UMEÅ UNIVERSITY

VARIETIES OF PEACE

Presentation of a research program

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Abstract

The Varieties of Peace research program aims to analyze long-term effects of peace processes in conflicts that ended in the 1990s. The central research questions are: What characterizes peace after the peace processes initiated in the 1990s and how does it vary? How can this variation be described and explained? Peace processes have been studied using short time perspectives, usually in "lessons-learned" evaluations five years after conflict termination, and usually with theories of conflict as a starting point. The Varieties of Peace research program is an ambitious initiative, which starts from a theoretical understanding of peace, its quality and character, and views peace and peace processes as dynamic and transformative. It will investigate and evaluate different types of peace processes from a comparative perspective and 25–30 years after they started, with the ambition of producing generalizable knowledge about peace, what it is and how it can be achieved. As a starting point, the program studies explanatory factors in five areas: 1) the actions, capacity and resilience of civil society, 2) the interests and strategies of the elites, 3) the aims and character of the agreements, 4) the societies' institutions and resilience, and 5) international involvement. These issues will be studies in at least ten projects, with the ambition to capture and explain variation, internal dynamics and ultimately the results and effects of peace processes, studied over a longer period of time. The Varieties of Peace program is funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond: the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences, 2017-2024. For more info, please visit our webpage at www.varietiesofpeace.net.

Key words

peace; peace processes; peace agreements; peacebuilding

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1. Aim and research question

Today's headlines — from Egypt, Iraq, Indonesia, Nigeria and Colombia to mention but a few — reflect the challenge to maintain peace and build a resilient society that can manage societal change in a peaceful manner in the long term. Peace processes need to manage several dilemmas; between inclusion and exclusion of warring and political elites; between demands by warring actors in exchange for laying down their weapons, and other desirable and long-term objectives of justice and democracy; between legitimacy and efficacy in terms of public participation at different stages and in different activities; between local and international participation in peace process; and between short-term needs for stability and security and long-term needs for building the capacity for peaceful change. The choices made during a peace process, and failures to address root causes, often have long-term consequences. For instance, the peace agreement in Mozambique in 1992 managed to end the sixteen-year long war, but violence has resumed during the last years over an issue that was never fully resolved and implemented in the peace process that has followed. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Dayton peace agreement managed to end war, but the twenty-year long peace process has not provided for peaceful transformation away from conflict identities and victimization.

Peace and conflict research has thus far tended to study conflict rather than peace. As a result, there is a lack of knowledge and understanding of how to comprehend peace conceptually, how peace varies between different contexts and what explains the variation. This deficit can be clearly illustrated by the map below produced by the UCDP, Uppsala Conflict Data Program (Figure 1). The UCDP shows conflict areas as colorful; full of details, nuances and varieties. In contrast, peaceful areas are all white – there is no variety of peace. In addition, the world appears as fairly peaceful on the map, and it seems as if countries such as Sweden and Saudi Arabia, North Korea and Sri Lanka are the same in terms of peace. The ambition of the Varieties of Peace program is to begin to fill this knowledge and research gap and make peace beyond the absence of war researchable by focusing on civil war peace processes initiated during the 1990s.
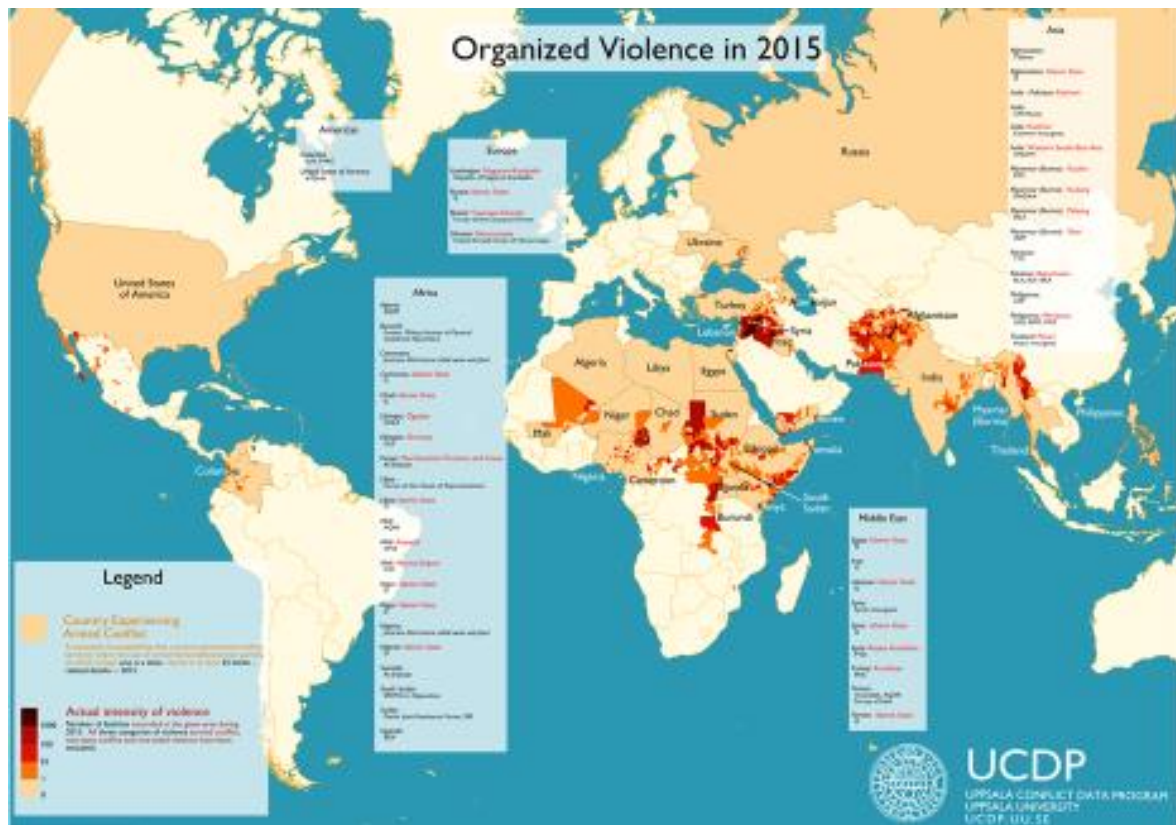
Figure 1. Map of countries at armed conflict (source: ucdp.uu.se)

The research questions of the program are:

- What characterizes peace after the peace processes initiated in the 1990s and how does it vary?
- How can this variation be described and explained?

In order to answer these questions we will map and investigate different types of peace, as well as explain the variation of routes that has evolved in different peace dynamics. The program aims to develop several theoretical models and frameworks for how to understand types of peace; ultimately offering a typology of peace. Thus the research program will address the overarching research question from a number of different angles – theoretically, methodologically, and empirically.

Factors that are associated with the establishment and strengthening of various forms, kinds and degrees of peace include both actors among the population at large and the elite, as well as institutional factors, such as constitutions, peace agreements and peace mechanism bodies, and

crisis management agencies. Based on previous research the program departs from explanatory factors in the following areas:[1]

1) Civil society. What roles has civil society played in different peace processes? How are these roles related to the capacity of civil society organizations (CSOs), to the ideas, goals and interests of CSOs (which may be both conciliatory and revanchist), and to the strategies and methods employed by CSOs in furtherance of these interests?

2) The elites. What are the aims of elites, such as leaders of conflict parties and signatories to the peace agreements, and what are their ideas of peace? What are their capacities, and what strategies and methods do they employ to achieve their aims?

3) The agreements. How do peace agreements shape peace? What role do peace agreements play for the development of peace long after they were signed? How are contentious issues in peace agreements handled? When are aspects of peace agreements re-politicized, or overcome?

4) The institutions. How do institutions shape peace? What institutions are (re)built and strengthened in post-war contexts and how do they influence the characteristics and quality of peace? Examples include constitutions and various aspects of the rule of law, such as crisis and conflict management bodies and human rights protection.

5) International involvement. What is the impact of international involvement on post-conflict peace processes? Which roles do different organizations take in different types of conflicts and different types of peace agreements? How does the local political environment adapt to external influences, and vice versa?

2. Theoretical starting points

In this section we discuss some of the theoretical starting points for the program. We firstly provide an initial frame for the program. We do this by describing how the various projects interconnect in relation to how the field of peace and conflict research evolved from a focus on war termination to peacebuilding, and from a focus on the state level to also include other actors. Naturally such a review only partially covers the large discourses on peace and peace processes. Secondly, we turn to the conceptualization of peace and describe how we envisage to study varieties of peace.

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[1] This does not mean that other factors are ignored, simply that the bulk of the work will focus on these areas.

From war termination to peacebuilding

The end of the Cold War marked a shift in the termination of armed conflicts and in the international community's engagement in peace promotion. Using data from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Kreutz (2010) finds that victory was the most common type of termination 1946–1989, but the least common type 1990–2005. Conversely, ceasefires and peace agreements made up ten percent of conflict terminations during the former period, but nearly 40 percent during the latter, many with substantial international involvement (cf. Bell 2006; Wallensteen 2015b; Darby & Mac Ginty 2008). Other types of war endings such as when either party withdraws for tactical reasons, or adopts a non-violent strategy are the most common type.

Whereas the United Nations (UN) launched 16 peacekeeping operations and observer missions during 1945–1989, the corresponding number for 1990–2014 was 52. The number of Security Council-mandated sanctions regimes introduced during the same periods increased from two to 22 (von Einsiedel et al 2016). Similarly, there has been a sharp rise in the number of resolutions adopted by the Security Council, most dramatically for resolutions adopted under Chapter VII of the UN Charter (which allows the Council to decide on enforcement measures), from a total of 21 during the Cold War to well over 600 since 1990 (Wallensteen & Johansson 2016). The mandates of post-Cold War peace missions are often both more ambitious and detailed than earlier ones. From a Cold War focus on inter-state conflicts, where peacekeepers could be deployed to keep the conflicting sides apart, the 1990s saw most international efforts at promoting peace concerned with intra-state conflicts – often in the form of multidimensional operations with peacebuilding mandates. These involve not only the prevention of renewed armed conflict, but the strengthening of sustainable peace, including democratization, refugee repatriation, reconstruction of infrastructure, reconciliation between former enemies, reformation of legal systems, and more.

The change to also include democratization in peacebuilding is related to the research on the democratic peace which is "the closest thing that we have to an empirical law in the study of international relations" (Levy 1989). In essence, democratic states do not wage war against each other, and they are presumed to act peacefully within their own borders (Hegre et al. 2001). In addition to enhancing peace, democracy is a core normative value in international conventions and declarations, perhaps most noticeable in the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Different explanations for the democratic peace have been proposed, including that is does not really have to do with democracy (Farber & Gowa 1997; Rosato 2003; Gartzke 2007), but in the post-Cold War world the normative claim for democracy is undeniably strong.

In this post-Cold War world, peacebuilding policy and practice has been dominated by what has come to be referred to as the liberal peacebuilding paradigm. This paradigm has taken the findings about the democratic peace to mean that the best way to build peace after armed conflict is to turn post-war societies into democratic market economies. However, according to its critics, the liberal peacebuilding paradigm has developed into a narrow "peacebuilding consensus" (Richmond 2010) insensitive to context and resulted in "template-style peace implementation" (Mac Ginty 2006). Liberal peacebuilding is perceived as being closer to state building than to peacebuilding. According to Richmond (2010), liberal peacebuilding is a system of governance rather than a process of reconciliation. Indeed, security, according to Jabri (2010), is "the ultimate imperative of the liberal peace project."

The preference for stability is one of the key elements of the liberal peacebuilding paradigm. Until now, critics have argued that the priority of stability and security shows that the ambitions of liberal peacebuilding are too limited, and that what is needed is higher ambitions, more utopian thinking (Mac Ginty 2006). While partly agreeing with this critique, the Varieties of Peace research program will highlight another problem with the focus on stability and security, namely that it risks undermining the capacity for peaceful change, which is important for long-term peace (cf. project 2, Patrik Johansson). The dilemma between short-term needs for stability and long-term needs for building the capacity for peaceful change leads the research program to be concerned with the sequencing of events within a peace process, and its significance for the outcome (Jarstad 2016). The likely influence of sequencing has been noted before, both in theory, such as Paris's (2004) call for institutionalization before liberalization, and in practice, such as the introduction of an interim period in the Oslo peace process during which a gradual transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian Authority was intended to increase confidence between the conflicting parties, thus paving the way for final status negotiations.

Peacebuilding at multiple arenas and levels

In response to the criticism of liberal peacebuilding, scholars have increasingly emphasized the need for taking local perspectives into account, and argued that we need a better understanding of the relationship between local and international actors (cf. project 1, Anna Jarstad). Since the 1990s peacebuilding theorists and practitioners alike have increasingly emphasized the role of local communities, local actors and civil society in peacebuilding and post-conflict democratization efforts. Scholars are even speaking of a local turn in the field (see for example special issue of Third World Quarterly 2015; Mac Ginty & Richmond 2013).

By the time of the new millennium almost 50 percent of post-conflict countries relapsed into violent conflict within five years after having signed peace agreements (Collier 2003). These failures have increasingly been explained by peace being too centralized and/or because the local context has been neglected (Leonardsson & Rudd 2015; Fjelde & Höglund 2011). As a result, a new generation of international peace operations started to emerge in the early 2000s, based on an approach that more clearly emphasized the importance of building local capacity and ownership for conflict resolution. A recurring argument stemming from this local turn is that international peacebuilding and post conflict democratization efforts can become more efficient and resilient by "going local". This can occur through the targeting of subnational units and an emphasis on local governance, as well as by promoting local ownership (Leonardsson & Rudd 2015; Brinkerhoff 2011; Mac Ginty & Richmond 2013; Schou & Haug 2005)

Previous research on local participation has focused mainly on questions of peacebuilding, democratization, and constitution making, but the importance of local capacities is not limited to issues related to the end of armed conflict. A key conclusion of resilience thinking is that crises happen, and that trying too hard to prevent them risks undermining the capacity to manage them once they occur (Anderies, Janssen & Ostrom 2004; Folke, Colding & Berkes 2003). Civil society has an important role to play in crisis management, and in preventing crises from escalating (cf. project 8, Veronica Strandh). Similarly, the role of elites is not limited to the immediate post-war phase, but remains significant well beyond the withdrawal of international peacebuilding missions (cf. project 10, Johanna Söderström).

The boundary between locals and external actors is not dichotomous. For example, a growing literature emphasizes the important role played by diasporas in peace processes and peacebuilding (Smith & Stares 2007; Orjuela 2008; Østergaard-Nielsen 2006). Diaspora groups are transnational actors that are both anchored in the local realities of their homeland, and linked to international advocacy networks. While the existing literature is somewhat divided between accounts that treat the potential role of diasporas as either generally negative or positive, there is a need for more research that explores the heterogeneity of diasporas, the multitude of social relations and conditions that shape diaspora engagements in conflict and peace, and the effects of their involvement (cf. project 6, Elisabeth Olivius).

Attempts to include local communities in peacebuilding have often taken the form of local elites' involvement with implementation of externally decided priorities. The degree to which local elites have the possibility to exercise decision-making agency varies, and the dynamics between international actors and local elites are an important factor in the process of building sustainable peace (cf. project 7, Dzenan Sahovic). Furthermore, the local is not a unitary actor any more than the international, and the tendency of the international community to work with local elites can lead to tensions between local elites and the general population (cf. project 9, Philippa Barnes).

This also involves the question of when to invite public participation in various aspects of negotiations or implementation (Saati 2015). The conventional view in much peacebuilding literature concerned with this topic (Samuels 2009; Wing 2008; Ghai & Galli 2006) has stressed the importance of including the public from the early stages of constitution building and throughout the duration of the process. However, recent research shows that this does not unequivocally strengthen democracy (Saati 2015). Rather, it appears that certain pre-conditions must be fulfilled prior to inviting the public to become involved in the making of their founding laws, and the sequencing of events can be decisive (cf. project 5, Abrak Saati). International involvement in constitution building also deserves further scholarly attention. "Constitutional medicine" (Reynolds 2005) imposed by foreigners has the noble aim of "curing the patient," but in terms of addressing the root causes of the conflict the result have at times been less than successful. In conflicts where ethnic identities have been salient, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, foreign advice for post-conflict constitutions has resulted in the institutionalization of ethnicity, resulting in challenges for long-term peace and democratization (Belloni 2004).

The relationship between constitutional negotiations between former adversaries of conflict and the broader peace process is also an area in need of further probing. Many times the decision to draft a new constitution or make far reaching constitutional reforms is stipulated in a peace agreement, as for example in Aceh, Indonesia, where the province of Aceh was granted special autonomy and the process of drafting a new law on the governing of Aceh took place after the peaceful war-ending. In other cases, such as Sri Lanka where the war ended in a military victory for one of the parties, the premises for dealing with the root causes of the conflict after the war-ending (including the devolution of power) will likely be different as compared to negotiated settlements (cf. project 3, Malin Åkebo).

This also concerns the implementation of certain provisions of peace agreements and of other undertakings made during peace processes. Several scholars have stressed the risk of "spoilers" destabilizing the peace in the fragile phase of implementation (e.g. Stedman 1997). Attempts have also been made to examine whether particular stipulations of peace agreements reinforce or weaken the prospects of peace (Jarstad & Nilsson 2008), and to measure the extent to which different

provisions of peace agreements are being implemented (Joshi, Quinn & Regan 2015). The Varieties of Peace program will also consider the issue of implementation but rather than trying to measure the level of implementation as a way of explaining the evolving peace, we analyze the implementation as part of broader political and historical processes. As Mac Ginty (2006) stresses, a narrow focus on the extent to which a certain provision in a peace agreement has been implemented risks overlooking the politics of the evolving peace dynamics and the impact of e.g. historical factors that potentially hinder peace. This approach implies a broadened temporal perspective and of taking into account earlier actions and events that are important for understanding a particular development (Diehl 2006; Bell 2000; Åkebo 2016). For example, turmoil in the post-peace agreement phase might be the result of conflict issues being left unresolved when the agreement was written (as in the case of Mozambique); that the process of producing a peace agreement was exclusive and lacked support from stakeholders and/or society at large; or caused by internal rivalry. Thus, valuable insights might be gained by considering the broader political landscape, since a focus on the implementation in isolation risks overlooking important developments.

Another way to approach the diversity of peace is to ask what is meant by peace at the political, cultural and ideational crossroads on the fringes of Eastern Europe and the Caucasus (cf. project 4, Niklas Eklund & Malin E. Wimelius). Hanging on to vestiges of Soviet geopolitical power, 21st century Russia has emerged as a significant promoter of both war and peace. For all the international interest in modern Russian warfare and its hybridization, much less interest has been directed toward Russian efforts at peacebuilding. How do these play out locally in different civil and cultural settings? What is the Russian view of peacebuilding and how does this ideational structure relate to alternative ideas? In regions where Russian peace builders are active, what role is attributed to civil society and local culture?

Furthering the academic debate – exploring and analyzing varieties of peace

At the core of the Varieties of Peace program is an empirically informed theorizing of the peace concept beyond the absence of war. The end of the Cold War inspired an increase in research on conflict resolution and peacebuilding, initially characterized by optimism and a conviction that predictable generic models for conflict resolution could be identified. This research often embraced a dichotomous approach to war and peace. Relatedly, some of the peace processes of the 1990s and the 2000s came to be marked as "successful cases" of conflict resolution while others were stamped as "failures" (cf. Doyle & Sambanis, 2006). However, in hindsight such a dichotomous conception of war and peace is elusive, or even misleading. Indeed, several of the so called success stories of the 1990s, including Mozambique, Cambodia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, reveal twenty years later that the substance, quality and durability of the peace produced can be questioned. Across several former conflict zones, people express their discontent over the weak and shallow conditions of the existing peace; except for silencing the guns the peace seemingly falls short in meeting the expectations, desires and needs of the people and is perceived as exclusive, unjust, and unequal. From the Balkans to South Africa this frustration has been manifested in antagonistic and sometimes violent demonstrations and riots. Hence, despite this upsurge in peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities, and the amount of research conducted to evaluate these activities, the results in terms of peace have varied.

Today, twenty-five years after the end of the Cold War, we can for the first time analyze the long-term processes after several high-profile conflict settlements of the 1990s. In order to engage with this variation in peace, the conceptualization of peace is at the core of the program. Peace and conflict studies have tended to devote more attention to conflict than to peace (Gleditsch et al 2014), and according to Mac Ginty (2006), peace has long been grossly under-conceptualized. Ever since Galtung (1969) introduced the distinction between negative and positive peace to peace and conflict studies, these have constituted the two basic categories of peace employed in the field. However, over the past several years the need for a more nuanced conceptualization of peace has become more pronounced; a conceptualization able to capture the many real-world situations that exist between the ideal-type negative and positive categories.

Research on the conceptualization of peace is concerned not only with the sustainability of peace, but with the meaning of peace, the nature or content of what it is that is to be made sustainable or resilient. Recently, a few attempts have been made to go beyond the distinction between negative and positive peace. Höglund & Söderberg Kovacs (2010) turn to the conflict triangle to analyze different types of peace beyond the absence of war. On the basis of the corners of the triangle, representing attitudes, behavior, and conflict (or incompatibility), they identify nine types of "peace beyond the absence of war," based on the relative presence or absence in post-war societies of remaining conflict attitudes, behavior, and incompatibilities. Themnér & Ohlson (2014) aim for a conceptualization of peace which is "more demanding than the mere absence of violence, but more attainable, in the mid term, than positive peace." They present legitimacy as key, and distinguish between vertical legitimacy, whether the population at large believes that the state has the right to rule them, and horizontal legitimacy, elite and popular perceptions about inclusion in the "demos." Davenport, Melander & Regan (forthcoming) suggest there are degrees of violence and of peace, and that peace should be studied as a continuum. Each author suggest different definitions of peace, how to measure it and how to apply it to analysis of empirical data, by focusing on national level proxies of peace deriving from elite risk orientation; national level conditions including gender equality; and relationships between and within social groups at different levels of analysis.[2] Wallensteen (2015a) defines quality peace "post-conflict conditions that make the inhabitants of a society (be it an area, a country, a region, a continent, or a planet) secure in life and dignity now and for the foreseeable future". The Varieties of peace research program does not aim at presenting a single intermediate form of peace. Instead it will look for ways of identifying and conceptualizing the diversity of peace between (and beyond) the negative/positive dichotomy, and will strive to explore different characteristics and qualities along important dimensions of peace to identify different variants of peace.

A corollary of these ambitions is the recognition that there is diversity also in the recurrence of armed conflict, something that is empirically very obvious but rarely taken into account in analyses of sustainable peace. Indeed, despite important theoretical advances on the concept of sustainable

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2 See also the Global Peace Index which is an additional attempt to map the state of peace in countries based on available quantitative measures. It shows correlation between different factors, but does not investigate the causality between these factors and also does not relate the state of peace to any past armed conflict (visionofhumanity.org).

peace, the durable absence of direct violence remains the standard measure in studies of peace after armed conflict. Whether conflict restarted within five years after a peace settlement has been the most common measurement (e.g. Walter 2002) but both longer and shorter periods have been used, as well as more than one cut-off point (Doyle & Sambanis 2000; Nordquist 1992; Ohlson 1998; Sambanis 2006). Durability has also been measured in terms of how long it took before conflict restarted (Fortna 2003; Jarstad & Nilsson 2008; Druckman & Albin 2011), and attempts have been made to grade peace, through the introduction of certain standards – such as level of democracy or respect for human rights – as qualifiers (Downs & Stedman 2002; Doyle & Sambanis 2006; Johansson 2010). Nevertheless, according to all these different ways of measuring sustainable peace, if and when armed conflict recurs, peace has failed – irrespective of the duration and severity of the renewed conflict.

Based on this review of the literature we argue that there are profound gaps in current peace and conflict research that calls for both theoretical, methodological and empirical advancement. Conceptual clarity is needed for comprehensive comparative analysis to elucidate and analyze varieties of peace and peace dynamics. Cases have generally been categorized as either successes or failures, and conflict/war has somewhat surprisingly been the focus of analysis rather than peace. The Varieties of Peace program aims at exploring different conceptualizations of peace (our own and others) and to empirically investigate peace dynamics in different types of contexts. It aims at developing more nuanced understandings of peace by recognizing diverse peace dynamics and exploring variants of peace, and it aims at producing new knowledge about individual cases by treating periods of peace and instances of violence not as separate events but as part of longer-term dynamics.

The conventional timeframe in quantitative studies evaluating peace processes has been five years (see e.g. Walter 2002; Hartzell & Hoodie 2003; Doyle & Sambanis 2000). However, current developments in conflict contexts that earlier have been assessed as successes suggests that the five year timeframe is far too short. Given that we want to be able to make more accurate assessments and increase our knowledge of peace dynamics, we argue that a longer time horizon is crucial. However, we do not intend to conduct the same old analyses, only substituting twenty years for five. Instead, given the novel possibility to assess the long-term effects of peace processes, the program will explore and analyze tensions between short-term stability and long-term capacity for change.

While the liberal paradigm has been criticized for being too preoccupied with stability and security, the Varieties of Peace research program will also problematize stability from another perspective. Previous critique has argued that this focus implies a low level of ambition, and called for more utopian and lateral thinking. The research program instead contrasts short term-stability with long-term capacity for change, and argues that an initial focus on stability risks undermining or preventing the capacity for much needed change at a later stage. An example of this is the tripartite presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina set up through the Dayton Agreement of 1995, with voters in the (Bosniak and Croat) dominated Federation voting for the Bosniak and Croat representatives on the presidency, and voters in the (Serb dominated) Republika Srpska voting for the Serb representative. The consequence is that election results, even twenty years after the end of the war, closely resemble the demographic setup of the country. Several decades ago similar ideas led to the National Pact in Lebanon, which has come to perpetuate the country's political fragmentation. These examples illustrate how decisions, actions and events can have major consequences long after a peace agreement has been settled. It also underlines the importance of taking a long-term approach for

studying peace and to explore links between contemporary developments and previous peace processes.

The Varieties of Peace research program will explicitly work to overcome the dichotomies between negative and positive peace and between success and failure of peacebuilding by describing and exploring varieties of peace. One consequence of this is that the question of sequencing will be taken a step further than in previous research, and used to analyze the relationships between different settlements or near settlements of the same conflict. For example, ceasefire agreement at different stages of a conflict may influence later attempts at conflict resolution even when they fail (Åkebo 2016). Relatedly, as evidenced by Wallensteen (2015a), the war in Angola ended with the capitulation of UNITA in 2002, but the post-war victory consolidation was inspired by the peace process and agreements of the early 1990s, which at the time were considered failures. The issue of sequencing will also be elaborated in the context of post-conflict constitution building in terms of the impact of past experiences of successful or failed negotiations between political elites from opposing factions. Both the question of sequencing and the role that legacies of previous settlements/negotiations can play are also related to the notion of resilient peace. Resilience can be conceived of either as the ability to bounce back after a crisis or trauma, or as the capacity for adaptive change. Either way, bringing resilience thinking to peacebuilding means that the bottom line is no longer primarily about avoiding crises at any cost, but about supporting the capacity to manage crises and traumas when they occur.

The research program will also contribute to taking the next steps in the "local turn debate" in peacebuilding by considering the relationship between different levels of analysis, from the international community's relations with local elites via tensions between local elites and the grassroots to the role of transnational actors and diasporas in peacebuilding in their countries of origin. It will also analyze these dynamics over a longer period after the end of armed conflict than has been the norm in previous research. The program will also capture varieties of peace across geographical localities within a state and explore how local varieties of peace relate to nationwide processes of conflict and peace. Furthermore, building on research on the gendered dimensions of armed conflict and how conflict affect women and men differently (e.g. Giles and Hyndman 2004), the program will also explore what peace entails in terms of participation of women and the transformation of gender relationships.

One aim of the program is to develop a typology to help characterize and map varieties of peace. Overall the program will develop and test several tools, and frameworks, for understanding and describing varieties of peace. Addressing the questions of the various projects, we will also focus on the five key explanatory factors outlined above, which derive from previous literature and empirical insights. Essentially, two factors concern actors and three focus on institutions: 1) civil society; 2) the elites; 3) the agreements; 4) the institutions; and 5) international involvement. This focus will contribute to communication and cross fertilization among the projects across the different themes, from conceptualizations of peace via liberal peacebuilding and its critics to the local turn in peacebuilding. The five factors are broadly identified to allow peace to be analyzed from different theories and perspectives. Importantly, one can think of both factors which promote the consolidation of peace, and factors which increase the risk of peace regression. The projects will accordingly be informed by diverse theories ranging from social movement theory to geopolitical theories. Comparing and contrasting varieties peace within the program will contribute to new knowledge about what explains variation in stability, security, participation, and democracy in post-war societies. We hope that it will also inspire debate and further research on this issue.

3. Methodology and research design

In comparison to research environments that work predominantly in quantitative ways and focus on trends over time, the proposed program will engage in in-depth studies of the various phases in peace processes and of varieties of peace. While there are numerous studies covering different types of peace, more theoretical and conceptual work is needed ahead of any statistical analysis based on a global dataset of peace occurrence. The Varieties of Peace research program will focus on qualitative methods and case studies to further both our understanding of peace and of the causal mechanisms at play in how peace processes develop. This rich description of different varieties of peace, we believe is crucial for the conceptual development of peace itself, rather than aiming for a larger dataset of global peace.

While some previous research programs have a geographical focus (e.g. RJ funded East Asian Peace), or a conceptual focus (e.g. EU funded Peace by Piece), or quantitative focus (e.g. Uppsala Conflict Data Program, and the Peace Accords Matrix at the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, Notre Dame, US), our strength is that we will analyze in-depth different types of peace processes and changes after civil war and thereby contribute both with new empirical knowledge and advance theory on peace processes and peace.

The overarching approach of the program is a qualitative comparative case study approach. It has been argued that using multiple cases improves our understanding both of the common features of a phenomenon, and of how and why it develops in different contexts (Stake 2006). Accordingly, using this approach will enable us to both gain in-depth knowledge of how peace can be characterized and explained in a certain conflict setting and to use these insights to inform our understanding of other cases. Since our program is interested in both the general and the particular features of peace and essentially aiming to grasp *varieties*, we argue that this approach is the most suitable one to fulfil the program's objectives. Furthermore, as justified above, the program will use a long-term approach by analyzing how peace varies over 20-30 years in each case. This will allow us to analyze the sequencing of peace processes and to study how the legacies of the past plays in. This long-term perspective, we argue, also requires in-depth qualitative studies.

The program aims at advancing our understanding of peace conceptually and to create an analytical tool for studying varieties of peace. Such endeavor has thus far been absent in the peace and conflict literature. For this end, it should be stressed that the program sets out to theoretically explore and develop rather than to confirm a number of deducted hypotheses. In doing this, we will go back and forth between theory, insights from the case studies and the comparative analyses. The empirical work will accordingly be carried out in parallel to the conceptual elaboration. This approach requires an overarching framework that is sufficiently cohesive to enable a joint process of conceptual development, while at the same time flexible enough to allow for empirical exploration of divergent peace dynamics. To allow for cross-cutting themes to emerge, a comparative approach will be used both within individual projects and through thematic and geographic project collaborations. Comparing similarities and differences both between and within the cases will enable us to increase the empirical knowledge and to advance theory by drawing analytical conclusions from such comparisons.

Cases

Peace is highly contextual. For this reason the program covers peace dynamics in different contexts. The program will include case studies in countries in different regions of the world, tentatively: Asia (Cambodia, East Timor, Fiji, Indonesia, Myanmar/Burma, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka); Middle East (Lebanon, Palestine, Tunisia); South America (Colombia, Guatemala, Nicaragua), Europe (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kosovo, Moldova) and Africa (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Rwanda, Uganda). These cases cover different varieties of peace in terms of different type of war endings and long-term dynamics. While some projects will focus on one case, others will include several.

As the starting point for selecting cases we first considered peace processes in the 1990s. Four factors then served as the basis for case selection: representativeness, variation, accessibility and competence. First, we decided that the case selection should reflect the overall makeup of peace processes in the 1990s. Thus, a number of high profile cases from the 1990s, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, Guatemala, and Namibia, are represented. Second, we aimed for variation among the selected cases in terms of geographic location and extent of international involvement. We strived for geographic global coverage since our ambition is to produce knowledge that will advance our general understanding of peace as well as to facilitate the creation of a theoretical framework useful beyond specific regional contexts. We also strived for variation in terms of extent of international involvement. We want to be able to analyze both processes in which greater influence has been exerted from the "outside" (e.g. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Palestine), and of processes that by large have been "internally" driven (e.g. Sri Lanka, South Africa, Tunisia). By contrasting cases that vary in this respect we will be able to see how different factors play out in different contexts and draw comparative conclusions that can advance our general understanding of peace dynamics.

We also include cases which complement the main cases in particular ways. These cases are included because they help the program overall add depth and breadth to the variants of peace that we study, and they are chosen for theoretical reasons. Finally, in order to facilitate the case studies – and field research in particular – we selected cases that the program researchers are already familiar with, following Stake's (2006) suggestion that we should be able to learn as much as possible from the case studies. Accordingly, accessibility and competence of the research group was also considered as important in the case selection process.

Based on these case selection criteria we will also keep an open mind to the possibility of adding or replacing cases, given that the potential value of a new case justifies such modification.

Methods and materials

We will apply many different forms of qualitative data collection and analysis ranging from political ethnography such as observation and life history interviews to text analysis. Thus, we do not strive for identifying one method to be used by all projects, but rather to encourage exploration and development of different methods for studying varieties of peace, as a way to also help make peace researchable. Furthermore, depending on a project's specific focus and questions, we argue that certain methods will be particularly suitable. For example, one of the projects focuses on elites in peacebuilding and aims at capturing various elite perspectives on peace by e.g. conducting life history interviews with peace negotiators. Another project will devote attention to the role of diverse

diaspora groups and examine how they engage in peace processes through e.g. participant observation. Although the projects will use different forms of analysis, the program researchers accordingly all share a dedication to qualitative methods that facilitates the production of empirically rich and in-depth knowledge. For each project novel empirical material will be collected during research trips to the designated countries. As our concepts develop we anticipate that the analytical framework will be applied to a broader number of older and newer cases by other scholars as well.

Questions of war and peace are essentially sensitive in nature. Accordingly, since a majority part of the research will be conducted in conflict affected areas the program will pay particular attention to ethical issues and consider possible harm and risks involved in the research (Höglund 2011; Smyth & Robinson 2001; Wood 2006; Parkinson & Wood 2015; Shih 2015; Campbell 2017). Before the collection of empirical data begins, informed consent will be obtained from research participants. Participants will be informed in advance about the aim of the research and how results will be disseminated. Participants will also be allowed to end their involvement at any point during the research process. Throughout the course of the program ethical issues will be discussed regularly by the research group.

Furthermore, we will develop collaborations with researchers from the case study countries, and create venues for disseminating the results locally.

4. Projects

The program includes several projects, some beginning the first year of the program, and others when contemporary commitments are concluded. However, several projects that are already funded by other sources also speak to the core questions of the program and the researchers will become part of the program from its start. In addition, we expect new project ideas to emerge during the course of the program and spin-off projects to commence. At this point ten projects that will be carried out within the program are formulated and summarized below:

1) Urban peacebuilding and international interventions

How are local processes of peacebuilding and democratization affected by international interventions? The project builds on the burgeoning theory on urban peacebuilding which suggests that cities play a crucial role in transition processes. A city can be seen as a micro cosmos of transformation processes at large. People from different sides of the conflict live in close proximity to each other which poses specific challenges and possibilities. Other aspects of theoretical importance are the significant influx of new residents, which changes the demography and raises issues of citizenship, as well as new forms of grass-root movements and activism. In addition, international intervention in the form of foreign aid is predominantly directed to cities. There are empirical examples where this has been pivotal for positive change. However, in countries with recent experience of war, international efforts to promote peace and democracy often face severe difficulties and sometimes even undermine local processes of peacebuilding and democratization.

There is an inherent dilemma between local ownership of the agenda and conditioned international aid. Several scholars have concluded that peace and democracy cannot be imposed from the outside. Despite the lack of conclusive findings on the relationship between international interventions, peacebuilding and democratization, there is an increased number of international interventions designed to introduce or reintroduce democracy after civil war. It is therefore important to further investigate the relation between local and international initiatives. The project investigates the complexity of the local-international nexus by comparative analysis of local and international initiatives in urban areas in countries such as South Africa and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(researcher: Anna Jarstad)

2) Resilient peace – resilient conflict

Post-war societies have a short-term need for stability, but also a long-term need to develop their capacity for peaceful adaptation to changing circumstances. How have these needs been balanced in peace processes, and what have the outcomes been? The project seeks the answer to these questions through the theoretical lens of resilience. It argues that not only peace can be resilient, but also conflict, making it difficult to break the cycle of violence, and asks what implications this has for peacebuilding. Comparative case studies of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Lebanon, and Palestine follow events over time and establish how they affect each other in the longer term. The project is concerned with varieties of peace, degrees of success, and diversity in the recurrence of violence.

(researcher Patrik Johansson)

3) A victor's peace and the influence of the past

What type of peace is created after a military victory? How do former peace processes and agreements shape peace in this context? Research suggests that in intrastate armed conflicts government victories are generally associated with authoritarian tendencies at the center. The Sri Lankan case supports this proposition, at least in the short-term. However, what characterizes peace in the longer term, and how does it vary within the state? This project aims to analyze peace after a military victory by comparing varieties of peace across geographical localities in post-war Sri Lanka, and by exploring how previous peace processes and agreements shape the evolving peace dynamics. The war-ending in Sri Lanka raises questions about what happens to former agreements, undertakings, and structures after a military victory, and how they influence the type of peace that is created post-war. Following from this, the project will address challenges posed by the particular war-ending for nation-wide processes of building peace.

(researcher: Malin Åkebo)

4) Peace by other means—ideas, ideals and Russian intervention in Georgia and Moldova

The breakup of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1991 was a momentous event. Fifteen federal subjects started down their respective paths to independence. However, with the exception of the three Baltic republics, none of the post-Soviet states have successfully introduced or sustained liberal democracy. Moreover, in a slow, some would say deliberate, build-up Russia has regained some of its status as a leader also in the post-Soviet context. International interest in modern Russian warfare has risen but less interest has been directed toward Russian perceptions of peace. In this project we explore such perceptions through case studies involving Georgia (Abkhazia) and Moldova (Transnistria). What ties them together in an interesting but largely under-researched way is that Russian peacekeepers are key actors in both Transnistria and Abkhazia and, significantly, that we know very little about what it is they have done, why and how this has been received by local societies. There has been no recurrence of violence in Transnistria and Abkhazia since 1992 and 2008 respectively. Various cease-fire and other agreements have been successful in regulating the behaviour of involved actors but what type of peace has been restored in the two cases? Is there - as suggested by other scholars - a distinctly Russian approach to peacekeeping – mirotvorchestvo? In this project we think that exploring Russian interests and views of peace could add important knowledge. As the literature in peace and conflict studies is moving beyond liberal peace, how different are Russian ideas and ideals and how can these be conceptualized?

(Researcher: Niklas Eklund (project leader), Malin E. Wimelius)

5) Religious actors in post-conflict constitution-building: are they important for long-term peace?

Constitution-building is one of the most salient aspects of war to peace transitions; it marks a break with the past and the turning of a new leaf. Though constitution-building has traditionally been an elite driven affair, we have since the onset of the peacebuilding era in the 1990s witnessed how this area has become democratized as well. This implies that, today, constitution-building in post-conflict contexts includes a host of different actors – governmental and non-governmental alike – who all express their own set of claims; claims that need to be reconciled with each other for peaceful circumstances to prevail. Among the flurry of different actors who participate in constitution-building processes, this project takes a particular interest in the role of religious actors in the constitution-building processes that followed the end of war in the 1990s. What claims did these actors make, and did they manage to reconcile these claims with those of secular parties? How did this affect the post-war peace? The cases that will be included in the analysis are: Ethiopia, Eritrea, Nigeria, South Africa, Rwanda, Uganda, East Timor, Fiji, Cambodia, Colombia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Tunisia.

(researcher: Abrak Saati)

6) Building peace from afar? The impact of diaspora activism in peace processes

This project focuses on the role of diaspora groups in peacebuilding. It contributes to a growing research literature on this theme by exploring the case of Myanmar/Burma, a largely understudied case in this regard, and through a comparative analysis of different types of diaspora actors, such as the democracy movement, ethnic minority organizations, and women's organizations. Drawing on interviews and documentary research, this project traces the role of these diverse diaspora groups in peace attempts from the ceasefire movement of the 1990s through to the currently ongoing peace process. Thereby the project will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the varying and multiple roles diaspora groups play in peacebuilding and of when, and how, their involvement and activism contributes to peace.

(researcher: Elisabeth Olivius)

7) Elite responses to international involvement

This project aims to investigate the dynamics of interactions between international involvement and political elites in complex peacebuilding processes. At issue is a systemic understanding of different modes of intervention and how political landscape adapts to pressures from the outside. The knowledge about these interactions is necessary for in-depth understanding of how peace processes can become sustainable and lead to a resilient peace, and ultimately why peace processes succeed or fail. The study will build on a case study of Office of High Representative in Bosnia Herzegovina ten years after the signing of Dayton Peace Agreement (Sahovic, 2007) and it will even expand to investigate other comparable cases such as Kosovo. The goal is to map different types of involvement in different policy areas as well as different types of responses. In this, the project will contribute with a more nuanced knowledge about the role of international involvement in post-conflict societies.

(researcher: Dzenan Sahovic)

8) How and why disasters and community-based disaster management influence peace

Peace and conflict researchers and disaster management researchers have begun to explore how natural disasters do and do not affect conflicts. However, less is known about how natural disasters and disaster management activities influence peace. Can for instance cooperation on disaster policymaking or disaster risk reduction also create opportunities for sustainable peace? The literature on disaster diplomacy revolves around this topic, however, researchers tend to focus on efforts to improve elite diplomatic relations and efforts to reach a peace agreement. The long term perspective is less understood. In addition, the affected communities, or "diplomacy" on a local level, seems to be missing in this particular discussion. It leaves one with the pressing question, what roles do civil society and local communities play here? This project uses two case studies, Aceh in

Indonesia and Nepal. It explores the conditions for sustainable peace by looking at the strategies, actions and capacity of civil society organizations in areas in which natural disasters and peace processes coincide.

(researcher: Veronica Strandh)

9) At Odds: The Oslo Peace Process and Palestinian Civil Society

The lasting effects of the Oslo peace process initiated in the early 1990s between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation were strongly advocated at the time of its implementation. Lasting effects it has had: Oslo cemented the temporary demise of Palestinian civil society and initiated state-building without a Palestinian state, leading to problematic institutionalized leadership bodies. The Olso peace process presents an important case of the shifting dynamics between formal leadership channels and civil society. This project examines the seemingly inverse relationship between institutionalized leadership and civil society in Palestine. Was the exclusion of Palestinian civil society in the Olso peace process a missed opportunity? Or has the separation of civil society from the attempted institution-building been fortuitous in the long-term development of the Palestinian self-determination movement? The results have seen a variety of degree, in terms of intensity and time period, of both peace (or rather non-conflict) and conflict for the occupied Palestinian territories. Neither long-term nor robust peace has eventuated from the once prized accords. It is often stated that Oslo is dead, but the current challenge of separate leadership channels cannot be divorced from the lingering effects of this 1990s peace process.

(researcher Philippa Barnes)

10) Living Peace and Elite Legacy: Comparative Life Histories of Peacemakers

Continuity of elites after war is the norm despite efforts and recommendations to remove them. In order to secure the peace and avoid spoilers these actors are often given a prominent role in politics. In order to map and explain variations in peace, the role of these actors cannot be ignored, yet current research on this group is limited and mainly concerned with the World Wars. This project examines a range of signatories to peace agreements and their subsequent political life journeys over the last 20 years or more. The first step of this project uses content analysis of newspaper articles where signatories are mentioned, in order to study the interest and strategies of the signatories of the agreements, as well as their long-term involvement in politics (making conflict or making peace), and capture what kind of role models they are in the public debate. In a second step, this comparative elite study utilizes life history interviews (Söderström 2016, forthcoming) with peace signatories in varying contexts of peace, such as Namibia, Colombia, Guatemala, the Philippines and Croatia, in order to understand their position as either protagonists or antagonists of peace as well as their own description and understanding of peace.

(Researcher: Johanna Söderström)

5. Concluding remarks

To summarize, the Varieties of Peace research program aims at developing tools for making peace beyond the absence of war researchable. All projects addresses the two research questions: What characterizes peace after the peace processes initiated in the 1990s and how does it vary? How can this variation be described and explained? To address these questions, we employ different methods to study variations of peace across space and time: variations across states, between geographical sub-national entities, and between different actors and groups.

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