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Peacebuilding

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2. *Presence.* Protective accompaniment of civil-society organizations includes maintaining a regular presence at the organization's offices or events. The visible presence of international observers sends a message that the international community cares about the group's work and the safety of its members.

3. *Visits.* Although they are similar to escorts of individuals and to presences with organizations, visits differ in their less frequent occurrence and their irregular patterns, because of either a lower level of threat or insufficient PBI resources.

4. *Observing.* Though similar to maintaining a presence with an organization, differs in being used more broadly at political actions (election days, nonviolent demonstrations), legal proceedings (trials or tribunals), social events (holidays, celebrations, parades), and national peace processes.

5. *Delegations.* Short-term delegations of foreign citizens are hosted by PBI teams in the conflicted country. They may take part in assorted interviewing, lobbying, witnessing, reporting, and accompanying roles, often as high-profile delegations. Equally important is the education, advocacy, and lobbying work done by delegation members once they have returned their home country, to accompany peace processes externally.

6. *Peacebuilding trainings.* PBI teams offer various training programs to increase local capacities in peacebuilding and awareness of human rights and to empower civil society.

Peace Brigades teams traditionally live simply on modest stipends. The organization is decentralized, with fifteen independent "country groups" that work in their home countries to support the work of the teams in the field. Despite operating in situations of high political violence, the organization's governing bodies and the teams make decisions by consensus.

PBI teams have served in Nicaragua (1983), Guatemala (1983–1999; 2003–present), El Salvador (1987–1992), Sri Lanka (1989–1998), North America (1992–1999), Colombia (1994–present), Haiti (1992–2001), Mexico (1998–present), Indonesia (2000–present), and Nepal (2005–present). PBI was also an instrumental member of the coalition that fielded the the Balkan Peace Team (1994–2001). Considered collectively, this represents well over one hundred years of experience in ten different settings.

Although accompaniment tactics have been pioneered and most fully developed by Peace Brigades International, they have become widely diffused and adapted by many other organizations. Increasing attention is being paid to the meanings of nonpartisanship in accompaniment and to the roles of and reliance upon privilege in international accompaniment.

[*See also* Human Rights, *subentry on* An Overview, *and* Organizations, Rise of International.]

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PEACEBUILDING. [*This entry contains three subentries:* An Overview; Theoretical and Historical Analyses; *and* Mapping Actors of Peacebuilding.]

An Overview

In 1992, as Cold War politico-military clashes quieted down, United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali outlined an "Agenda for Peace," which was adopted at a summit meeting of the UN Security Council. With this historical manifesto, the world body positioned the issue of international peace as a primary concern for our global society. The peace agenda reaffirmed three conventional tracks related to the establishment of social peace: preventive diplomacy, which averts and mitigates heated disputes; peacemaking,

which brings antagonistic parties to a negotiated agreement to halt the fighting; and peacekeeping, which involves the deployment of predominantly militarized UN forces to wartorn territories to enforce and monitor negotiated agreements between antagonistic groups. The 1992 declaration further added a fourth proposal to the peace tripod: the concept of peacebuilding.

Peacebuilding creates social structures that solidify social peace and protect previously ruptured societies against conflict relapse. Although the four strategic actions of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping, and peacebuilding contribute to the establishment of social peace, they are conceptually and operationally distinct from each other. One difference has to do with the kind of violence with which each social intervention deals, in the context of social antagonisms. Peacebuilding addresses not only to direct violence but also to structural violence.

In social conflict, direct violence refers to dramatic physical and psychological harm on large masses of people, with identifiable individual transgressors and victims. Examples of direct violence are torture, urban bombings, kidnappings, and village strafing from helicopters. On the other hand, structural violence arises when vertical social arrangements of inequality prevent huge numbers of people from satisfying basic human needs like food, health care, education, self-determination, cultural identity, and freedom from fear (especially in authoritarian regimes). Unlike direct violence, structural violence is relatively permanent, invisible, and undramatic. It likewise lacks intent, subject, object, and interpersonal action. However, most armed social conflicts arise from structural inequalities among the antagonistic groups. Examples of structural violence are foreign occupations, one-person and one-party dictatorships, gross wealth inequalities, widespread poverty and hunger, and cultural dominance of one group over another.

Peacebuilding can be conceptually disaggregated into two types. The first type deals with managing the aftermath of massive direct violence on a population. Since this stage usually comes after an eruption of massive direct violence, it is often referred to as post-conflict peacebuilding. During this stage, society confronts urgent problems such as clearing landmines, revitalizing public services and infrastructure, controlling power grabs by disgruntled militarized forces, returning refugees, trauma therapy, and possibilities for sociopolitical forgiveness. Western-based organizations and development agencies tend to support such post-conflict projects in a generous way.

The second type of peacebuilding attends to longer-lasting structural transformations that establish social justice and greater equalities across previously conflicting groups. The long-range goal of peacebuilders would be to change structures of violence to structures of peace using peaceful means to obtain structural change. The outcome of structural peacebuilding is a more equitable distribution of political and economic power across groups and an everyday culture and language that support this transformed system.

When the dust of direct violence settles down, more space is created in which to build lasting peace by reconfiguring structural conditions that originally gave rise to social resentments. However, structural peacebuilding is not only a post-conflict phenomenon. It may take place even before the eruption of direct war and, by its establishment of intergroup social fairness, may even prevent armed conflicts.

Creating Social Strain and Confronting the Militarized Enemy

Paradoxically, the second type of peacebuilding involves increasing social strain, or making socially manifest that which is latent. Structural strain thrives amid pressure to change unequal group relations to newer ones that challenge the dominant structure. Since unequal social structures are socially embedded, they are invisible. Further, dominant groups tend to remain desensitized to structural inequalities, while groups in lower positions of power remain highly sensitized to the oppressive situation.

What appears to be the production of social strain is actually the manifestation of latent inequalities and resentments shouldered by underdogs in structural violence. Peacebuilding entails creation of an awareness within the social agenda that all is not yet well in the fractured society. This warning call is seldom heard after the cessation of direct violence or in the post-conflict euphoria, after peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts have ended the war-fighting activity.

With the creation of social strain between two unequal groups, individuals and institutions in the dominant system may react harshly, using resources in the political, economic, and cultural systems to counter-force the threats to disequilibrium. This is a sensitive juncture in peacebuilding, where both sides may reengage in direct violence toward each other. The challenge

among peacebuilders is to continue the press toward more intergroup equality and to respond to direct violence by the dominant group by using peaceful methods. Examples of nonviolent methods against direct violence include hunger striking against paramilitary forces blocking farmers' claim on lands; winning over the goodwill of the militarized enemy by offering flowers, candy, or cigarettes to the front-line police forces; lying or sitting down instead of standing up in the face of water cannons or tear gas; and spreading political jokes to denigrate and challenge an oppressive regime.

A Skillful Peacebuilder

What are the social skills needed for a peacebuilder to address relatively permanent unjust social structures? Peacebuilders need to know how to network, mobilize, and conscientize in order to activate the nonviolent yet forceful social power that can change structures. These social skills are rooted in the everyday political and cultural ways of a local people, and they are acquired by daily practice rather than through formal training programs. Networking requires building an alternative structure that does not feed on the ongoing oppressive system. A good networker is able to deal with all sorts of peoples and groups across social classes, identities, and genders, and also across positions in favor or against the armed struggle. Mobilization aims to bring together the networked forces in collective protest actions that confront conditions and actions emanating from the vertical structure of violence. Networking activities are part of one's everyday peacebuilding life. On the other hand, mobilizations are only episodic but require much more human energy and logistical resources than networking.

The term "conscientization" is used to describe the process of transformative social consciousness in mass movements engaged in active nonviolence. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* Freire wrote about conscientization to depict how oppressed peoples learn to understand exploitations, and to take action against such abuses. Conscientization programs align group consciousness to produce a counter-consciousness free of the culture and language perpetuated by structural violence. The effect of conscientization is the production of a singular consciousness across large masses of peoples. The process of conscientizing should promote pedagogical non-verticality, or else a hierarchical culture of intellectual elitism may arise out of the peacebuilding movement. An effective conscientizer remains embedded in mass

action and is not disconnected from the everyday rigors of nonviolent structural change.

Importing so-called expert trainers or professionals from developed societies in the name of peacebuilding should be avoided. No matter how personably pleasant and "knowledgeable" foreign peace agents are, they rarely carry skills for long-term local peacebuilding. For example, they usually lack political and cultural sensitivities about local structural violence, they stay in much better and safer living conditions than local people, and they bring interventions that fortify the vertical dependence of local society on foreign aid. And local people are very much aware of the reality that, if direct violence erupts again, foreign peace workers can always run back to their safe and comfortable country of origin, leaving the locals to face the horrendous struggles of war. In spite of these constraints, a handful of nonlocal peacebuilders have contributed significantly to social transformation in ruptured societies. Foreigners intending to engage in peacebuilding in other societies may find useful the practical advice from Lederach and Jenner's comprehensive guidebook titled *A Handbook of International Peacebuilding.*

Nonviolent Democratic Transition as an Example of Peacebuilding

One example of peacebuilding is nonviolent democratic transition from an authoritarian system to a more democratic structure. Nonviolent democratic transition refers to transformations in political structure that are characterized by peaceful means, destruction of an authoritarian political system, and creation of an open political system. The nature of nonviolence during such political transitions involves a peaceful indigenous social force rather than a foreign force, and the production, not reduction, of social strain.

At the height of the Cold War, peoples of the developing world lived under militarized authoritarian regimes, many of which were propped up by superpowers of the Cold War. However, the last two decades of the twentieth century marked a structural shift in the developing world, from authoritarian and militarized state political structures to more open civilian rule.

For example, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, democratic movements broke the hold of the Soviet Empire on Eastern European satellite states. At around the same period, massive nonviolent street forces in Latin America destroyed authoritarian political systems, dismantling Pinochet's stranglehold on Chile, Duvalier's

dictatorship in Haiti, and Mexico's authoritarian Partido Revolucionario Institucional. We see similar nonviolent structural shifts in East Asian political configurations. In 1986, Taiwanese street protests against martial law catapulted the Democratic Progressive Party to victory in parliamentary elections, while in 1987, mass demonstrations in South Korea culminated in the first democratic elections since the nation's independence. In Southeast Asia, the push toward more open democratic systems likewise emanated from huge masses of domestic political forces that moved forcefully yet nonviolently. Phenomenal patterns of nonviolent transition took place in the Philippines in 1986 and 2001, Thailand in 1992, Indonesia in 1998–1999, and East Timor in 2002. Finally, the world will long remember the historical social movement for racial equality and political democracy in South Africa, which culminated in Nelson Mandela's victory in the 1994 democratic elections.

A chasm of difference separates nonviolent democratic transitions and impositions of democratic forms of governance by a powerful foreign country on another state. Foreign-backed political change and rushed electoral exercises—even in the name of democracy—rely heavily on payoffs and firepower. They traumatize and/or torture the local civilian population, they disempower local political cultures and identities, and they calcify authoritarian political systems. Such obligations of democracy on weaker countries may employ forms of governance that are alien to more fragile states. Further, imposing democracy reinforces structural violence on a global scale, reviving patterns of Western hegemony during colonial periods and the Cold War. Grassroots nonviolent democratic transition presents a viable alternative to foreign-backed power shifts in the developing world.

[See also Civil Society and Peacebuilding; Conflict and Peacebuilding; Democratization and Peacebuilding; Experiential Peacebuilding; Nonviolent Revolution; Post-traumatic Stress in Peacebuilding; Training for Peacebuilding; Vietnam, subentry on Post-Conflict Peacebuilding; and Violence, subentry on Direct, Structural, and Cultural Violence.]

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Theoretical and Historical Analyses

The notion of peacebuilding entered the internation... vocabulary through the 1992 "Agenda for Peace" th... United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutro... Ghali drafted in fulfillment of an invitation by the U... Security Council to analyze the state of the UN's capaci... for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and peacekee... ing and to make recommendations for the strengtheni... of the United Nations in that respect. Although the co... cept was not explicitly mentioned by the counci... Boutros-Ghali introduced it in order to specify a fu... spectrum of peace-related activities from prevention... post-conflict care.

In the draft of the agenda, peacebuilding is defined... "action to identify and support structures which w... tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoi... a relapse into conflict" (Boutros-Ghali 1992). F... Boutros-Ghali the consolidation of peace also includ... the aim "to advance a sense of confidence and well-bei... among people." This indicates that peace is understo... to be far more than the mere absence of violent confli... although an effective peace agreement is the basis an... starting point for any further peacebuilding activities... variety of such measures is included: the disarmame... of conflict parties, the repatriation of refugees, the rest... ration of order (e.g., by training new security personne...