



ROUTLEDGE  
HANDBOOKS



# Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding

Edited by Roger Mac Ginty

# ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF PEACEBUILDING

*Edited by Roger Mac Ginty*



First published 2013  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada  
by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2013 selection and editorial material, Roger Mac Ginty;  
individual chapters, the contributors

The right of the editor to be identified as the author of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Routledge handbook of peacebuilding / edited by Roger Mac Ginty.  
p. cm.

ISBN 978-0-415-69019-5 (hardback) –  
ISBN 978-0-203-06817-5 (e-book) 1. Interpersonal relations.  
2. Peace. 3. Conflict management. I. Mac Ginty, Roger, 1970–  
HM1111.R68 2013  
303.6'6–dc23  
2012030935

ISBN: 978-0-415-69019-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-203-06817-5 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo  
by HWA Text and Data Management, London



Printed and bound in Great Britain by  
TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

# ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF PEACEBUILDING

This new Routledge Handbook offers a comprehensive, state-of-the-art overview of the meanings and uses of the term 'peacebuilding', and presents cutting-edge debates on the practices conducted in the name of peacebuilding.

The term 'peacebuilding' has had remarkable staying power. Other terms, such as 'conflict resolution' have waned in popularity, while the acceptance and use of the term 'peacebuilding' has grown to the extent that it is the hegemonic and over-arching term for many forms of mediation, reconciliation and strategies to induce peace. Despite this, however, it is rarely defined and often used to mean different things to different audiences.

*Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* aims to be a one-stop comprehensive resource on the literature and practices of contemporary peacebuilding. The book is organised into six sections:

- Part I: Reading peacebuilding
- Part II: Approaches and cross-cutting themes
- Part III: Disciplinary approaches to peacebuilding
- Part IV: Violence and security
- Part V: Everyday living and peacebuilding
- Part VI: The infrastructure of peacebuilding

This new Handbook will be essential reading for students of peacebuilding, mediation and post-conflict reconstruction, and of great interest to students of statebuilding, intervention, civil wars, conflict resolution, war and conflict studies and international relations in general.

**Roger Mac Ginty** is Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at the Humanitarian and Conflict Response Institute and the Department of Politics at the University of Manchester. He edits the journal *Peacebuilding* and his latest book was *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid forms of peace*.

**Dedicated to John Darby, 1940–2012**  
**Mentor, Scholar, Wit, and Peacebuilder.**

# CONTRIBUTORS

**Mohammed Abu-Nimer** is Full Professor at American University's School of International Service in International Peace and Conflict. He is director of the Center for Peacebuilding and Development and the co-editor of the *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*. He has published many books and articles on peacebuilding in Islam, interfaith dialogue and conflict resolution. He has edited the book *Peacebuilding By, Between and Beyond Muslims and Evangelical Christians* (Lexington, 2009). [abunimer@american.edu](mailto:abunimer@american.edu)

**Christine Bell** is Professor of Constitutional Law, University of Edinburgh. Her research interests lie in the interface between constitutional and international law, gender and conflict, and legal theory, with a particular interest in peace processes and their agreements. She has participated in a number of peace negotiations. She has authored two books: *On the Law of Peace: Peace Agreements and the Lex Pacificatoria* (Oxford University Press, 2008) and *Peace Agreements and Human Rights* (Oxford University Press, 2000). [Christine.bell@ed.ac.uk](mailto:Christine.bell@ed.ac.uk)

**Roland Bleiker** is Professor of International Relations at the University of Queensland. His most recent books are *Divided Korea: Toward a culture of reconciliation* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005/2008) and *Aesthetics and World Politics* (Palgrave, 2009), and as co-editor, *Mediating Across Difference: Pacific and Asian approaches to security and conflict* (University of Hawaii Press, 2010). Bleiker is currently working on a collaborative project that examines how images – and the emotions they generate – shape responses to humanitarian crises. [bleiker@uq.au.edu](mailto:bleiker@uq.au.edu)

**Scott A. Bollens** is Professor of Urban Planning and Warmington Endowed Professor of Peace and International Cooperation, University of California, Irvine. He studies the roles of urban policy and city building amidst nationalistic ethnic conflict and political transitions. Over the past 17 years, Professor Bollens has interviewed over 240 urban professionals, political leaders, and community representatives in Jerusalem, Belfast, Johannesburg, Nicosia (Cyprus), Sarajevo and Mostar (Bosnia), Barcelona and Basque



cities (Spain), and Beirut. His most recent book is *City and Soul in Divided Societies* (Routledge, 2012) which integrates first-hand reportage, academic analysis, and personal narrative. bollens@uci.edu

**Jurgen Brauer** is Professor of Economics at the Hull College of Business, Augusta State University and Visiting Professor of Economics at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. He co-edits *The Economics of Peace and Security Journal* and is co-author of *Peace Economics: A macroeconomic primer for violence-afflicted states* (USIP Press, 2012). jbrauer@aug.edu

**John Brewer** is Sixth Century Professor of Sociology at the University of Aberdeen. He is a former President of the British Sociological Association. He is a member of the UN Roster of Global Experts, a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, an Academician in the Academy of Social Science and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. He is author or co-author of sixteen books and over 100 peer reviewed papers. During the last decade his work has focused primarily on mapping the sociology of peace processes. j.brewer@abdn.ac.uk

**M. Anne Brown** is a Senior Research Fellow at the School of Political Science and International Studies, the University of Queensland. She is also a founding member of PaCSIA, a peace and conflict research and practice NGO. Research and applied interests focus on political community across division, peacebuilding and state formation in hybrid states, social dialogue processes, and changing forms of citizenship. She is the author of *Human Rights and the Borders of Suffering: the Promotion of Human Rights in International Politics* (Manchester University Press, 2002) and editor of *Security and Development in the Pacific Islands: Social Resilience in Emerging States* (Lynne Rienner, 2007). anne.brown@uq.edu.au

**Susanna Campbell** is a Research Fellow at the Centre on Conflict, Development, and Peacebuilding at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva. Since 1996, she has been commissioned by over a dozen organizations – think tanks, governments, international organizations, and international non-governmental organizations – to study the capacity of international actors to prevent violent conflict and build peaceful states. She has published widely, including with the Council on Foreign Relations Press, *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, and Zed Books. She received her PhD in 2012 from Tufts University, Massachusetts. Susanna.campbell@tufts.edu

**Raul Caruso** is Professor of Economics at the Istituto di Politica Economica, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy, and editor of *Peace Economics*, *Peace Science*, and *Public Policy*. Raul.caruso@unicatt.it

**Landon E. Hancock** is an Associate Professor at Kent State University's Center for Applied Conflict Management and Department of Political Science. His work focuses on ethnic conflict and peacemaking. He has published articles in several journals including *Ethnopolitics* (2011), *Peace & Change* (2011), *Peace and Conflict Studies* (2011), *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* (2011), *Irish Political Studies* (2011), *Journal of Peace Education*

(2010), and *International Studies Review* (2008). With Chris Mitchell he edited *Local Peacebuilding and National Peace* (2012) and *Zones of Peace* (2007). He continues to work on issues related to identity conflict, peace processes, post-conflict reconstruction and transitional justice. lhancoc2@kent.edu

**Emma Hutchison** is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the School of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Queensland. Before this, Emma was the 2010 Australian EUI Postdoctoral Fellow at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy. Her current key research projects question the role of trauma and emotions in world politics, as well as the role that images play in shaping global responses to humanitarian crises. Her research has appeared in edited books as well as scholarly journals, such as the *Review of International Studies*, *International Relations*, *Global Society* and the *European Journal of Social Theory*. e.hutchison@uq.au.edu

**Patrícia Justino** is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Development Studies, Brighton. She is the Head of the Conflict, Violence and Development cluster at IDS, director of MICROCON ([www.microconflict.eu](http://www.microconflict.eu)) and co-founder and co-director of the Households in Conflict Network ([www.hicn.org](http://www.hicn.org)). p.justino@ids.ac.uk

**Roger Mac Ginty** is Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at the Humanitarian and Conflict Response Institute and the Department of Politics at the University of Manchester. He edits the journal *Peacebuilding* and his latest book was *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid forms of peace* (Palgrave, 2011). roger.macginty@manchester.ac.uk

**Patricia A. Maulden** is Assistant Professor of Conflict Resolution and Director of the Dialogue and Difference Project with the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, Washington DC. Her research interests include generational and gendered dynamics of conflict and peace, social militarization and demilitarization processes, and peacebuilding practices. She designs and implements experiential learning programs that bridge peacebuilding theory and practice from the student as well as the host community perspective. She is currently investigating the post-conflict paradox of engaging war while creating peace, and exploring peacebuilding over time, more specifically the trajectories of post-conflict knowledge. pmaulden@gmu.edu

**Siobhan McEvoy-Levy** is Associate Professor of Political Science and Peace and Conflict Studies at Butler University in Indianapolis, Indiana. McEvoy-Levy's work focuses on youth and armed conflict, peace processes and post-conflict peacebuilding. She has published many articles and book chapters on these topics and is also the editor of and a contributor to *Troublemakers or Peacemakers? Youth and Post-Accord Peacebuilding* (2006), co-author with Borer and Darby of *Violence, Youth and Truth* (2006), and author of *American Exceptionalism and US Foreign Policy* (2001). smcevoy@butler.edu

**Shelley McKeown** is a lecturer in psychology at the University of Hertfordshire. In 2012 she completed her PhD research at the University of Ulster under the guidance of Professor Ed Cairns and Professor Maurice Stringer. Her research interests lie within the



area of understanding and improving intergroup relations. She currently has a number of published articles focusing on micro-ecological behaviour, intergroup contact, shared space and peacemaking youth programmes in Northern Ireland.

**Edward Newman** is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Birmingham, UK. Before joining the University of Birmingham he was Director of Studies on Conflict and Security in the Peace and Governance Programme of the United Nations University. He teaches and researches on security studies, including critical approaches and 'human security'; intrastate armed conflict, civil war and political violence; and peacebuilding and reconstruction in conflict-prone and post-conflict societies. He is also the Editor-in-Chief of the Routledge journal *Civil Wars*. e.newman.1@bham.ac.uk

**Anthony Oberschall** is emeritus Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He has authored books and articles on collective action, social movements, ethnic conflict, political violence and terrorism, as well as on conflict management. His latest book is *Conflict and Peace Building in Divided Societies* (2007). He was an expert witness at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. He is finishing a book titled *The Truth Deficit in America* which deals with falsehood, deceit, and misinformation in politics and the marketplace of ideas on public policy and problem-solving. tonob@email.unc.edu

**Maria O'Reilly** is a PhD candidate at the Department of War Studies, King's College London. Her main area of interest is the question of women's agency in post-conflict settings, which she explores by drawing on perspectives from peace and conflict studies, feminist theory and memory studies. Her current research examines the relationship between trauma, memory and women's activism around transitional justice issues in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina. maria.o'reilly@kcl.ac.uk

**Alpaslan Özerdem** is Professor and Director of the Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies, Coventry University, UK. Specializing in the politics of disaster response, reintegration of former combatants and post-conflict state building, he is co-author of *Disaster Management and Civil Society: Earthquake Relief in Japan, Turkey and India* (I.B. Tauris, 2006), author of *Post-war Recovery: Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration* (I.B. Tauris, 2008) and co-editor of *Participatory Research Methodologies in Development and Post Disaster/Conflict Reconstruction* (Ashgate, 2010), is co-author of *Managing Emergencies and Crises* (Jones & Bartlett, 2011) and co-editor of *Child Soldiers: From Recruitment to Reintegration* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). a.ozerdem@coventry.ac.uk

**Thania Paffenholz** is Senior Researcher at the Centre for Conflict, Peacebuilding and Development at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva. She previously was Director of the Centre for Peacebuilding (KOFF) at Swisspeace in Bern. Her focus is on peacebuilding theory and practice; development-peace nexus; evaluation in peacebuilding. She also works as an advisor to international and national governmental and non-governmental organizations. Her book publications include *Civil Society and Peacebuilding: A critical assessment* (2010); *Aid for Peace: A guide*

for planning and evaluation for conflict zones (2007); and *Peacebuilding: A field guide* (2000).  
thania.paffenholz@graduateinstitute.ch

**Jenny H. Peterson** is a Lecturer in Humanitarian and Conflict Response at the Humanitarian and Conflict Response Institute at the University of Manchester. An early career scholar, she has published in *Disasters* and *International Studies Quarterly*. Her first monograph is *Building a Peace Economy: Liberal Peacebuilding and the Development Security Industry* (2012).

**Michael Pugh** is Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Bradford, and Leverhulme Emeritus Fellow. He has been editor of the journal *International Peacekeeping* and the Cass Peacekeeping book series for the twenty years since their foundation. He edited *Regeneration of War-torn Societies* (2000), and co-authored with Neil Cooper and Jonathan Goodhand *War Economies in a Regional Context* (2004). He led the ESRC-funded Transformation of War Economies team and is co-editor of *Whose Peace? Critical Perspectives on the Political Economy of Peacebuilding* (2008). m.pugh@bradford.ac.uk

**Patrick M. Regan** is a Professor in the Joan Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies and the Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame. His interests are in violent conflict and its resolution, particularly in the context of civil war. His publications include *Organizing Societies for War: The Process and Consequences of Societal Militarization* (1994), *Civil Wars and Foreign Powers: Interventions and Intrastate Conflict* (2000) and, *Sixteen Million One: Understanding Civil Wars* (2009). He has also authored or co-authored articles in the *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *International Interactions*, and the *Journal of Peace Research*.

**Marc Howard Ross** is William R. Kenan, Jr. Emeritus Professor of Political Science at Bryn Mawr College. He has researched in Canada, East Africa, France, Northern Ireland, the Middle East, Spain, and South Africa. His current work focuses on the role that cultural performance and memory play in the escalation and de-escalation of ethnic conflict. He has written or edited eight books including *Cultural Contestation in Ethnic Conflict* (2007), *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes* (2009), *The Culture of Conflict* and *The Management of Conflict* (1993), and over 75 journal articles and book chapters. mross@brynmawr.edu

**Stephen Ryan** is a Senior Lecturer in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Ulster's International Conflict Research Institute (INCORE). His latest book is *The Transformation of Violent Intercommunal Conflict* (2007) and he has written over thirty articles and book chapters on ethnic conflict, the United Nations and conflict resolution. His main research interests are the dynamics and transformation of intercommunal conflict. He is the University of Ulster Coordinator for an international Marie Curie training site on sustainable peacebuilding and is the Course Director of the MSc in Applied Peace and Conflict Studies. S. Ryan@ulster.ac.uk

**Ricardo Santos** is a PhD candidate in development economics at the Institute of Development Studies, Brighton.

**Mark Sedra** is an Adjunct Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of Waterloo, Canada and the President of the Security Governance Group. His research focuses on the topic of post-conflict state-building with an emphasis on security issues. He has conducted research on a number of countries and regions, including Northern Ireland, the Middle East, and the Balkans; however, the bulk of his research in recent years has centered on Afghanistan. [msedra@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:msedra@uwaterloo.ca)

**Gerald M. Steinberg** is Professor of Politics and founder of the Program on Conflict Management and Negotiation, Bar Ilan University, Israel. His research focuses on diplomacy, military strategy and arms control, and human rights as a form of soft power. He has worked with international organizations such as NATO, UN University, OSCE, and SIPRI; and is president of NGO Monitor, a Jerusalem-based research organization. Academic publications include articles entitled *The centrality of confidence building measures: Lessons from the Middle East*, *Postcolonial theory and the ideology of peace studies*, and *The politics of NGOs, human rights and the Arab-Israel conflict*. [Steing@mail.biu.ac.il](mailto:Steing@mail.biu.ac.il)

**Sherrill Stroschein** is a Senior Lecturer in Politics and director of the program in Democracy and Comparative Politics at University College London. She was previously an Academy Scholar at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies and an Assistant Professor at Ohio University. She is a member of the Executive Board of the Association for the Study of Nationalities. Her publications examine the politics of ethnicity in democracies with mixed ethnic or religious populations, most recently her book *Ethnic Struggle, Coexistence, and Democratization in Eastern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2012). [s.stroschein@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:s.stroschein@ucl.ac.uk)

**Necla Tschirgi** is Professor of Practice, Human Security and Peacebuilding at the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies at the University of San Diego. In the last fifteen years, she has increasingly specialized in conflict prevention and peacebuilding – focusing on the nexus between security and development. She has been an in-house consultant/Senior Policy Advisor with the Peacebuilding Support Office at the United Nations Secretariat in New York, the Vice President of the International Peace Academy, and helped establish and lead the Peacebuilding and Reconstruction Program at the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa. [neclatschirgi@sandiego.edu](mailto:neclatschirgi@sandiego.edu)

**Anthony Wanis-St. John** is Assistant Professor at American University in Washington, DC. His research and teaching focus on international negotiation and conflict resolution, with a special emphasis on peace processes. Dr. Wanis-St. John is an advisor to the Academy of International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding at the United States Institute of Peace. He is the author of *Back Channel Negotiations: Secrecy In Middle East Peacemaking* (Syracuse University Press, 2011). He was guest editor of the journal *International Negotiation* vol. 13, no. 1 (2008) ‘Peace processes, civil society and secret negotiations’ and has published in *Journal of Peace Research*, *Negotiation Journal*, *International Peacekeeping* and the *Harvard Negotiation Law Review*. [wanis@american.edu](mailto:wanis@american.edu)

**Susan L. Woodward** is Professor of Political Science at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Her current research focuses on transitions from war

to peace, the concept of state failure, and post-war state-building. She was a senior fellow at the Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, London, 1999–2000 and at The Brookings Institution, 1990–1999, and a professor of political science at Yale University, 1982–1989, Williams College, 1978–1982, and Northwestern University, 1972–1977. Her writings include *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War* (1995), and *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945–1990* (1995). [swoodward@gc.cuny.edu](mailto:swoodward@gc.cuny.edu)

**Dominik Zaum** is Reader in International Relations at the University of Reading, and a Senior Research Fellow in Conflict and Fragility at the UK's Department for International Development. He has published widely on state- and peacebuilding issues. His recent books include *The Sovereignty Paradox: The Norms and Politics of International Statebuilding* (2007), *The United Nations Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and Practice since 1945* (2008, with Vaughan Lowe, Adam Roberts, and Jennifer Welsh), *Corruption and Peacebuilding: Selling the Peace?* (2011, with Christine Cheng), and *Power after Peace: The Political Economy of State-Building* (2012, with Mats Berdal). [d.zaum@rdg.ac.uk](mailto:d.zaum@rdg.ac.uk)

# A TRIBUTE TO JOHN DARBY

John and I worked together in a variety of peace processes for more than twenty years. It took us to Prague, Cyprus, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Nepal, and Northern Ireland.

I sat in a lot of meetings with John. The rooms typically held people from different sides of nasty conflicts. John would start each meeting with a similar presentation that I came to greatly appreciate. In our debriefings in the evenings or end of sessions he would return to the same ideas. More or less this is what he would tell people when he spoke his first words.

I am not here to give you solutions or answers. I am a visitor here. This is your place, your home, not mine. You know your challenges. You are the ones who will make decisions.

I come from a place that has had a lot of division and violence. I know what it feels like to have people from outside come to help. We had a lot people who came in during the long years of our troubles. The most helpful were those who shared what they knew but did not presume to know better than us.

So I am here to share things we have learned from comparisons of different peace processes. Each place and process is unique. And each has some parallel challenges. Comparison may help. That will of course be up to you.

We appreciate the courage it takes to meet and talk with people from outside. We promise to hold that courage with the respect it deserves.

John embodied humility. For the learned academic and seasoned practitioner he had grown to be, he was amazingly without the appendage of a large ego that seems to come with these genres of persons and professions. I can never remember him taking the low road of competition or one-upmanship. It was truly a rare gift and trait.

John Paul Lederach, University of Notre Dame

# ABBREVIATIONS

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| ABM   | Anti-Ballistic Missile                                    |
| ANC   | African National Congress                                 |
| CDD   | Community-Driven Development                              |
| CDU   | Christian Democratic Union                                |
| CEOSS | Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services       |
| COIN  | Counter-insurgency  |
| CPIA  | Country Policy and Institutional Assessment               |
| CRC   | Community Relations Council                               |
| DAC   | Development Assistance Committee                          |
| DDR   | Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration             |
| DFID  | Department for International Development                  |
| DOENI | Department of the Environment Northern Ireland            |
| DPKO  | Department of Peacekeeping Operations                     |
| DRC   | Democratic Republic of Congo                              |
| ECHO  | European Commission Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection |
| ECP   | Escola de Cultura de Pau                                  |
| EDSA  | Epifanio de los Santos Avenue                             |
| ETA   | Euskadi Ta Askatasuna                                     |
| EU    | European Union  |
| FARC  | Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia                    |
| FID   | Forum for Intercultural Dialogue                          |
| FMLN  | Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front                 |
| FSSCA | Fund for Self-Sufficiency in Central America              |
| GAM   | Gerakan Aceh Merdeka                                      |
| GNP   | Gross National Product                                    |
| GPI   | Global Peace Index  |
| GWOT  | Global War on Terror                                      |
| HDI   | Human Development Index                                   |
| HFZ   | Harm Free Zone  |



## *Abbreviations*

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| HIPC   | Highly Indebted Poor Countries                                     |
| IATI   | International Aid Transparency Initiative                          |
| ICC    | International Criminal Court                                       |
| ICTY   | International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia          |
| IDDRS  | Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards |
| IDP    | Internally Displaced Person  |
| IEP    | Institute for Economics and Peace                                  |
| IFI    | International Financial Institution                                |
| IFOR   | Implementation Force   |
| IMF    | International Monetary Fund  |
| IO     | International Organization   |
| IPE    | International Political Economy                                    |
| IPTF   | International Police Task Force                                    |
| IR     | International Relations  |
| IRA    | Irish Republican Army  |
| ISAF   | International Security Assistance Force                            |
| JAM    | Joint Assessment Mission   |
| KFOR   | Kosovo Force   |
| KLA    | Kosovo Liberation Army   |
| LTTE   | Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam                                   |
| LZP    | Local Zone of Peace  |
| MNLF   | Moro National Liberation Front                                     |
| NATO   | North Atlantic Treaty Organization                                 |
| NGO    | Non-Governmental Organization                                      |
| NILT   | Northern Ireland Life and Times                                    |
| OECD   | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development              |
| OEF    | Operation Enduring Freedom   |
| OSCE   | Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe                |
| P2P    | People-to-People   |
| PCIA   | Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment                               |
| PER    | Project on Ethnic Relations  |
| PICAR  | Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution          |
| PON    | Project on Negotiation   |
| PRIO   | Peace Research Institute Oslo                                      |
| PRSP   | Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper                                   |
| QUANGO | Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organization                     |
| R&D    | Research and Development   |
| RMDSz  | Democratic Union of Romanians in Hungary                           |
| RPA    | Rwanda Patriotic Army  |
| SALT   | Strategic Arms Limitation Talks                                    |
| SALW   | Small Arms and Light Weapons                                       |
| SFOR   | Stabilization Force  |
| SIT    | Social Identity Theory   |
| SLIG   | Suffolk-Lenadoon Interface Group                                   |
| SPLA   | Sudan People's Liberation Army                                     |
| SRRP   | Stewartstown Road Regeneration Project                             |

## *Abbreviations*

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| SSR      | Security Sector Reform   |
| UDMR     | Democratic Union of Romanians in Hungary                         |
| UN       | United Nations   |
| UNAMA    | United Nations Missions in Afghanistan                           |
| UNAMI    | United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq                        |
| UNAMSIL  | United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone                           |
| UNDP     | United Nations Development Programme                             |
| UNESCO   | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNICEF   | United Nations Children's Emergency Fund                         |
| UNMIBH   | United Nations Civilian Office in Bosnia Herzegovina             |
| UNMIK    | United Nations Interim Mission in Kosovo                         |
| UNPROFOR | United Nations Protection Force                                  |
| URI      | United Religious Initiative                                      |
| USAID    | United States Agency for International Development               |
| WACI     | West Africa Coast Initiative                                     |
| ZOP      | Zone of Peace  |
| ZOPFAN   | Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality                            |
| ZOPIF    | Zones of Peace International Foundation                          |

# CONTENTS

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <i>Contributors</i>                              | x         |
| <i>Tribute</i>                                   | xvii      |
| <i>Abbreviations</i>                             | xviii     |
| <br>Introduction                                 | <br>1     |
| <i>Roger Mac Ginty</i>                           |           |
| <br><b>PART I</b>                                |           |
| <b>Reading peacebuilding</b>                     | <b>9</b>  |
| <br>1 The problem-solving and critical paradigms | <br>11    |
| <i>Michael Pugh</i>                              |           |
| <br>2 The evolution of peacebuilding             | <br>25    |
| <i>Stephen Ryan</i>                              |           |
| <br>3 The limits of peacebuilding theory         | <br>36    |
| <i>Gerald M. Steinberg</i>                       |           |
| <br><b>PART II</b>                               |           |
| <b>Approaches and cross-cutting themes</b>       | <b>55</b> |
| <br>4 Gender and peacebuilding                   | <br>57    |
| <i>Maria O'Reilly</i>                            |           |
| <br>5 Religion and peacebuilding                 | <br>69    |
| <i>Mohammed Abu-Nimer</i>                        |           |