- ✘ **Poverty is 20% higher** in conflict countries
- ✘ Countries with negligible or no violence - major decline in poverty between 1981 and 2005; **in conflict-affected countries, poverty remained constant** over the same period. Most post conflict countries have not achieved a single MDG!



# Violence slows decline in poverty

*New poverty data reveal that poverty is declining for much of the world, but countries affected by violence are lagging behind. For every three years a country is affected by major violence (battle deaths or excess deaths from homicides equivalent to a major war), poverty reduction lags behind by 2.7 percentage points.*



The World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, Figure F1.3



# A typical post-conflict country...

- ✘ “Ordinary” development challenges compounded by
  - Decades of **intermittent civil war**, with relapses into violence
  - **Military domination** and/or coups
  - Wealth in **natural resources** but steep divide between small rich elite and poor majority of the population (*relapse into conflict 50% more likely in natural resource-rich countries*)
  - **Land issues** are often key drivers of conflict
  - **Weak institutions** and public services
  - High prevalence of **corruption**, limited or **no rule of law** and limited or **no accountability and transparency**
  - “**Vicious cycle of idle youth**”



# What is Peacebuilding?



# Peacebuilding is a *schlep*

<b>S</b>	<b>Safety and human security</b>	<i>Security sector reform (SSR), disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR), Rule of law, human rights...</i>
<b>C</b>	<b>Civil society</b>	<i>Civil society mobilisation and civic education, civilian oversight of army</i>
<b>H</b>	<b>Healing</b>	<i>Reconciliation, mediation, transitional justice, protection, psychosocial therapy, IDPs and returnees/integration, SGBV, reparations</i>
<b>L</b>	<b>Livelihoods</b>	<i>Job creation, short-term employment generation, youth, public works</i>
<b>E</b>	<b>Empowerment of women and youth</b>	<i>Restarting economic activities, resettlement and shelter, land reforms, natural resources,</i>
<b>P</b>	<b>Public administration and accountability</b>	<i>Re-establishing state authority, basic services provisions, institutions and local governance, constitutional reform, electoral reform processes, civil service reform, public finance management</i>



# Root causes and solutions

Simmering hatred, <b>ethnic divisions</b>	➔	National Dialogue, <b>reconciliation</b>
Lack of understanding of <b>democratic norms and practices</b>	➔	<b>Civic education</b>
Sense of <b>injustice and inequality</b>	➔	<b>Rule of law</b> , anti-corruption, human rights
<b>Military dominance</b>	➔	<b>Security Sector Reform (SSR)</b>
Lack of <b>civilian oversight and accountability</b>	➔	Rule of law, <b>institution-building</b>
<b>Former combatants</b> left to their own devices	➔	<b>Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR)</b>
<b>Poverty</b> and lack of livelihoods	➔	Public service delivery, employment creation, <b>peace dividends</b>



**How?**





# The UN peacebuilding architecture

- ✕ Established in 2005
- ✕ Three pillars:
  - **Peacebuilding Commission**
  - **Peacebuilding Fund**
  - **Peacebuilding Support Office**



# Peacebuilding strategic entry points

- ✘ **Avoiding relapse** into violence (*Guinea*)
- ✘ **Protecting peacekeeping** investments (*Liberia, Sierra Leone*)
- ✘ **Quick statebuilding** (*Yemen*)
- ✘ **Supporting UN leadership** for rapid response; deteriorating situations (*Sierra Leone*)
- ✘ **Accompaniment:** stay the course for peace (*Burundi*)



# **The missing link!**



# Women are the ultimate victims of conflict...

- ✗ **Family rupture**

- ✗ **Change of roles:**

- ▢ **33%** of households in Rwanda headed by women in 2010.

- ▢ **28%** of households in Nepal headed by women in 2011.

- ✗ **Sexual violence:**

- ▢ **DRC:** 200,000 women and children raped over a decade.

- ▢ **Sierra Leone:** 64,000 incidents of war-related sexual violence 1991-2001.

*Source: UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict*



## ... but also the ultimate “agents of change”

- ✘ Women are solely responsible for 80% of food crops in developing countries, yet less than 10% of landholders are women in Western, Central and North Africa (FAO)
- ✘ Most women spend their income to meet the **needs of their family** and household – education, health, nutrition
- ✘ Women play peacebuilding roles daily, typically at **grassroots level** - e.g. Acholi women groups vis-à-vis the LRA in Northern Uganda
- ✘ Women parliamentarians tend to emphasize issues such as **physical safety** and **gender-based violence, human development, poverty** and the **delivery of services** (IPU)







## Evolution of normative framework

SCR 1325 (2000): First to link women's experiences of conflict to the maintenance of international peace and security.

SCR 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010) and 2106 (2013) on conflict-related sexual violence

SCR 1889 (2009): Addresses women's exclusion from early recovery and peacebuilding and lack of adequate planning and funding for their needs.

SCR 2122 (2013): Emphasizes women's participation in conflict resolution and recovery and requests global study on 1325 by 2015.

# The UN's 7-Point Action Plan (7PAP)

on gender-responsive peacebuilding (2010):

1. Conflict resolution
2. Post-conflict planning
3. Post-conflict financing
4. Civilian capacity
5. Participation in Public life (30%)
6. Rule of law
7. Economic recovery

The Secretary-General has identified the **implementation** of the Action Plan as a **priority for his second term**.



# Peacebuilding's in-built bias

- ✘ Typical peacebuilding activities - SSR, DDR, national dialogue, public administration reform, etc. - all have **men as main target**.
- ✘ Women are not the ones causing conflict, not the ones **causing a relapse into conflict** – so peacebuilding is inherently targeting men.
- ✘ **Need to expand our peacebuilding paradigm** to change this in-built bias against women because invaluable role they play.





# Towards a new paradigm

## Four necessary changes to shift the paradigm:

1. **Pre-investment:** View women's economic empowerment as a pre-investment for peacebuilding, leadership roles etc.
2. **Who can do the job:** Start with available capacity of implementing partners
3. **“Quotas+”:** Quotas need to be supplemented by efforts to build capacity
4. **Innovation:** Support innovative projects and learn from them

**Start with women's empowerment as *sine qua non*!**



# Women's innate interest for peace

*"We are tired of war. We are tired of running. We are tired of begging for bulgur wheat. We are tired of our children being raped. We are now taking this stand, to secure the future of our children. Because we believe, as custodians of society, tomorrow our children will ask us, 'Mama, what was your role during the crisis?'"* Leymah Gbowee, Liberia, at a hearing with Charles Taylor, April 2003.

**Women are everyday peacebuilders!**

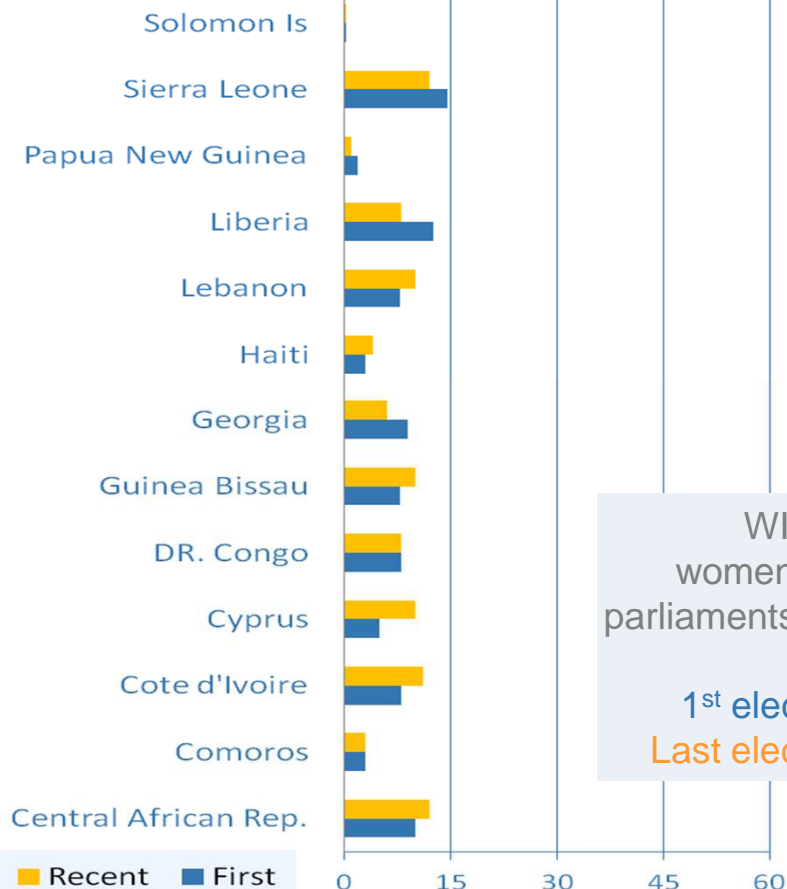




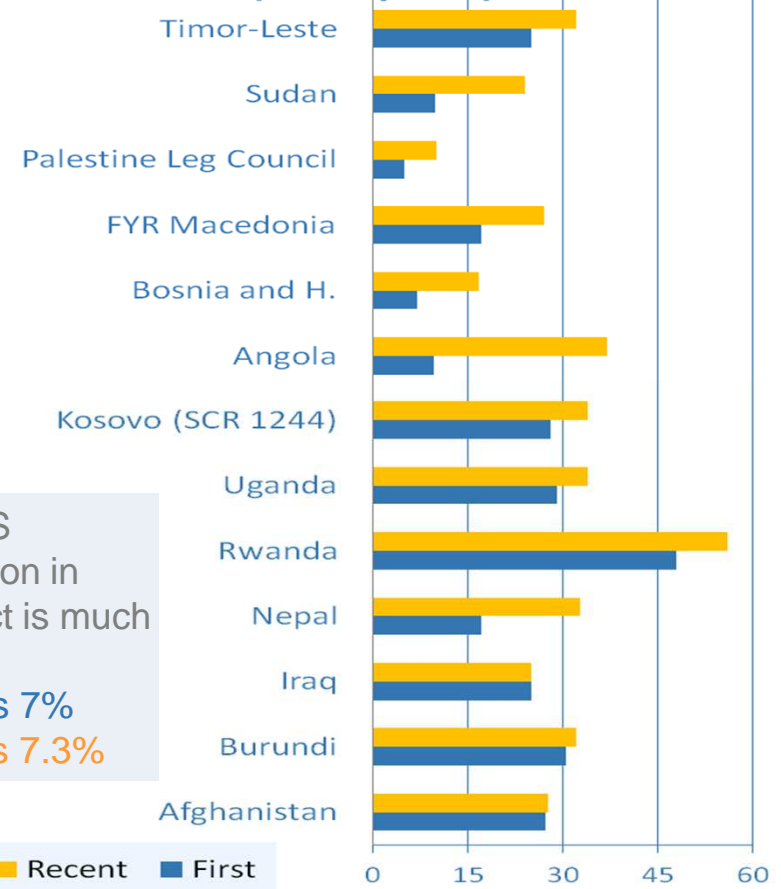
**Nobel Peace Prize (2011)**

# Women in parliaments post-conflict, first and recent elections

Women elected post-conflict  
first and recent elections  
(no quota)



Women elected post-conflict  
first and recent elections  
(with quota)



WITH QUOTAS  
women's participation in  
parliaments post-conflict is much  
higher:  
1<sup>st</sup> election: 21% vs 7%  
Last election: 30% vs 7.3%



# When women are elected...

▣ **Rwanda:** 64% women in parliament (#1 worldwide). 2012 **land reform:**

- 11% of the land is owned by women
- 83% of the land is joint-owned by married couples
- 6% of the land is owned by men

▣ **Burundi:** 30% women in parliament collectively pushed for **reform of the penal code** to include definition of sexual violence



# Implementation Challenges

- **Evidence base** is weak – because programmatic base is weak!
- Trends of pet themes, stand alone projects, or “adding women in”
- Need for greater **operational learning** to understand what works. Need to include gender in any **conflict analysis** and in **strategic planning** at country level
- **Capacities:** often limited – both UN and national. **Combined expertise** is required (rule of law + women’s rights; economic recovery + special sectors)
- **Lack of leadership**/political support





A group of women, likely from a conflict-affected region, are gathered for a protest or demonstration. They are wearing white headwraps and white t-shirts. Many are holding handmade signs with messages in English. The signs include: "Thank you" (large white text on a dark background), "OUR NATION NEED PEACE" (red text on a white sign), "WOMEN ARE CRYING FOR PEACE" (blue text on a white sign), "WE WANT PEACE NOW NOW NOW" (blue text on a white sign), "WE MUST HAVE PEACE" (blue text on a white sign), and "WE ONE ONE ONE PEACE" (red text on a white sign). The women appear to be of African descent. The background shows a simple wall and some foliage.

Department of International Development public lecture

# Peacebuilding: what is it and why is it important?

**Judy Cheng-Hopkins**

*United Nations assistant secretary-general*

**Dr Stuart Gordon**

*Chair, LSE*

Suggested hashtag for Twitter users: **#LSEpeacebuilding**

**LSE** events

