

EFFICIENCY OF POST-CONFLICT MANAGEMENT POLICY

Valeriia Mykhalska

*Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University,
Faculty of History, Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
21, 600-richya str., Vinnytsia, 21021, Ukraine,
v.mykhalska@donnu.edu.ua*

Abstract

In the article, the author analyzes what kind of post-conflict management policy can be effective. The criteria of effectiveness of post-conflict management policy are defined through its goal – the achievement of peace as a kind of the state of society. Therefore, the author identifies spheres of social life, where direct or indirect peacebuilding decisions and actions can be made. The author analyzes how decisions in these spheres can influence general peacebuilding tendencies, and why national and international actors of post-conflict management policy usually contribute to them.

Key words: *post-conflict policy, management decisions and actions, peacebuilding, effectiveness*

The reality dictates new conditions for Ukrainian political science. Today, as a result of the war in the East of Ukraine, a need arose to address new strategic issues that scientists and practitioners did not address either in Soviet times or during the time of Ukraine's independence. It is a matter of managing a non-typical form of military conflict - a hybrid conflict that is not a purely conventional form of the war. This list also includes the question of how to effectively manage the territory after the end of the conflict.

The policy of post-conflict management is a new phenomenon for Ukrainian political science. Instead, foreign political and legal studies are turning to this topic from the late 20th century.

The need to develop effective mechanisms for managing post-conflict territories is primarily driven by the high demand for such mechanisms from the international community. Thus, the category of "post-conflict peacebuilding" was included in the political lexicon as an activity to identify and support structures that must strengthen and establish peace in order to prevent a return to conflict. This

definition for post-conflict management was provided by the sixth Secretary-General of the United Nations Boutros-Ghali Boutros [Boutros-Ghali Boutros 1992].

Today different groups of political scientists study the issue of post-conflict management policy from different sides. Among the researches aimed at conceptualization of post-conflict territory and the system of management of such a territory we can outline Vincent Chetail [Chetail Vincent 2009], Chip Gagnon, Keith Brown [Gagnon Chip, Borwn Keith 2014], Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler [Collier Paul, Hoeffler Anke 2002; Collier Paul, Hoeffler Anke, Soderbom Mans 2008]. The separate group of researches are reports and analytics from organizations (international and national non-governmental organizations) specializing in work in post-conflict society [see, f.e. UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UNDP 2007; African Union 2006]. The most numerous are those researches connected with post-conflict management and its separate models in concrete post-conflict countries, f.e. Laura Wicks's study of the conflict in Rwanda [Wicks Laura 2014], Derek Boothby's study of the conflict in Croatia [Boothby Derek 2004; Boothby Derek 1998] etc. Among Ukrainian scientists working on the topic we can outline the work of Anton Kisse on management of ethnic conflict [Kise, 2006], work of Mykola Nahirnyy on state and political development of Croatia in the period of conflict in Eastern Slavonia [Nahirhyy Mykola 2004] etc.

Post-conflict management is a complex process, and not only international actors are interested in achieving effective results of such management. The conceptual approach to conflict management determines that the post-conflict stage is an important stage in the dynamics of the conflict, and effective management decisions and actions at this stage will determine if the conflict can be regarded as completely finished. Consequently, like any political process, the management of post-conflict territories must have its goal, the achievement of which will determine the effectiveness of such management as a process, a set of consecutive decisions and actions.

In determining the overall goal of managing post-conflict territories, one must start with the study of the causes of the conflict. Connections between causes and results those causes have on post-conflict management policy can be meaningfully studied, using historical method, in works devoted to chronology and analysis of concrete conflicts [Wicks Laura 2014; Boothby Derek 2004]. Summarizing the detailed reasons for all armed conflicts is not considered possible and necessary, since in any case the set of preconditions for the conflict will be different. However, the struggle, the confrontation between two or more different groups is common to all conflicts. Under the monarchical form of government (until the 20th century), the order of the monarch was sufficient to call for a zone of military action as the undisputed power of authority. Instead, today, when the human right to life is determined to be the highest value, it becomes unjustifiable for the state as a party of the conflict to appeal to citizens to put their lives in the best interests of the state. Therefore, in the conflicts of the 20th and 21st century, the parties to the conflict - state and non-state actors - are turning to the value systems of their citizens.

Consequently, the key element in transforming the political conflict between the political actors (the authorities of different states or within the state) into a full-scale armed conflict is the peak growth of the level of confrontation between the parties to each other. In order to fuel the conflict and revitalize its supporters from among the various political and social groups, the parties of the conflict are turning to the confrontation of identities on the line "we-they", completing such

confrontation with additional elements from various spheres of public life (ideology, economy, cultural and social contradictions).

Thus, in order to resolve and complete the conflict fully, the conflict of identities must cease to have an influence on the social and political situation within a certain territory. Even with the achievement of political power by political actors through the process of negotiations, prejudiced population remains in the territory where armed confrontation took place. Without solving the problem of this prejudice, the conflict just goes into the latent phase, and appeal to conflicting identities by any political actors remains possible.

Actually, the interests of overcoming the conflict of identities in the post-conflict stage of conflict management coincide with the interests of both national and international actors. If we consider the interests of actors at these two levels, we can characterize them as follows:

- 1) International actors who are joining the management of post-conflict areas include international intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations as well as foreign states claiming the position of world or regional leaders or their international technical assistance projects (for example, the US Agency for International Development, projects of the European Commission, Danish and Norwegian Refugee Council, etc.). All these organizations have their own goals and priorities defined by their internal statutory documents. The normative goals that they need to achieve in the post-conflict areas are, for the most part, the creation of conditions for the establishment of sustainable peace, the restoration of managerial and economic potential in post-conflict territories [see, f.e. NRC Global Strategy 2018]. From the other side, some researchers connect the activity of international actors on the post-conflict territory with their desire to broaden their influence on such a territory (see, f.e. Gagnon Chip, Borwn Keith 2014). Nevertheless, the overcoming of conflict contradictions in a post-conflict society will fully contribute to these priorities;
- 2) National actors in the post-conflict area will include state authorities and local governance. For these actors, the main goal will be the approval of state sovereignty and their power over post-conflict territory. Therefore, by removing the conflict factors that contributed to the facilitation of the conflict and its transition to an active phase from the political field, national actors will be able to talk about the elimination of political rivals from among the representatives of the opposing sides of the conflict.

Therefore, interests of international and national actors mentioned above allow to give the synthesized definition of post-conflict management policy, Thus, the author proposes to define *the **main goal of post-conflict management policy** as creating conditions that will minimize the impact of pre-conflict confrontation of values, and the peace as a form of coexistence for the majority of the population of the post-conflict territory will be considered as the highest value.*

The definition mentioned above allows author to include the category of peacebuilding in the research, as an activity that will reach the goal of post-conflict management policy. The peacebuilding for post-conflict societies was described in the works of Sarah Hearn [Hearn Sarah 2015] or HoWon Jeong [Jeong HoWon 2008]. Peacebuilding primarily refers to initiatives that support and reinforce structures that promote peaceful coexistence and reduce the possibility of a renewed conflict. This process usually involves a set of tactical and strategic decisions, namely the parallel implementation of humanitarian measures with

measures of a political, economic and social influence. Nor such managerial decisions, which solve the problems existing in society immediately, will be effective, but those decisions that create opportunities for further peaceful development. Peacebuilding is a multidisciplinary process that includes the destruction of conflict-based structures and the building of structures of peace [Bush 1998].

However, it is evident that the development and democratization in a post-conflict management situation does not always equal peace. Development programs implemented without taking into account certain post-conflict indicators can restore a conflict situation (e.g., creating artificial groups of "winners" and "losers", challenging traditional values of communities, etc.). In such cases, only the nature of the conflicting parties and their position in the conflict may change.

The researcher of the international security system, adviser to the UN Mission in Somalia, political scientist Ken Menkhaus states that peacebuilding initiatives can be divided into: 1) "direct peacebuilding" as a decisions and actions aimed at promoting dialogue, building capacity for conflict management and conflict prevention; and 2) "indirect peacebuilding", where peacebuilding initiatives are integrated into specific sectoral decisions and actions (in economics, politics, etc.) [Menkhaus 2004].

According to such a division, for the achievement of peace as a goal of post-conflict policy management, it is possible to identify those sectoral groups of management decisions and actions that are proposed for the implementation. These are the policies from international practice as a specific post-conflict management policy system. Management practices in this area can be divided into groups as follows:

- 1) Management practices in the field of security and justice - activities for the establishment and/or restoration of security systems, law enforcement systems, the establishment of a system of prosecution of perpetrators and/or amnesty;
- 2) Management practices in the field of economics - activities aimed at creating/restoring a system of economic relations, establishing an "economic dialogue" within the post-conflict territory and between the territory and other economic entities;
- 3) Practices in the field of restoration of the governance - restoration and improvement of the system of providing administrative services, creation of the system of post-conflict management authorities;
- 4) Socio-cultural practices - activities to restore confidence on the psychological and social level through education, culture and informational policy.

The presented set allows us to speak about the policy of managing post-conflict territories as a set of decisions and actions in certain spheres of social activity. However, it is critically important that, within a vulnerable post-conflict society, managerial practices do not hurt, but demonstrate their effectiveness.

The assessment of the effectiveness of management decisions and actions in the post-conflict territory through the arguments set out above in this article can not be applied to the usual assessment criteria defined for the development or democratization of the territory. For example, the author has already turned to authoritarian tendencies in the post-conflict territory. In this case, the concentration of most powers and control over the post-conflict management in the hands of one person or one authority was characterized as the usual situation for such cases. To confirm this tendencies, the author has analyzed the experience of countries that fundamentally differ in geography, the level of economic development before the conflict resolution, and a number of other indicators - Rwanda, Croatia

and Tajikistan. Croatia succeeded in overcoming the prerequisites for authoritarianism of Franjo Tudjman through the parallel development of other democratic institutions in the post-conflict period; whereas, in Rwanda and Tajikistan, after the post-conflict period as a form of transitional period, the power of national leaders, Paul Kagame and Emomali Rahmon, was confirmed for many years. So, for a post-conflict management system, it is important not only to deal with the concentration of power in one's hands, but to create the preconditions for a peaceful transition from a kind of post-conflict authoritarianism to a democratic form of government [Mykhalska 2017].

These and other examples of post-conflict management policies suggest that defining a set of criteria for the effectiveness of post-conflict management policies in various areas of public life can be a tool for preliminary assessment of decisions and actions that are planned to be implemented.

The available scientific and analytical works in this area do not provide direct criteria for evaluating the policy of managing post-conflict territories. However, there is quite a lot of works devoted to the assessment of the impact of projects implemented with the support of international financial institutions.

One of the authors who thoroughly studied this subject is Ph.D. in International Relations and Comparative Political Science, specialist in post-war reconstruction Kenneth Bush. As part of his work in the Peacebuilding and Reconstruction Program Initiative (International Development Research Center), he has developed PEACE AND CONFLICT IMPACT ASSESSMENT (PCIA) tool. This tool contained a number of criteria to be used for projects international technical assistance organizations aim to support. Kenneth Bush drew attention to the fact that such criteria would allow the specialists of international organizations not to confuse the post-conflict recovery with development and democratization, since this tool takes into account those "sensitive" aspects that are inherent in a post-conflict society from a psychological and social point of view [Bush 1998].

Professor Bush's work in this direction was continued by other scientists and researchers - Ken Menkhaus, who complemented the practices proposed by Bush [Menkhaus 2004]; Oliver Jütersonke and Moncef Kartas, who used the created tool in post-conflict Madagascar, and also provided the prerequisites for its completion [Jütersonke et al. 2010]; Vincenza Scherrer, who complemented PCIA in its application in a specific area of governance - security and justice practices [Scherrer 2012] etc.

The Working Group of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development also advises to identify the theoretical basis for any political solution that is planned to be implemented in the post-conflict territory, the so-called theories of change. For example, when implementing peacekeeping projects in schools, theories about education and conflict are used; demobilization and reintegration projects of former combatants are based on economic theories of peaceful consolidation, etc. When implementing specific managerial decisions, it is necessary to analyze whether there is a public need for such decisions, and whether these specific decisions will lead to the desired result. The conclusions of the Working Group illustrate the example of Kosovo, where for a long time various political actors were intended to implement solutions that would "bring together" the former conflicting parties. Instead, after a certain period of time, it has been discovered that activities aimed at the formation of responsible, strong and legitimate leadership in the territories where different parties of the conflict live has

a higher efficiency for the social system. These bodies, while exercising their representative functions, were able to find consensus at the political level, and this process had a positive impact on the intergroup interaction of the entire society [OECD 2008].

Taking into account the fact that, as we have previously discovered, the interests of international actors (which include international technical assistance organizations) and national actors coincide with the goal of post-conflict management policies, it can be argued that PCIA can be applied to the assessment of the effectiveness of this specific policy in general. However, PCIA was created to evaluate projects drawn up (in particular, in writing) before the stage of their implementation, so its criteria are sufficiently detailed.

Therefore, to define the criteria of effectiveness of post-conflict management policy the author proposes:

- 1) to analyze the criteria defined in PCIA and similar tools, to highlight those of them that can be reached with the competence of post-conflict policy management actors; and also to generalize highly specialized criteria to the relevant sector of the politics;
- 2) to determine the results that have shown their efficiency on the level of separate case-study on post-conflict territories, to integrate these results in the model of efficiency, proposed in the p.1 of this paragraph.

The developed synthesized list of criteria of efficiency of post-conflict management policy after the work done is defined as follows:

- 1) Criteria for the security and justice sector:

circulation of weapons and ammunition - the number of mined and demineralized territories, the number of weapons in the hands of the population (registered and unregistered), including the number of attacks with the use of weapons;

number of offenses against the life and health of a person having a conflict background;

number of persons convicted of committing offenses during the conflict and in the post-conflict period, including from the representatives of the conflict parties;

number of riots activated by the conflict;

number of refugees and internally displaced persons returning to their place of residence, etc.

The data provided give an opportunity to assess whether violent forms of conflict-related interaction persist in society, and whether there are prerequisites for such violent forms of interaction to have an impact on the socio-political environment. These security sector indicators can be analyzed through reports from security agencies, courts and law enforcement agencies.

- 2) Criteria for the economic sector:

number of business representatives of different levels who left the territory during the conflict, however, return;

number of investors attracted;

number of innovative forms of business that were "born" in the post-conflict period, including at the expense of grant support for small and medium-sized businesses (due to the psychological factors for people who survived the conflict, the search for new opportunities in the new conditions is common, including through the creation of business projects, and therefore the international

financial institutions provide active grant support to such initiatives in the post-conflict area) etc.

What is important here is that it is not necessary to stimulate the rapid growth of the GDP of the post-conflict territory through the increased revenues from taxes, and therefore measuring the effectiveness of a post-conflict policy through any economic indicators of this kind does not seem necessary.

We suggests these indicators from the economic sector, since they will be able to demonstrate convincingly how many people 1) have returned to peaceful forms of coexistence, including legal and peaceful forms of business; and also 2) how many people are interested in maintaining a peaceful structure in society, not only from the moral and ethical, but also from the financial point of view. If a person connects his economic "decline" with the state of war, and his own financial well-being with a state of peace, it will be difficult to intensify his/her participation in conflicts, as he/she will defend the peace as his/her own interest.

These and other data can be analyzed using information from the state tax authorities.

3) Criteria for the public administration and local government sector:

number of voters attending elections in a post-conflict area (if conducted);
 staffing of public authorities and local self-government bodies in the post-conflict area, incl. by internally displaced persons and refugees who have returned;
 number of registered and functioning non-governmental organizations in the post-conflict territory, including the number of peaceful actions they are carrying out, and the projects implemented, etc.

Participation of citizens in the political and social life of society in various forms demonstrates the trust of these citizens to the existing socio-political system. In a post-conflict area, as in other transit territories, it is not considered necessary to assess the legitimacy of the political system by the level of trust in specific political leaders. In a post-conflict environment, assessing the trust to institutions and values will be more effective [Kokorska 2008].

This information can be analyzed through the statistics of state authorities and local governance, the elections data, etc. The authority for accounting for the projects and activities implemented by non-governmental organizations may be assigned to a specific body or organization.

4) Criteria for social and cultural sphere:

number of media engaged in post-conflict territory and the amount of media products they produce;
 level and nature of social interaction between pre-conflict groups;
 number of cultural projects and products where pre-conflict groups are commonly involved, etc.

These data is the most difficult to research and measure. However, precisely these projects are usually described by Ken Menkhaus as "direct peacebuilding". Therefore, separate bodies (such as the Commission for National Unity and Reconciliation in Rwanda, or the Commission for National Reconciliation in Tajikistan), analytical centers and non-governmental organizations may be set up for this activity.

We do not claim that this list of criteria for assessing the effectiveness of post-conflict management policies is exhaustive. The proposed criteria may be supplemented depending on the nature of the post-conflict situation and the

political context. When presenting these criteria, we sought, first of all, to prove that the post-conflict policy can not be measured by the usual indicators set for transit systems. With the development of management practices for a post-conflict territory, at first it is important to restore confidence in the people to power and to each other. It is this kind of activity that can convince each citizen that peace for him is more valuable than any form of the conflict, not only from a moral and ethical, but also from a political and economic points of view.

CONCLUSION

The research done allows the author to give the definition of the goal of post-conflict management policy as creating conditions that will minimize the impact of pre-conflict confrontation of values, and the peace as a form of coexistence for the majority of the population of the post-conflict territory will be considered as the highest value. To answer the question whether the goal of post-conflict management policy will be achieved in some practical model of such a policy the author proposes criteria, that is concrete indicators to be achieved so that the activities of post-conflict management policy can be defined as effective. The criteria are grouped up according to the sectors of policy: criteria for security and justice sector, economic criteria, criteria for the public administration and criteria for socio-cultural policy. Independently from the sector the criteria are used in, they are achieved in purposeful activity of peacebuilding character. That is why peacebuilding becomes not only the process, but also a principle actors of post-conflict management policy need to apply.

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