

# Imposed Solutions versus Local Ownership in Intercommunal Conflict

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# Contents

- Problem
- Argument
- Liberal Peace and Hybridity
- Local Involvement and Ownership
- Cyprus
- Kosovo
- Conclusions
- Future Thoughts

# What?

- Liberal, high intensity, external peace-making interventions in intercommunal conflicts often prove unsustainable in the long run
- Liberal peace-making in intercommunal settings often fails to build realities that serve local populations due to:
  - 1) The element of coercion and external imposition and
  - 2) Lack of domestic ownership and limited incorporation of local agency, traditional institutions and cultural particularities in the post-conflict peace process

# How?

- Empower and involve appropriate local agents and incorporate fitting institutions to the peace intervention in a hybrid governance model **INSTEAD OF** pursuing an ideal-type liberal state that, anyway, leads to de facto hybrid models
- Ownership is key in the interactions between international and local actors (Jarstad & Olsson, 2012)
- Involvement of domestic actors a prerequisite for the successfulness of the peace-making process. It increases local ownership of solutions

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- Local involvement and ownership is not a panacea for intercommunal conflict
  - Hybridity needs further systematisation as a theoretical and practical approach (Questions on the form, degree and timing of local involvement)

# Liberal Peace Framework

- The dominant form of internationally-supported peacebuilding
- Connected to the theoretical tradition of democratic peace theory
  - > Asserts that certain kinds of society (liberal democratic) tend to be more peaceful in domestic and international affairs than other, illiberal states
  - > Aims for peacebuilding on the basis of liberal democracy and market economics (Lemay-Hébert, 2013)
  - > Conducted by liberal, Western states
  - > Motivated by liberal objectives (human rights protection, RtP),
  - > Promotes liberal-democratic political institutions, human rights, effective and good governance, and economic liberalisation as a means to bring peace and prosperity to war-torn countries (Zaum, 2012)

# Hybrid Governance/Peacebuilding

- The post-conflict society where liberal and illiberal norms, institutions, and actors exist alongside each other, interact, and even clash (Jarstad & Belloni, 2012)
- Not only critique LPF and explanatory model for intervention cases but also an alternative model to liberal dominance
- Not only a reality occurring in all liberal peace-making interventions but also as opportunity for alternative, locally sustainable, political, economic, and social orders and for a locally engrained version of peace (Belloni, 2012)
- Can provide insights into understanding the dynamics of peacebuilding processes and in improving the quality of the peace being built (Belloni, 2012)

# Local Involvement and Ownership

- Among the reasons for unsuccessfulness of LPF -> superficial, minimal or non-involvement of local agency in the peace process.
- Benefits of local ownership of peace governance
  - > Societal dignity and confidence
  - > Sovereignty of the society and not only the elites
  - > Greater efficiency, smoother cooperation and greater medium and long-term sustainability as peace is not dependent on the presence and dominant support of external actors (Van Brabant 2010)

Examples of External  
Solutions and Local  
Involvement and Ownership  
from Cyprus and Kosovo



# Cyprus (1960 Independence)

Unsuccessful bicomunal consociational model

- Little basis for intercommunal cooperation & development of common civic consciousness
- Ended with 1963 intercommunal violence

# Cyprus (1960 Independence)

Why failed?

- Republic of Cyprus and its constitution did not emerge from an act of self-determination
- Was created in such a manner that the Cypriot communities did not feel ownership over it (planned by the colonial power and the “motherlands”)
- Not the content **BUT RATHER** the imposed nature of the agreements brought downfall, GCs and TCs viewed Zurich-London agreements as the denial of their national aspirations unification (GCs) and partition (TCs)

# Cyprus (Annan Plan)

2004 plan for bicommunal, bi-zonal federation two states (GCs 76%NO, TCs 65%YES)

- Debate on the liveability and appropriateness of the consociational provisions of the Annan Plan
  - > Constitution poorly designed and would constitute a source of future strife (Moulakis, 2007)
  - > Lost opportunity (Koumoullis, 2017)

# Cyprus (Annan Plan)

## Why Failed?

- Content VS imposed nature of the agreement
- Limited to non-existent feeling of ownership for a solution proposal brought by outsiders
- Drafting by Annan and his foreign consultants, without adequately consulting with the Cypriot leaders and communities. (feeling conflict, creativity of solutions) (Yilmaz, 2005)
- Circle of negotiators extremely restricted and foreign mediators holding a decisive role in formulating the document

# Cyprus (Annan Plan)

- Suspicion of the parties for the plan with (a tricky document shaped by outsiders)
- Pressure of external actors for a positive referendum outcome, increased the (mostly GC) suspicion on the intentions and hidden agenda of the international community (Christophorou, 2005)
- Attempt to create a common Cypriot identity through outside pressure instead of boosting internal dynamics (Identities have been dominated by motherland identities. Cypriotness has not yet found its overarching position)

# Kosovo (Context)

- Multi-ethnic consociational model adopted after 1999 NATO intervention, (Ahtisaari Plan and 2008 DoI and constitution)
- A Constitution of multiethnicity that declares itself to be a product of citizens rather than a product of ethnicities (Doli & Korenica, 2013)
- 11 Serbian community MoA boycotted DoI & opposed participation in the Constitutional Drafting Commission

# Kosovo (Liberal Framework)

- Kosovars allergic to “reconciliation” -> associated with dysfunctional governing models and patronising western protectorship
- Prolonged external engagement and expectations for full sovereignty breed dissatisfaction for post-conflict policies exercised by internationals
- Local actors are expected to participate and own political, economic, and social structures devised and implemented by outsiders
- Peacebuilding is caught in a contradiction that supports liberal democracy and pluralism in Kosovo but at the same time remains an observer in an ongoing process of Kosovo’s monoethnic independence (Franks & Richmond 2008)

# Kosovo (Involving Local Actors)

- Lack of legitimacy of international actors (UNMIK) intrusive dynamic of institution-building process (concentrating excessive powers, ignoring existing governance structures and the interethnic cultural logic, and being biased in favour of Kosovo Albanians) (Santander 2012)
- Legitimacy gap that keeps the ethnic communities; the government and the international agencies in distance among them



# Kosovo (Transitional Justice)

- The KLA case: UNMIK has not cooperated with the ICTY in their indictment for war crimes, crimes against humanity and organised crime (peace over justice)
- Best known Case of Ramush Haradinaj (leading figure of the KLA, current PM) has been tried twice by the ICTY for crimes against humanity (Simangan, 2017)

# Kosovo (Transitional Justice)

- (Low Local Inv.) Criticised for being western-based, externally imposed, highly top-down and insensitive to local contexts
- (High Local Inv.) Risks for the peace process from uncritical support to local solutions (Simangan 2017)
- Bias of the local judicial system in favour of Kosovo Albanians
  - > Misconduct (releasing people charged with multiple Serb members)
  - > Decisions tainted by emotions
  - > Simplification of proceedings into Albanians versus Serbs
  - > Attempts to balance efforts by increasing number of international lawyers and judges undermined the development of long-term confidence in the domestic legal system (Simangan, 2017)

# Some Conclusions...

- LPF unsuccessful as it tries to impose western standards neglecting cultural context/particularities
  - International Actors sacrifice liberal agenda in the name of peace (stability over justice) leading to hybridity
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- Hybridity does not mean sustainability (risks)
- Local Involvement does not mean sustainability (risks)
- Hybridity might be an effort to fit cultural, political and social orders perceived as radically different into the liberal order (Nadarajah & Rampton 2015)
- Need to be reserved with locality. Local element in the epicentre of the debate during the 2000s & 2010s, but also emphasised in conflict resolution and conflict transformation debates at least from the mid-1990s (Leonardsson & Rudd, 2015)

# Thoughts for the Future

- Need for systematisation of the hybrid model and local involvement (who, how, in what degree and when?)
- Is it just another form of fitting post-conflict societies in the western model?

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