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Axiom of Peace Topology as a United Nations Stratagem to Human Security and Conflict Prevention

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Abstract:

Peace topologies in the context of this paper assuage the peripheral peace keeping taxonomies elucidated by the United Nations and its encumbering organs. The role of peacekeeping is held by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations as "a unique and dynamic instrument developed by the United Nations to assist countries torn by conflict and in furtherance of sustainable peace. Brahimi (2002) Peace keepers address the affected Nations as the main actor under the realist lens theory though UN peace operations should be seen as part of a broader theoretical framework based on the novel concept of collective human security. The concept has developed as an integral part of sustainable peace and security, most notably from The Agenda for Peace. This paper espouses upon the aforesaid vision being integral to the idealist faith in the thrust for human emancipation. The concept of collective human security embedded in recent UN thinking differs from National security where the former focuses on the individual, as opposed to the latter whose emphasis is placed on the state, as the referent point for security. At the same time, the UN vision for human security viewed in collective terms not only stresses the need to meet basic human needs and to promote distributive justice and political participation but also points out that human security as a universal collective action. Collective human security has challenged the traditional concept of national security, but the UN must rethink more seriously on overcoming the existing hurdles such as internationalization of insecurity through state centrism, state sponsored terrorism, bad governance and the abysses of socio- political, economic and environmental and techno-cultural concerns.

Keywords: *Peace topologies, United Nations stratagem, human security, conflict prevention*

1. Introduction to the Study

1.1. Background Information

The world today is facing a wide range of crises and instabilities, causing immense suffering to millions of people and threatening the security of human family into the future. Sometimes, the government that is considered as the fundamental purveyor of security often fails in its obligations and at times becomes itself a threat to its own people most obviously in extreme cases of repressive or failed states. Even in the democratic societies, sometime the acts of government also hurt the rights and safety of individuals. Besides, the threats like war, nuclear weapons, terrorism, environmental degradation, poverty, hunger are also risks to the security of human beings. In the case of Third World countries, these threats become over-determined and complex. Great power tension and stockpiles of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons would negatively affect everyone's safety.

Sometimes violent death dehumanization, deprivation, domination influence one's safety. To get rid of all these threats, there is a need to change the attention of the world from military or state security to that of human security. There is a strong need to protect the people's lives from all the critical and pervasive threats through the UN organs. The global security watchman namely the United Nations should transform and address the deficit between doctrine and practice of peacekeepers through the UN Security Council resolution 2098 in adoption of peace support operations model that can operate across the UN spectrum of peacekeeping and security activities with due diligence.

1.1.1. The Human Security and Peace Keeping: International Perspective

Peace builders who pursue a human security approach can draw motivation from both statistics of war-related deaths and the conflict literature. Additionally, this approach confers serious advantages upon peace building by helping to address two inconsistencies: the tension between Western and local views, and the possibility that local solutions might reinforce

inequality. We will see, however, that problems of co-option, limited applicability to economically driven conflict, and raised expectations necessitate caution before explicitly pursuing a human security agenda.

Data gathered since the end of the Cold War highlight an area of comparative advantage for the concept. According to the 2005 Human Security Report, "indirect deaths" those caused by health and environmental threats exacerbated by the presence of war account for up to 90 percent of fatalities in war-torn societies. Additionally, 40-50 percent of countries emerging from war relapse into violence within five years. The combination of these two conditions argues for an approach that addresses the basic needs of individuals, within a framework that lowers the risk for peace to unravel.

Foundational academic literature underscores this. In particular, Edward Azar's seminal Theory of Protracted Social Conflict contends that basic human needs, as well as the extent to which the state is providing or denying them, are the critical factors in prolonged violent struggles around the world. He identifies four "preconditions" for high levels of conflict: communal discontent, deprivation of human needs, poor governance, and destabilizing international linkages. The extent to which these variables interact with "process dynamics" communal actions, state actions, and inherent escalatory mechanisms determines the extent of conflict and/or violence. It is easy to see how Azar, writing in the 1970s and 1980s, prefigured the concept of human security, particularly with respect to his "precondition" variables of needs and governance.

Peace builders who value this contribution thus have a strong motivation to approach their work through a human security lens, particularly because, as Ramsbotham et al. argue, establishing good governance and development levels are structural preventers of conflict (and its recurrence). Thus, these objectives address the "preconditions," while a mission's operational measures correspond to Azar's "process dynamics."

Such an approach has a distinct advantage in practice as well, serving as a corrective to certain inherent inconsistencies in peace building. First, we often observe in peace operations a tension between Western and local views on values and priorities, and an overemphasis on top-down solutions has indeed been one of the consistent critiques leveled at peace building interventions since the 1990s.

The case of Somalia is instructive here. In response to the overthrow of Somali dictator Siad Barre in 1991 and the resulting humanitarian crisis, the UN deployed a "second generation" peacekeeping force under the authority of Special Envoy Mohamed Sahnoun. State building models, particularly those of the U.S., often prioritize establishing strong central government authority to control ungoverned spaces and reign in piracy and terrorism.

While this is a valid objective, promoting central control and Western governance concepts can be counterproductive in countries such as Somalia, Libya and Syria that have little natural disposition toward them. Special Envoy Sahnoun creatively sought to make peace through the use of indigenous methods and some accounts point to the impending success of this approach before it was cut short by the ill-fated American enlargement of the mission. More recently, in the wake of the African Union-led peace operation authorized in 2006, Somaliland and Puntland have experimented with governance forms that combine local and Western traditions, yielding new levels of participation more appropriate to the regions' societal contexts and autonomous traditions that address Human security by articulating it to the relevant levels of Individual, community, society and the state.

Additionally, other areas of Somalia have shown great creativity in organizing peace building around combinations of unwritten customary law, local sharia law, alternative dispute resolution techniques (ADR) and historical values and codes of conduct, including input from women's groups. As shown by the efforts of Sahnoun and others focused on indigenous empowerment, taking a humanist view of what best serves local interests can overcome some inherent Western-local tensions and lead to effective solutions.

While top-down solutions are a pitfall, the converse by prioritizing the empowerment of local methods, or "peace building from below" can be taken too far as well. Here we see the advantage of a human security approach as a corrective to the second peace building inconsistency: when local traditions reinforce inequality. The 1999 UN Mission in Sierra Leone illustrates this problem. Efforts at peace building from below focused on community-driven development, encountered traditional structures that perpetuated power in ruling lineages and reinforced the undemocratic and unfair distribution of labor opportunities to subordinate lineages.

This failure of local institutions called for greater creativity in finding a middle way that combined the best of intervention and host-nation resources. Ramsbotham et al. expand on this, pointing out that local partners' ability to serve as reliable resources may be compromised by lack of influence, external criminal groups or militias, or the interests of donors. A human security approach, therefore, can help not only to avoid the dominance of top-down solutions, but also to help ensure that peace building from below serves all local parties equitably.

Nonetheless, such an approach contains several inherent pitfalls as well. First among these is the possibility that a human security agenda will unwittingly serve Western over local interests, or be co-opted by a nationally led intervention. The field of international political economy, for example, critiques conflict resolution and development as opportunities for a global security regime to manage threatening spaces and maintain the status quo. While this is a good general reminder to think critically about interveners' motives, it lacks precision.

A more urgent warning lies in the UN Assistance Missions in the recent U.S.-led regime change operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, which to some signified that traditional peace operation functions were co-opted into the American global war on terror. While this should not be seen as lowering the intrinsic value of the work of these UN missions, it is

important to keep in mind that well-conceived human security projects may have suffered a loss of legitimacy in the eyes of locals resentful of the U.S. presence.

It is argued that that a human security approaches in peace building might obscure proper responses to the type of economically driven conflict described by Paul Collier. From economic analysis of intrastate conflicts, Collier theorizes that perceived grievances and desire for power are found in most societies, and it is the economic feasibility of pursuing violent means the “feasibility of predation” that determines whether armed conflict will occur. He points out that the rebellion in Sierra Leone took advantage of illegal diamond mining, and so its potency cannot be explained solely by the list of grievances it publicized.

Collier gives his own policy recommendations for peace building in societies emerging from economically driven wars, mainly focusing on lowering rebellions’ economic incentives (such as by bringing rebel leaders into the legal structure of primary commodity export revenues). Finally, he points out the common emergence of corruption from the breakdown of trust in post-war societies, a problem that calls for the building of new and independent institutions. Collier’s contributions identify two challenges to a human security approach: First, focusing solely on the needs of individuals may obscure analysis of the feasibility of predatory behavior; and second, addressing long-term issues like corruption requires great political will from the leading organization.

Raised expectations are the third general problem of the explicit pursuit of human security. Berdal and Ucko point out the limitations of “armed humanitarianism” by the UN, such that civilian protection mandates in peace operations have sometimes created “unrealistic expectations” among local populations who may seek safety with an under-resourced force that cannot fully provide it. They additionally argue that a viable political strategy for establishing peace is the proper context for such mandates, without which a conflict party may forcefully oppose peacekeepers. However, UN Security Council unity in support of political strategies that address the drivers of conflict has historically been elusive. While Boral and Ucko are describing the single issue of physical security, this is certainly a component of human security, and we should expect that announcements of providing the latter may raise similar expectations in host communities. The point about Security Council unity underscores the other side of this problem—that of insufficient political will to deliver what is necessary—and the case of U.S. leadership in Afghanistan shows that political will is finite in nationally led operations as well.

After coming into office promising to refocus attention on “the good war,” the Obama administration’s 2009 review of Afghanistan priorities focused on counterinsurgency, government and security force capacity building, reducing corruption, and local development (highlighting the development role for the UN). In a 2014 assessment, however, the Government Accountability Office found that, after \$100 billion in allocations by U.S. agencies (apart from military expenditures) between 2005 and 2015, there had been modest improvement in security, but little progress on anti-corruption and increasing the Afghan government’s capacity to serve the population. As President Obama made clear in his October 2015 statement on the drawn-down but continuing presence of roughly 10,000 U.S. military personnel for training and counterterrorism, the US is strictly in a supporting role not only for security, but also for Afghan government efforts to combat corruption and improve service delivery. Even the world’s sole superpower has very finite limits on political will. Fourteen years into the war, they will no longer stretch to accommodate explicit American-led efforts at governance reform. Both the UN and U.S. cases demonstrate that politics impose inevitable constraints upon executing long-term humanitarian strategies.

1.1.2. Successful Peace Keeping for Human Security

We can ignore neither the important theoretical and practical contributions of the human security concept, nor the complications that may arise in employing it. Therefore, we must use these constraints to judge the conditions that maximize its positive impact and minimize potential problems. The previous section demonstrated that co-option by interveners’ national interests, inadequate analysis of economic drivers of conflict, and overpromising when political will is insufficient are the biggest pitfalls. This initially calls for analysis that is capable of discerning when conflict arises from economically fueled predation, and when it arises from the deprivation of basic needs. The other, more important, lesson is that human security seems most appropriate for multilateral, apolitical organizations such as the UN, pursued within the missions that are most achievable.

1.1.3. Human Security and Peace Keeping National Perspective

In an interconnected world, security must be seen as a global public good. However, the state-centric notion of security, which emphasizes the territorial integrity of the state and the role of military force, falls short in addressing the different dimensions of security in the life of individual human beings. State-centric security policies tend to take a top-down approach that fails to address issues that ultimately affect civilians’ perceived sense of safety, peace and justice in the long term. There is a growing consensus about the need for a more holistic approach, based on a better understanding of what individuals and communities need in order to feel safe and secure.

By recognizing the structural causes of conflicts in terms of social, economic and political exclusion, grievances and inequalities, the human security approach requires analyzing root causes, mapping existing local capacities for peace, and designing coordinated strategies for civil society and governmental preventive action as part of a long-term commitment to peace. Human security refers to the security of the individual as opposed to the security of states. When individuals and communities are put at the Centre of analysis, there are implications for the assessment, planning, Implementation and

evaluation of security and peace building initiatives.

All these require in-depth knowledge of the situation and context-specific solutions. The human security approach is not only centered on people as objects of interventions, but also as providers of security in their own right. This takes into consideration the needs of the populations, their capacities and, fundamentally, their judgment. Sustainable human security is therefore not only the responsibility of states, but also of citizens and local communities. Consequently, international efforts should support local capacities and leadership to enable local response strategies to conflict as much as possible.

Ultimately, the legitimacy of both state institutions and security strategies relates to the extent to which populations perceive access to justice, basic human needs and space for participation. The security policy making process requires participatory mechanisms to determine what individuals and communities perceive as security threats as well as what is needed in order to feel secure. The human security approach recognizes that civil society is not a homogeneous group. Consequently, the perspectives and needs of different segments of the population - including men, women, boys and girls, refugees, minorities, etc. need to be considered. A gender-inclusive approach further recognizes and addresses the different vulnerabilities of women and men to these threats, and their respective strengths and skills to build a more secure society (UNSC res 325). Accountability towards local populations requires long-term relationship building and collaboration with a broad range of local actors, including diverse civil society and interest groups. The importance of local ownership is increasingly emphasized in policy discourses. UN resolutions on human security and policies of some member states formally recognize and prescribe inclusive mechanisms and assessments (UN res 66/763).

Yet, state-centric strategies that intentionally or unintentionally exclude civil society are still the norm, and there is limited knowledge and research conducted on local opinions, perceptions and experiences that shape or react to peace building processes. The UN and member states should take concrete steps to support inclusive participatory mechanisms and response frameworks, to ensure all interventions respond to locally defined priorities identified through multi-stakeholder dialogue.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Peacekeeping operations in the past have tended to be efforts to separate warring adversaries and to implement / observe ceasefires. Thus, it was essential to enroll the parties involved in the peacekeeping arrangement. The central premise being that the peace was to be built by the locals themselves and not be imposed by others. However, in recent years UN has been acting without the consent of the parties involved and this has led to certain conceptual conflicts regarding peacekeeping. The founders of the UN envisioned that the organization would act to prevent conflicts between nations and make future wars impossible, however, the outbreak of the Cold War made peacekeeping agreements extremely difficult due to the division of the world into hostile camps.

Developing countries tend to view peacekeeping with suspicion and as a means of western interventionism. There are fears of the agendas of large and powerful corporations and international institutions such as the IMF and World Bank being dominant without caring for social justice and human needs in the host nation.

This poses a fundamental question as to the legitimacy of peacekeeping itself. A conceptual problem also arises over what the scope of the mission is and the limits of its responsibilities once the operation has been decided. The boundaries of commitment are not decided as per the requirement of the UN but the interest of states that contribute.

The outcome therefore is a conflict in the priorities and the commitment shown by the powerful countries according to their interests resulting in some operations being given more attention than others. Second generation human security takes forward the principles of human security and adapts them to 21st century realities. This narrative argues that states are new type of 21st century political institution in contrast to 20th century nation-states.

Twentieth-century nation states were based on a clear distinction between inside and outside. Typical outside instruments were state-to-state diplomacy or economic and military coercion. Typical inside instruments are individual centered that is entrenched in the rule of law, politics, and policing. In today's complex, contested and connected world, outside instruments do not work but backfire and make things worse. Human security is about extending the inside beyond the state territories. Brahimi Report (2000). It is in this backdrop that the study sought to analyze peace keeping as a United Nations tool to human security and strategy towards conflict prevention.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this research project is to examine the Effects of UN Peace Keeping Missions as a tool To Human Security and Strategy in Conflict Resolution.

1.4. Hypotheses

The study tested the following hypotheses:

- There are more challenges than opportunities for peacekeepers in attainment of Human Security across the peacekeeping concepts unless it maintains its supportive role to the civilian peacekeeping component.
- Human security as a foreign policy tool ultimately revolved along a presumption that it was suited for people in "other" countries, but not good enough to be promoted as a domestic strategy towards achieving societies where everyone feels protected, secure, and empowered enough to take destiny in their own hands. This phenomenon gives

the UN the moral authority to maintain deploy and operate prolonged peacekeeping mission in the world as a diplomatic tool.

- Peacekeeping is a secondary tool in Human security and is bound to be overtaken by technology in future.

1.5. Scope of the Study

This study was concerned with analysis of peace keeping as a United Nations tool to human security and strategy towards conflict prevention. The study was carried out among the human security and peace building agencies / institutions.

1.6 Justification of the Study

Following the end of the cold war, there were renewed calls for UN to become the agency for achieving world peace, as several dozen military conflicts continue to rage around the globe. With this, there has been an increase need for peacekeeping in Africa due to increased conflict situations in the continent; with the seemingly lax attitude of some major players in the UN towards African security the continent security issues needs to be addressed adequately by African in conjunction with the UN.

1.6.1. This Study Therefore Is Expected to Benefit Researchers

The study therefore, is expected to benefit researchers, analysts, and policy makers in formulating a framework to overcome the challenges of UN PKO in Africa for successful future peacekeeping. Furthermore, it is hoped that its findings could stimulate further research in field of UN PKOs. The study would also contribute to existing body of knowledge in the field of peacekeeping.

1.6.2. Policy Formulation

This study proposes that the United Nations adopts alternative or an integrated peace keeping options referred to, in here as second generation human security approach to conflicts prevention and as an alternative to Geo-Politics or the War on threats that deny people "freedom from fear", freedom from want and enjoyment of human dignity" (safety from chronic threats and protection from sudden hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life

1.6.3. Knowledge and Guidelines

Integrated peacekeeping missions involving antecedent variables like the Military component, Police component, Civilians component, UN country teams, civil society and other friendly internal and external actors bring about Hybrid Peace which is the outcome of ultimate peacekeeping efforts. Hybrid Peace is what happens when 20th century peace-making is applied in contemporary conflicts. Contemporary conflicts have to be understood not as Clausewitz a contest of will between two sides with legitimate goals but as a sort of predatory social condition in which networks of armed groups instrumentalize extremist's identities and enrich themselves through violence (1994).

1.6.4. Analysis Perspective for Peace Keeping

This study shall provide perspectives on an analysis of peace keeping as a United Nations tool to human security and strategy towards conflict prevention. Second generation human security is about establishing legitimate political authority and legitimate livelihoods to counter this predatory social condition. It encompasses multi-layer, incremental and inclusive peace processes with particular emphasis on support for local ceasefires and civil society, security assistance in establishing safe areas and safe corridors and protecting individuals and their communities, economic measures including justice to undercut the illegal economy.

1.6.5. Pre-Emptive Control Measures

Second generation human security may also involve continuous engagement so as to combine prevention, early warning, crisis response and reconstruction as intertwined activities, and places emphasis on gender so as to oppose the extreme gender relations that are constructed in contemporary wars. The pivot for all these activities can be anchored on peacekeepers acting as the link between the people and the global peace and security organization (UNSC). This study provides a basis for further investigation in this promising research area.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

Primary Data was collected from reports and writings of mainstream security agencies, peace building organizations. Secondary data was derived from texts, journals, scholarly publications and legal instruments. The perceptions of the aforementioned groups or agencies were not considered. For better findings, data should be collected from the principals / individual actors. The study used a homogeneous sample of human security agencies and peace building organizations in Kenya. Hence the findings of this study have limited applications for other sectors and therefore difficult to generalize.

1.8. Chapter Summary

The previous chapter was a presentation of a background to the study, problem statement, Objectives, hypothesis, this

chapter, critically analyses the peacekeeping strategies as applicable in realization of global Human security.

2. Literature Review

This chapter contains review of related literature on human security in UN peace keeping missions, theoretical and conceptual analysis on, peace building strategies, human security and conflict resolution. It identifies and explains the approaches to human security locally, regionally and globally, Nexus between peacekeeping and human security, Hybridization of peacekeeping and human security, Challenges of Peace Keeping and Human Security. Theoretical framework and conceptual framework on which the study was be hinged.

2.1. Overview of Human Security and Related Concepts to Peacekeeping

The concept first appeared in a 1994 UN Development Program report seeking to affect a post- Cold War shift in thinking about security. The term subsequently gained prominence in 2000, refocusing UN peace operation discussions on the issues of physical safety, economic needs, human rights, and fundamental dignity of individuals in areas of conflict. While there is no uniform definition, these main themes recur in the seminal UN documents and relevant academic literature that comprise the human security discourse.

The UN Millennium Report advocated freedom from fear, freedom from want, and sustainable management of the environment and natural resources as priorities for the organization in the new century. At about the same time, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty made similar recommendations, and Secretary General Kofi Annan highlighted human security in his statement to the 54th session of the General Assembly. The famous Brahimi Report on comprehensive peacekeeping reform pointed out that operations must be capable of making improvements in local people's quality of life early in the mission.

Finally, the most significant expression of this idea came in the Responsibility to Protect doctrine, introduced in the 2005 World Summit Outcome, which establishes the responsibility of states to protect their populations from mass atrocities (although the final version failed to explicitly endorse a responsibility of the international community to intervene).

There is a further stage of academic discourse in which we can observe the influence of a human security focus. Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall argue that with the global spread of shared humanistic values, a new generation of cosmopolitan peace *operations* is possible. In this context, and by working heavily at the grassroots level, they envision international actors being able to build peace upon ideas that are seen by local partners as global values, not simply Western ones.

In the realm of practice, human security evolved from the need to reconcile greater robustness in peace operations—owing to failures in the early 1990s—with the need for legitimacy. Especially in peace enforcement contexts, if the UN was to be more than simply the civilian follow-up to a military coalition, it needed to be seen as both an authorizer and an implementer. Human security was seen as the globally meaningful norm that would underpin this. Additionally, an increasing focus on the needs of individuals in conflict zones is evident in the evolution from second-generation peacekeeping to the third-generation, whose missions are more appropriately termed peace operations.

These operations, beginning in the mid-1990s, saw more flexible rules of engagement for the protection of civilians along with the rise of state building, the devotion of mission resources to establishing local institutions that can provide for the needs of the population. The relationship of state building to other elements further demonstrates the human security underpinnings of third-generation peace operations, as populations' basic needs cannot be put on hold for the conclusion of one phase of a mission. Rams-botham, Woodhouse, and Miall point out that the three main phases in such peace operations delivering stability, state building, and long-term peace building that bonds peacekeeping and Human security must be as closely "nested" as possible, rather than undertaken in sequence.

Developments in the peace building phase itself attest to human security's influence. The concept of peace building from below, prioritizing the empowerment of grassroots approaches to conflict resolution, gained prominence through experience in Bosnia where outside methods proved unappealing to local aspirations. Additionally, the establishment in 2005 of the UN Peace Building Commission further enshrined human security concepts in the practitioner's realm. The commission was given a wide mandate for integrating post-war peace building across UN agencies and NGOs, and marshaling resources for these endeavors (Mark A. 2007) Jensen, however, is not enthusiastic about the amount of practical impact this body will have, and Mack acknowledges that the Peace Building Commission lacks the executive authority to realistically achieve coordination across agencies and outside organizations. Nonetheless, Mack concludes: "Notwithstanding the very real problems it confronts, the creation of the new Peace Building Commission is further evidence of an emerging system of global governance that seeks to address human security issues."

2.1.1. Peacekeeping Operations and Human Security

Although not provided for in the Charter, the practice of peacekeeping began in 1948 when the first United Nations military observers were deployed to the Middle East. During the ensuing Cold War years, the goals of United Nations peacekeeping were necessarily limited to maintaining cease-fires and stabilizing situations on the ground, so that efforts could be made at the political level to resolve the conflict by peaceful means. Several of the United Nations longstanding peacekeeping operations fit this "traditional" model.

The tasks assigned to traditional United Nations peacekeeping operations by the Security Council are essentially military in character and may involve, observation, monitoring and reporting from static posts, patrols, over flights or other technical means, with the agreement of the parties, Supervision of cease-fire and support to verification mechanisms, Interposition as a buffer and UN flag match measures. By monitoring and reporting on the parties' adherence to commitments regarding a cease-fire or demilitarized zone and by investigating complaints of violations, traditional peacekeeping operations enabled each party to be reassured that the other party will not seek to exploit the cease-fire in order to gain military advantage.

Traditional peacekeeping operations do not normally play a direct role in political efforts to resolve the conflict. Other actors such as bilateral partners to the parties, regional organizations or even special United Nations envoys may be working on longer-term political solutions, which will allow the peacekeeping operation to withdraw. As a result, some traditional peacekeeping operations have been deployed for decades before a lasting political settlement is reached between the parties.

With the end of the Cold War, the strategic context for United Nations peacekeeping changed dramatically and the Security Council began to work more actively to promote the containment and peaceful resolution of regional conflicts. While the end of the Cold War coincided with a general decline in the incidence of conflict around the world, internal armed conflicts constitute the vast majority of today's wars. Many of these conflicts take place in the world's poorest countries e.g. in Africa where state capacity may be weak, and where belligerents may be motivated by economic gain, as much as ideology or past grievances.

Moreover, evidence has shown that a large proportion of all civil wars are due to a relapse of conflict, the risks of which are particularly high in the first five to 10 years following a conflict. The transformation of the international environment has given rise to a new generation of "multi-dimensional" United Nations peacekeeping operations. These operations are typically deployed in the dangerous aftermath of a violent internal conflict and may employ a mix of military, police and civilian capabilities to support the implementation of a comprehensive peace agreement.

Multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations are deployed as one part of a much broader international effort to help countries emerging from conflict make the transition to a sustainable peace and improve on human security. Within this broader context, the core functions of a multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operation are to create a secure and stable environment while strengthening the State's ability to provide security, with full respect for the rule of law and human rights which is in conformity with the principles of human security. Facilitate the political process by promoting dialogue and reconciliation and supporting the establishment of legitimate and effective institutions of governance with an ultimate goal of achieving political security, trust and sense of belonging and Provide a framework for ensuring that all United Nations and other International actors pursue their activities at the country-level in a coherent and coordinated manner through a multi-sectoral approach and Specificity.

2.2. Theoretical Review

2.2.1. Interdependence Theory

The theory that links the peacekeepers and Human Security can translate very well with the Interdependence theory. Interdependence theory is a social exchange theory that shows how the rewards and costs associated with interpersonal relationships collaborate with peoples' expectations from them. This theory comes from the idea that closeness is the key to all relationships that people communicate to become closer to one another. Working together by all the UN peace support components will bear fruits that will realize visible security articulated from individual, community, society up to the state level.

Human security as a concept needs to be forcible enough to adapt to changing situations and levels of understanding. The practical remedies to human insecurities can be geared towards analysis of root causes, comprehensive and holistic policies and appropriate measurements for monitoring which the peace support components are mandated to do. The human security concept and theories can be best constituted as a space of research, not at least in during the times of paradigm wars. Monitoring and observing cease-fires, multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations are frequently mandated to provide operational support to national law enforcement agencies, provide security at key government installations, ports and other vital infrastructures, establish the necessary security conditions for the free flow of people, goods and humanitarian assistance and provide humanitarian mine action assistance.

By helping to fill the security and public order vacuum that often exists in post-conflict settings, multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations play a critical role in securing the peace process, and ensuring that humanitarian and development partners are able to work in a safe environment. In situations of internal armed conflict, civilians account for the vast majority of casualties. Many civilians are forcibly uprooted within their own countries and have specific vulnerabilities arising from their displacement.

As a result, most multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations are now mandated by the Security Council to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence. The protection of civilians requires concerted and coordinated action among the military, police and civilian components of a United Nations peacekeeping operation and must be mainstreamed into the planning and conduct of its core activities.

United Nations humanitarian agencies and non-governmental organization (NGO) partners also undertake a broad range of

activities in support of the protection of civilians. Close coordination with these actors is, therefore, essential. In contrast to traditional United Nations peacekeeping operations, multidimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations usually play a direct role in political efforts to resolve the conflict and are often mandated by the Security Council to provide good offices or promote national political dialogue and reconciliation.

The fact that multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations enjoy a high degree of international legitimacy and represent the collective will of the international community gives them considerable leverage over the parties. This leverage can be used to build and sustain a political consensus around the peace process, promote good governance and maintain pressure on the parties to implement key institutional reforms.

Multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations also play a critical role in ensuring that the activities of the United Nations system and other international actors are guided by a common strategic vision whose end state is the attainment of Human security. The United Nations has the unique ability to mount a truly comprehensive response to complex crises and has developed the concept of "integrated missions" to maximize the overall impact of its support to countries emerging from conflict. To help draw these capabilities together, multi-dimensional United Nations peacekeeping operations are normally headed by a Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) who has overall authority over the activities of the United Nations. The SRSG also establishes the framework guiding the overall activities of the United Nations peacekeeping operation and those of the United Nations Country Team (UNCT).

2.2.2. New Concept and Approaches to Peacekeeping

Doctrine dictates that peacekeepers have a responsibility to respond robustly to threats to their mandate by the tactical use of force. Yet, if one takes the example of the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), insecurity has become the status quo despite the presence of the robustly mandated peacekeeping operation. To address this deficit between doctrine and practice, the UN Security Council recently adopted resolution 2098 that authorized a model known as "peace support". The idea behind peace support is not particularly revolutionary. In essence, peace support missions are integration of components that can improve the operability of UN missions designed to undertake a range of civilian and military tasks, including the maintenance of public order, policing, mentoring of security forces, infrastructure reconstruction and national reconciliation. The peace support model operates on the basis of flexibility, allowing the mission to adapt its posture between peacekeeping and peace enforcement depending on the compliance of the parties.

2.2.3. Humanitarian Intervention

The application of human security is highly relevant within the area of humanitarian intervention, as it focuses on addressing the deep rooted and multi-factorial problems inherent in humanitarian crises, and offers more long term resolutions. In general, the term humanitarian intervention generally applies to when a state uses force against another state in order to alleviate suffering in the latter state. Under the traditional security paradigm humanitarian intervention is contentious. As discussed above, the traditional security paradigm places emphasis on the notion of states. Hence, the principles of state sovereignty and non-intervention that are paramount in the traditional security paradigm make it difficult to justify the intervention of other states in internal disputes.

Through the development of clear principles based on the human security concept, there has been a step forward in the development of clear rules of when humanitarian intervention can occur and the obligations of states that intervene in the internal disputes of a state. These principles on humanitarian intervention are the product of a debate pushed by United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan. He posed a challenge to the international community to find a new approach to humanitarian intervention that responded to its inherent problems.

In 2001, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) produced the "Responsibility to protect", a comprehensive report detailing how the "right of humanitarian intervention" could be exercised. It was considered a triumph for the human security approach includes: The protection of individual welfare is more important than the state. If the security of individuals is threatened internally by the state or externally by other states, state authority can be overridden; addressing the root causes of humanitarian crises (e.g. economic, political or social instability) is a more effective way to solve problems and protect the long-term security of individuals and Prevention is the best solution. A collective understanding of the deeper social issues along with a desire to work together is necessary to prevent humanitarian crises, thereby preventing a widespread absence of human security within a population (which may mean investing more in development projects).

2.3. Conceptual Review

A conceptual framework is a type of intermediate theory that attempts to connect to all aspects of inquiry. Conceptual frameworks can act like maps that give coherence to empirical inquiry. It is used in research to outline possible courses of action or to present a preferred approach to an idea or thought variable in the study, the conceptual framework is anchored on the analysis of peace keeping as a united nations tool to human security and strategy towards conflict prevention.

2.4. Conceptual Model

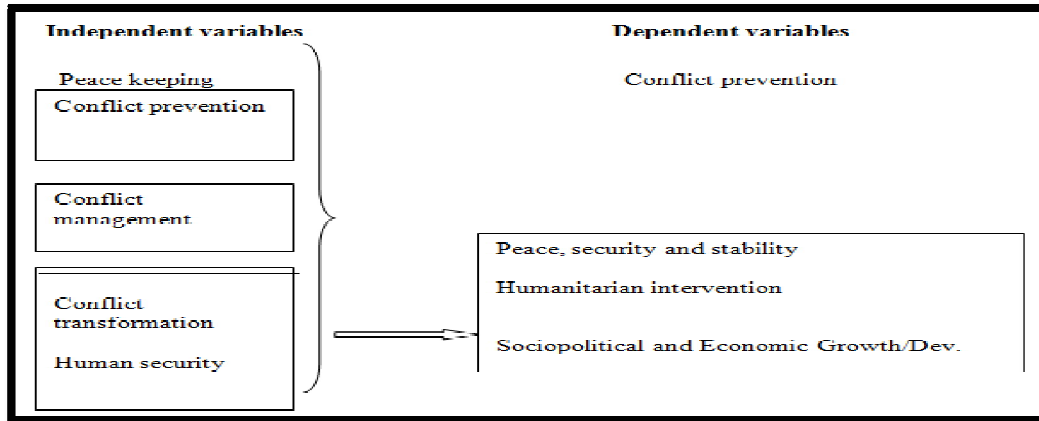


Figure 1: Conceptual Model showing the relationship between peace keeping as a tool to human security and strategy towards conflict prevention

3. Research Methodology

This chapter presents the different methods adopted in collecting and interpreting data related to the study by discussing choices related to research design, target population, sample and sampling techniques, sample size, data collection procedure, instrumentation and data analysis

3.1. Research Design

The study considered that UN PKOs started in Africa about 50 years ago, it is still not successful as it should have been. Consequently, the research was designed as a case study using the conflict situations to bring out the general challenges facing UN PKOs. The background and UN interventions in the conflict were highlighted to bring forth challenge accordingly. Furthermore, the study sought to proffer strategies to overcome the challenges facing UN PKOs to ensure successful PKO leading to sustainable peace and human security in Africa and in the world generally.

This study is a qualitative analysis that comprises both descriptive and exploratory aspects. It is based upon an extensive review of related literature in the fields of peace and security, peacekeeping and global conflict management. Both primary and secondary sources were utilized, although emphasis will undoubtedly be placed on incorporating primary texts. Indeed, the research question, whether the Peacekeeping components can be interfaced for a smooth operability in realization of Human Security. Secondary sources consisted of primarily of academic journal articles, publications and books containing commentaries on and analyses of those topics introduced above, produced by respected authors in their respective fields. No questionnaires, interviews, focus groups or similar forms of fieldwork conducted in order to support this research except on a personal experience in the UN peacekeeping missions.

3.2. Instruments for Data Collection

The instruments used were newspapers and the internet. Other instruments included, the electronic media, published and unpublished materials from library. Journals Personal interviews and discussion with resource persons were also used

3.3. Validity /Reliability of Instruments

In order to ensure the validity of the instruments used for data collection, they were subjected to scrutiny. This was to eliminate any trace of bias or prejudice. Furthermore, various information obtained were crosschecked with independent sources for fair assessment and authenticity.

Where traces of bias or prejudice were discarded. In the case of oral interviews, conscious efforts were made to distinguish facts from personal opinions. This necessitated in-depth analysis.

3.4. Methods of Data Analysis

Information obtained was analyzed qualitatively to arrive at the synthesis presented. However, in some instances, historical descriptive and approaches were adopted. Data obtained from interviews and discussions with resource persons were analyzed in a descriptive form

4. The Effects UN Peace Keeping Missions on Human Security

4.1. Human Security and Peace Building

Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting

people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity." Overall, the definition proposed by the Commission on Human Security (CHS) re-conceptualizes security in a fundamental way moving away from traditional, state-centric conceptions of security that focused primarily on the safety of states from military aggression, to one that concentrates on the security of the individuals, their protection and empowerment; Drawing attention to a multitude of threats that cut across different aspects of human life and thus highlighting the interface between security, development and human rights; and Promoting a new integrated, coordinated and people-centered approach to advancing peace, security and development within and across nations.

Human security is concerned with safeguarding and expanding people's vital freedoms. It requires both protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and empowering people to take charge of their own lives. Protection refers to the norms, policies and institutions essential to shield people and implies a 'top-down approach', such as the rule of law and democratic governance. Empowerment underscores the role of people as actors and participants and implies a 'bottom-up' approach.

Human security does not seek to supplant state security, but rather to complement it. States have the fundamental responsibility of providing security. Yet they often fail to fulfill their obligations - many times they are even the source of the threat to people. As the multitude of violent conflicts and extreme poverty demonstrates, states cannot be secure if people's security is at stake. But neither can people be secure in the absence of strong, democratic and responsible states, as the multitude of collapsed states in the world illustrates. These are the challenges in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and Palestine today.

Human security also underscores the close linkages between gross human rights violations and national and international insecurities. The Rwandan genocide represents one of the worst human security failures, and the consequences still reverberate through the Great Lakes region of Africa nearly ten years later. Therefore, realizing human rights lies at the core of protecting and empowering people. Human security also adds an important dimension to development thinking. As Amartya Sen argues 'development can be seen as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy'. By focusing on downside risks, human security emphasizes that people must be protected when facing sudden and profound reversals in economic and social life. In addition to 'growth with equity', human security is equally concerned with 'downturns with security'. In the absence of safety nets, people face critical and pervasive insecurities in sudden downturns which, in turn, may be exacerbated, increasing conflict and violence.

As argued by the Commission on Human Security (CHS), the need for a new paradigm of security is associated with two sets of dynamics: First, human security is needed in response to the complexity and the interrelatedness of both old and new security threats – from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemics, international terrorism, and sudden economic and financial downturns. Such threats tend to acquire transnational dimensions and move beyond traditional notions of security that focus on external military aggressions alone. Second, human security is required as a comprehensive approach that utilizes the wide range of new opportunities to tackle such threats in an integrated manner. Human security threats cannot be tackled through conventional mechanisms alone. Instead, they require a new consensus that acknowledges the linkages and the interdependencies between development, human rights and national security.

4.2. UN Peace Keeping Missions as a Tool to Human Security

"History has taught that peacekeepers and peace builders are inseparable partners in complex operations: while the peace builders may not be able to function without the peacekeepers' support, the peacekeepers have no exit without the peace builders' work." This statement was made in the so-called Brahmin Report, which was submitted, in 2000, to the United Nations Secretary-General by the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations as a comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations. This emphasis on the interface between peacekeeping and peace building, perhaps, reflects a trend that less and less UN peacekeeping operations are being deployed to inter-state conflicts although it was invented originally as a tool for international security to deal with conflicts between states. Recent experience of UN peacekeeping in intra-state conflicts shows that strategies of inter-state peacekeeping may not be applicable to many of the security issues and challenges of intra-state conflicts. Such a shortcoming of the existing strategies of UN peacekeeping has been identified and many reforms of the UN peacekeeping were recommended in the Brahimi Report (Norton, et.al). Using the concept of human security as a guideline to reveal the gaps that exist between the current peacekeeping approaches and the needs on the ground, it is imperative to review the performance of UN peacekeeping and explores a new peacekeeping strategy that can help to protect the security of people in violent conflict.

In particular, the United Nations peacekeeping experience in Cyprus and Cambodia, in which the United Nations were asked to help re-integrate the divided community, can form the bases to draw some lessons for developing strategies of peacekeeping that can contribute to Human security. UN peacekeeping, means different things to different people. In fact, many scholars and practitioners have groped for definitions. United Nations provides the most comprehensive and authoritative definitions which defines Peacekeeping as "an operation involving military personnel, but without enforcement powers, undertaken by the United Nations to help maintain or restore international peace and security in areas of conflict. These operations are voluntary and are based on consent and co-operation. While they involve the use of military personnel,

they achieve their objectives not by force of arms, thus contrasting them with the 'enforcement action' of the United Nations under Article 42." However, even such a broad definition can no longer reflect the reality of UN peacekeeping operations on the ground owing to many challenges they encounter.

In rethinking of the Hybrid second generation of UN peacekeeping, UN peacekeeping operation does not necessarily have to involve military personnel alone but integrated with other component that can see through the conflict and security spectrum aimed at providing technical assistance to a post-conflict society, which requires exclusively non-military expertise such as electoral supervision, human rights verification, and supervision of public administration including law enforcement.

4.2.1 Value of Human Security as an Operational Tool for Peacekeepers

First, human security focuses on widespread and cross-cutting threats to the survival, livelihood and dignity of individuals and communities and calls for a rethinking of security where the advancement of human security is fundamental to national security.

Second, human security is an approach that complements state security, enhances human rights, and strengthens human development and by doing so it puts in place the necessary requirements for achieving peace, development and human progress. Third, human security addresses threats in an integrated, multi-dimensional and comprehensive way. This not only helps mitigate the impact of these threats but also reduces their expansion into broader and more intractable crises.

Fourth, by contextualizing the causes and manifestations of threats and their impact on people, human security highlights the actual needs, vulnerabilities and capacities of those impacted and strengthens the development of solutions that are targeted and prioritized. Lastly, with people's insecurities interconnected, human security provides a dynamic framework that capitalizes on the comparative advantages of a diverse network of actors. This ensures coherence, eliminates duplication and advances collaborative responses at the local, national, regional and international levels that together can yield much greater force.

4.2.2. The Application of Human Security

The application of human security derives much of its strength from a dual policy framework based on the mutually reinforcing pillars of protection and empowerment. Application of this framework offers a comprehensive approach that combines top-down norms, processes and institutions with a bottom-up focus in which participatory processes support the important role of people as actors in defining and implementing their essential freedoms.

Human security integrates the responses of relevant actors in a more coherent and efficient manner, human security builds upon existing capacities of Governments and people through integrated and comprehensive responses that capitalize on the comparative advantages of a wide range of actors as in an integrated peace support UN missions. This ensures coherence in the allocation of resources, goals and responsibilities across and among actors at the local, national, regional and international levels, thereby eliminating duplication and advancing targeted, coordinated and cost-effective responses thus mainstreaming Human security. By peacekeeping missions taking a hybrid transformation in its endeavors, it proves its future relevance and a promising catchment regime for human security.

Lastly, human security is best safeguarded through proactive and preventive actions to current and emerging threats. By examining how the particular constellations of threats to individuals and communities can translate into broader insecurities, human security promotes the development of early warning mechanisms that help to mitigate the impact of current threats and where possible, prevent the occurrence of future threats.

4.3. Peacekeeping Concepts and Human Security

The United Nations has undertaken several different efforts for maintaining international peace and security. These UN efforts are usually classified into preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace-enforcement, and peace building. They are further categorized according to their objectives, means to achieve such objectives, players who carry out such efforts and sequence of their emplacement. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the former UN Secretary-General, presented the official definitions of these concepts include: Preventive Diplomacy is action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur. Peacemaking is action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.

Peacekeeping is a United Nations presence in the field (normally including military and civilian personnel), with the consent of the parties, to implement or monitor the implementation of arrangements relating to the control of conflicts (cease-fires, separation of forces, etc.) and their resolution (partial or comprehensive settlements), and/or to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief. Peace-enforcement may be needed when peaceful means fail. It consists of action under Chapter VII of the Charter, including the use of armed force, to maintain or restore international peace and security in situations where the Security Council has determined the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and Peace building that is critical in the aftermath of conflict. It means identifying and supporting measures and structures which will solidify peace and build trust and interaction among former enemies, in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.

4.4. *Typologies of UN Peacekeeping Functions*

Boutros-Ghali the former Secretary General of UN identified eleven new tasks that the United Nations is asked to undertake that have tightened the web between Peacekeeping and Human Security. These include: Supervision of cease-fire, Regrouping and demobilization of forces (including their re-integration into civilian life and the destruction of their weapons), Design and implementation of de-mining programmes, Return of refugees and displaced persons, Provision of humanitarian assistance, Supervision of existing administrative structures, Establishment of new police forces, Verification of respect for human rights, Design and supervision of constitutional, judicial and electoral reforms, Observation, supervision, organization and conduct of election, and Co-ordination of support for economic rehabilitation and reconstruction.

5. The Evolving Roles of Military Forces as a Peacekeeping Component in Human Security

5.1. *The Military and Human Security*

Human security is a people-centered approach which has gained considerable attention in recent years. How human security is defined and applied is still a matter of discussion and growing experience. Despite the different definitions, interpretations and accents, the various understandings of human security share several common characteristics. Human security:

Tends to start from individual citizens and the communities in which they live, rather than from states, Approaches person-centered security as an integral element of international peace and security, Recognizes that the security of states is essential but not sufficient to guarantee person-centered security and well-being Focuses on threats to persons, whether their origin may be military or nonmilitary and Considers security a continuum that starts with conflict prevention and extends over intervention to conflict resolution.

As a matter of fact, from a broad perspective, human security might already be said to be playing a direct or indirect part in military doctrine and operations through the Geneva Conventions, the development of Peace Support Operations doctrines, progress in international law relating to arms control and criminal courts, the growing interest among militaries in engendering goodwill on the part of the local population through 'hearts and minds' strategies, including activities which improve local infrastructure and livelihoods and Rules of Engagement. Firstly, the potential roles for the military in the field of human security in the emerging concept of the 'responsibility to protect' and the concept of a 'Human Security Doctrine' coupled with civil-military relations in humanitarian operations forms the bases of military key contributions to human security.

5.2. *Potential Roles for the Armed Forces*

Civilians now constitute the majority of war casualties, an atrocious and alarming trend that persuaded the previous United Nations (UN) Secretary-General to call for the creation of a 'culture of protection' in dealing with situations of armed conflict. The primacy of human rights is what distinguishes the human security approach from traditional state-based approaches. The debate on sovereignty and the conditions under which human rights concerns should take precedence over sovereignty has been a central preoccupation of both practitioners and analysts of foreign policy in recent years. As a consequence, in human security operations, the protection of civilians, not defeating an enemy, is an end in itself. The main objectives of humanitarian operations are to save lives, to alleviate human suffering; and to offer the prospect of resuming a dignified existence.

From a military perspective, humanitarian operations can be conducted as part of a broader peace support operation or in a non-peace support operations scenario, which has the alleviation of human suffering as its main objective. Both are conducted under circumstances in which the competent authorities are unable, and in some cases unwilling, to assist in providing adequate aid to the population. In a peace support operation, there are a series of discrete measures to provide protection for targeted populations. One set of protective measures relates to the protection of humanitarian action and includes the defense of aid convoys and the maintenance of humanitarian corridors. It could also include the use of security forces to protect the storage and distribution of aid as well as the controversial use of 'technical' in Somalia.

A second set of measures relates to the physical protection of populations in discrete locations. Here it may be useful to distinguish between larger safe zones, where people remain in their homes and communities, and safe havens, where people from the surrounding area seeking protection congregate. More in detail, Victoria Holt distinguishes the following potential roles for military forces in civilian protection: Protection as an obligation within the conduct of war. In war, military forces are required to abide by the Geneva Conventions and other international laws to minimize civilian death and injury and the destruction of civilian objects, and to allow for relief provided by impartial humanitarian actors.

The occupying power is responsible for the basic security and welfare of the civilian population. Protection as a military mission to prevent mass killings. According to the principles outlined by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), a protection mission is organized and deployed specifically to actively prevent large-scale violence against civilians. Protection as a task within UN-mandated peace operations. 'Civilian protection' is seen as one of many tasks for peacekeepers, but is unlikely to be the operation's central, organizing aim.

Protection as providing area security for humanitarian action. Military forces or peacekeepers establish the wider security of an area, enabling others to provide support to civilians in that area. Protection through assistance/operational

design. Protection is a function of the design of relief and humanitarian programmes: refugee camps, water supplies and latrines, for example, are placed so as to minimize threats to vulnerable populations. The potential military role is to assist in reducing threats, such as offering physical presence as a deterrent. Protection as the use of traditional force. Some military thinkers point out that civilians will enjoy better protection after a war-fighting force has been used to stop an enemy's actions'.

5.3. The Responsibility to Protect

The issue of humanitarian interventions is often labeled as the duty, obligation or responsibility to protect innocent people from genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. The ICISS advanced the concept of the 'responsibility to protect' in its report in 2001. The report's central theme is the idea that sovereign states have a responsibility to protect their own citizens from avoidable catastrophe, from mass murder and rape, from starvation — but when they are unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be borne by the broader community of states. In other words, the report promotes a re-characterization of the concept of state sovereignty from sovereignty to control to sovereignty as responsibility. It recognizes that the rights conferred on a sovereign state are also balanced with responsibilities. The report argues that where a civilian population is suffering from serious human rights abuses, and the state in question is unwilling or unable to avert them, the principle of non-intervention must yield to the international responsibility to protect that population.

In extreme and exceptional cases, the responsibility to react may involve the need to resort to military action. Those exceptional cases must be cases of violence which so genuinely 'shock the conscience of mankind' or which present such a clear and present danger to international security, that they require coercive military intervention. The task is to define, with as much precision as possible, what these exceptional circumstances are, so as to maximize the chances of consensus being reached in any given case. While there is no universally accepted list of criteria, all the relevant decision-making criteria can be summarized under the following six headings: Right authority, just cause, Right intention, last resort, proportional means and Reasonable prospects.

5.4. The United Nations and the Responsibility to Protect

The issue of the responsibility to protect has also been addressed in the September 2005 United Nations Summit Outcome Document. It states that: 'each individual state has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes, including their incitement, through appropriate and necessary means. We accept that responsibility and will act in accordance with it. The international community should, as appropriate, encourage and help states to exercise this responsibility and support the United Nations in establishing an early warning capability'.

5.5. Civil-Military Relations

The proposed Human Security Response Force still only exists on paper, however. For its realization there are considerable obstacles to overcome. One important one is in the field of civil-military relations. Among civilians, the military are often associated with a mission of violence, which is considered to conflict with and indeed may hamper the purposes of civilian actors, in particular aid providers. In Iraq and Afghanistan, for example, aid agencies including the UN, were reluctant to accept US military protection for fear that it would affect their access to and acceptance among the local population. For many humanitarian non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the military cannot be humanitarian actors, because of their mission.

In a conflict, the 'humanitarian' action of military forces is necessarily subordinate to the political and strategic imperatives of the mission, and humanitarian aid is just one of the various possible strategies for winning 'hearts and minds'. This can lead to outright exploitation, for instance making aid conditional upon the supply of strategic intelligence. The humanitarian work of the military may conflict with the long-term objectives developed by the NGOs that have been in place for some time on the ground, particularly development NGOs.

Lastly, the confusion of military and humanitarian roles can create a whole set of problems: it blurs the identity of humanitarian actors; it endangers their personnel, particularly local employees, who are not as well protected as expatriates. Among the military, there is a tendency to assume that civilians 'get in the way' and are less efficient at carrying out specified tasks or that the military's job is engaging in warfare, not nation building or protecting humanitarian aid workers. For many of the military, NGOs are ambiguous, non-professional actors whose choices are ill-considered. The military find that there are too many NGOs in crisis areas and they consider them as unpredictable. Moreover, since they do not have a single command, their actions are not monitored, and they pose security problems for military forces.

Many NGOs are ideologically hostile to the military. The military find that attitude illogical: they refuse to cooperate with the military forces, they refuse to exchange information, but they are the first to want to be rescued from danger. NGOs exploit military forces for their sole objective: securing the humanitarian space. It is clear that both sides need to adapt. It is a fact that the relationship between military forces and NGOs, especially humanitarian NGOs, is a delicate one because of the contrasting priorities involved: on the one hand, the success of the political and military mission and, on the other, assistance to populations in distress without any other agenda. Effective civil-military integration is most feasible in situations where the military act in a law-enforcement role and the civil agencies are part of a combined politically-led operation.

6. Hybridization of Peacekeeping as a New Doctrine on Human Security

6.1. Hybridization of Peacekeeping

Hybridization' is increasingly being used to describe a trend that can be followed particularly in the last two decades of United Nations (UN) peacekeeping. Two kinds of developments in the practice of peacekeeping can be observed. On the one hand, the tasks of peacekeepers have changed. Purely military mandates have been replaced by mandates that include next to military tasks also political, developmental, governance building and humanitarian tasks. On the other hand, not only the tasks have changed but also the actors to accompany peacekeepers have increased partially fulfilling UN mandated military and non-military tasks themselves. The end of the Cold War led to the increase of civil wars, the proliferation of conflict to include more and more non-state actors, both as combatants and non-combatants, and to the increased willingness of the UN to intervene in these crises. This phenomenon has changed the environment of peacekeeping and the UN has started adapting to these different political environments peacekeepers find themselves in.

6.2. Integrated and Hybrid Missions: Changing Environments and Approaches

The growing push for a comprehensive approach at the UN requires not only a multidisciplinary approach by states, but also regional intergovernmental bodies and civil society organizations (CSOs) from all fields to work together. especially when it comes to foreign interventions, this has consequences for how actions in one sector affect those in another, requiring good communication and coordination mechanisms. Governments and CSOs tend to analyse and define problems differently, identifying different causes of conflicts. Before any action can take place, first there must be a common understanding of the conflict, and goals need to be aligned. However, as cooperation increases, the independence of each actor and their respective roles must also be respected. Governments and even the UN have been known to overlook the independent position of civil society organizations as they seek structural integration of security missions, with CSOs as 'force-multipliers'. This can be harmful to the role and independence of CSOs, as it can result in a loss of trust that enables them to work with local communities. Increased communication and cooperation, not integration, should be supported by professionally facilitated spaces and institutional mechanisms for multi-stakeholder dialogue.

6.2.1. Human Security and Countering Violent Extremism

This section illustrates how a human security framework applies in different contexts, based on lessons learned from the work of civil society in peace building and conflict prevention. In the struggle against violent extremism, many governments have adopted far-reaching security measures that have adversely affected fundamental freedoms of people around the world and limited the space for dialogue and peace building. The UN has urged the global community to move towards a more people-centered approach to security, extending beyond the traditional approach that focuses on states.

Counter-terrorism measures would be more effective if based on notions of human security, with a focus on root causes and context specificity. Based on several regional consultations on this issue, there is wide acknowledgement that civilian oversight, participation and ownership of the security sector and reform is important. While many state constitutions enshrine these principles, there are fewer processes for community participation and ownership of SSR processes. In some instances, security forces assume humanitarian, development and peace building roles for which they are not properly trained and equipped. is understanding and adversarial relationships between CSOs and security forces often result, prompting some civil society groups and international NGOs to withdraw from contact with security forces. This hinders the development of collaborative approaches to conflict transformation and prevention. It also impedes efforts to differentiate the appropriate role of nongovernmental actors, especially civil society voices, from that of government security forces. In a project that seeks to bridge this gap,

Human Security has concluded: Levels of violence and the use of torture in Mexico are increasing. Counter-narcotics strategies, based on a military approach, that suspend due process, use torture to elicit testimony, and fail to bring military perpetrators to justice are creating widespread instability. These practices threaten the shared security goals of both Mexico and its neighboring countries, notably the United States. The current US policy towards Mexico aims at short-term suppression of the problems while neglecting root causes, which require longer-term planning. A policy brief was developed by Serapazand Human Security on achieving human security on the ground in Mexico, with recommendations to address the root causes of violence and instability from organized crime and drug trafficking.

6.2.2. The Prime Examples of UN Hybrid Missions

In many ways the history of UN involvement in East Timor depicts how the perspective of the international community on peace operations changed since the end of the cold war. The first institutionalized peace operation in East Timor in 1999, the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), was a purely political mission with the mandate to organize and conduct a popular consultation in order to determine whether East Timorese people would prefer autonomy within Indonesia or separation from it. This is not a peacekeepers task but an all-inclusive task made up of integrated components with human centered roles. Between 1999 and 2002 a peacekeeping operation, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), was established by the Security Council (SC) following the decision to separate from Indonesia. UNTAET's task was to exercise administrative authority over East Timor during the transition to independence. The

United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET), established in 2002, was also designed as a peacekeeping mission but most of its tasks were quite atypical:

To provide assistance to core administrative structures critical to the viability and political stability of East Timor, to provide interim law enforcement and public security and to assist in the development of a new law enforcement agency in East Timor, the East Timor Police Service (ETPS), and to contribute to the maintenance of the external and internal security of East Timor. In order to perform such tasks, the Security Council decided to depart from the typical core-military setup of peacekeeping missions and installed a structure more appropriate to fulfill the given mandate.

A civilian component comprising an office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General with focal points for gender and HIV/AIDS, a Civilian Support Group of up to 100 personnel filling core functions, a Serious Crimes Unit and a Human Rights Unit, a civilian police component initially comprised of 1,250 officers, a military component with an initial strength of up to 5,000 troops including 120 military observers. From May 2005 to August 2006 the UN reduced its involvement to a political (peace building) mission to support good governance activities, a deviation from the known peacekeepers role to a political security task.

However, from April till June 2006 East Timor experienced again a peak in civil violence, which led the President of the National Parliament and the Prime Minister of East Timor to request another integrated peacekeeping mission to stabilize the country. Subsequently, the Secretary General (SG) issued a report describing the situation on the ground, East Timor's humanitarian problem, and particularly emphasizing the underlying causes of the crisis. This report emphasized the multi-dimensional character and the interconnectedness of the underlying causes that could not be met by any of the components singly.

This perspective indeed marked a change in how crisis were conceived by the UN. At this instance the SG argued that the international community should learn from past mistakes and should employ a mission that integrated various tasks and many non-military mandates to overcome the complexity of this crisis. The new mission in East Timor should thus have a mandate based on the needs of the people. Therefore, the SG suggested that the structure of this new kind of peacekeeping operation should integrate the following components: - security sector support, police components, military components, and civilian components.

The SC followed the recommendations of the SG, and by its resolution 1704 (2006) of 25 August 2006 it established the United Nations Integrated Mission in East Timor (UNMIT) as a new kind of peacekeeping operation. One particularly interesting element in the case of East Timor was that prior to the deployment of UNMIT the East Timorese Government had requested police and military assistance from Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Portugal. This required that UNMIT would have to coordinate its efforts with the international security forces in a mutual endeavor. Another operation is key to understand how the concept of integration led to a further development towards the idea of hybridization.

The African Union (AU) and UN hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID), established in July 2007, already started with a hybrid mandate. The SC fitted it with the task and mandate to not only protect the civilian population in Darfur but to contribute 'to security for humanitarian assistance, monitoring and verifying implementation of agreements, assisting an inclusive political process, contributing to the promotion of human rights and the rule of law, and monitoring and reporting on the situation along the borders with Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR).' Again, the UN for different reasons, however, was in the situation to share the ground with other international actors. In this case the AU played a key role, but whereas UNMIT needed to coordinate with the structurally separate international security forces, UNAMID became a joint venture of a regional and international organization. Also, worth mentioning is that the SC vested UNAMID with (the Chapter VII) authority to employ force in order to: -

Protect its personnel, facilities, installations and equipment, and to ensure the security and freedom of movement of its own personnel and humanitarian workers and support early and effective implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement, prevent the disruption of its implementation and armed attacks, and protect civilians, without prejudice to the responsibility of the Government of Sudan. Solely from a legal and structural perspective it became already clear that the UN's concept of peacekeeping had undergone some tremendous conceptual changes.

Peacekeeping missions were more and more tailored towards the necessities to build structural peace. In case where the use of force could be necessary in order to achieve this goal, another bridge was built towards peacemaking mandates. Thus, it can be said that the construction of peacekeeping missions commonly referred to as "Chapter VII" operations had been completely rethought in these instances combining all the mandates provided to the UN from Chapters VI, VII and IIX of the UN-Charter. One might look at it as complex-mandate missions trying to adopt all the advancements made in peace policy, such as developmental and human security approaches with bottom up elements, reacting to a newly understood reality of conflicts often termed complex emergencies.

6.3. United Nations and Peace Building

Although the Secretary General of the UN recognizes the need for an integrated approach to human security, we still see insufficient implementing capacity and political will to dedicate resources to the implementation of these resolutions and their nexus with peace building processes. The Barcelona Report of 2004 proposed a Human Security Response Force to make sure that high level strategic ideals connect with what is done on the ground, however this has yet to be enacted. Furthermore, whilst the UN Peace Building Commission is mentioned as a key mechanism at the UN to ensure coherence of peace building

activities in post-conflict situations, much remains to be done with regards to civil society involvement and impact. Finally, conflict prevention should not only be focused on post-conflict contexts and recovery; it should look further into the nexus between sectors such as development, human rights and justice, and not only in so-called fragile state.

Support local capacities and leadership for local solutions to conflict. For example: balancing the convening power of the UN with local ownership, building national capacities to own the processes surrounding conflict prevention, including making UN/member states funding and policy processes accessible. Ensure the UN, its partners and member states are accountable towards local populations. This requires creating multi-stakeholder forums for dialogue to build long-term relationships and collaboration with a broad range of local actors, including diverse civil society and interest groups. For example: The UN could convene and facilitate a dialogue between civil society and security actors and institutions to develop National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325, to advance women's roles in a preventive and human security approach to security sector governance. The UN and member states should take concrete steps to support inclusive participatory mechanisms and response frameworks, to ensure that all interventions respond to locally defined priorities identified through multi-stakeholder dialogue. For example: the UN could convene and facilitate multi stakeholder dialogues that allow for regular processes for joint conflict analysis between civil society, business, government and international stakeholders. Enhance the UN's capacity to coordinate complementary strategies ranging from the local to the regional and global levels, as well as inter-sectoral collaboration.

For example: shape the UN mandate to coordinate the relationship and coordination of governments, civil society, Regional Inter-Governmental Organizations, and other stakeholders as part of a global peace architecture, which can foster communication and coordination amongst these actors. Ensure conflict sensitivity in all UN operations and programmes. For example: the UN should mandate a 1-day training course in the principles and skills of conflict sensitivity for all staff in all agencies to ensure UN actions – from needs assessments to program implementation and evaluation – do not inadvertently negatively impact conflict dynamics. Work towards increased communication and cooperation, not integration. The UN should recognize the need to protect humanitarian principles of impartiality and neutrality to ensure that nongovernmental organizations have the ability to safely and professionally conduct their work independent from short term political and security missions that would prevent humanitarian and some other CSOs from becoming targets of armed groups or to lose their trust with communities where they work.

6.4. Adaptation of Peace Keeping Missions

In the cases of UNMIT and UNAMID, we are looking at peacekeeping missions that had been created after a rather radical rethinking had taken place within the UN caused by concepts such as "human security" or the "Responsibility to Protect", both of which demanding for multi-level and multi-dimensional approaches to peace and security. It is important to notice that the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was still established still during the time of the Cold War.

UNIFIL experienced a qualitative change of its mandate three times since its deployment by the SC in March 1978 by the resolutions S/Res/425 (1978) and S/Res/426 (1978). These changes took place after a rethinking about peace-operations had already started. All these changes were done in order to meet the Human security at its earliest the change in mandates. Many are a times when Even if these two instances are the prime examples of what can be understood as hybridization of peace operations, hybridization describes also much a bigger process. This development can be observed in the SC's growing awareness of crosscutting issues, and it becomes clear when looking at the different topical clusters of resolutions that the SC issued.

Also, when looking at how the initial setup of peacekeeping troop contingents changed particularly after 1999 one can clearly see an increasing trend in integrating non-military components in peacekeeping operations. Also, when looking at mission statistics between 2005 and 2010 of peacekeeping missions such as UNMIL (United Nations Mission in Liberia), MINUSTAH (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti), or UNOCI (United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire), one can out of analysis note that the ratio of military and non-military personnel is decreasing.

One of the key documents referred to when explaining the change of doctrines on peacekeeping is the so-called Brahimi-Report, a Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations that aimed to analyze past successes and failures and that eventually led to a radical rethinking of the UN's idea about the interrelation between peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace building. Particularly the failures of UN peace operations in the 1990s, in Rwanda, Somalia, Cambodia, Angola and Sierra Leone, were among the reasons to rethink UN peace operations from the scratch. The development of more robust and comprehensive mandates for peacekeeping operations, covering Chapters VI, VII and IIX under the UN-Charter (peace building, peacemaking, and peacekeeping) was raised by this report as one of the key ingredients for more effective UN interventions.

A doctrinal change was long overdue for the emphasis to see humanitarian and development aid through the lens of long-term conflict prevention. The resulting multi-dimensionality of peacekeeping would require an integration of decision making and information exchange within the peacekeeping mission for faster reaction to Human security issues. Multidimensional approaches can be described as a consequence of organizational learning and a call for more robust measures. These two elements are not merely a consequence of experiences in the field but also related to UN-internal reconceptualizations regarding security and development. One of the key documents that introduced a multidimensional approach to peace and security was certainly the Human Development Report issued by the United Nations Development

Programme in 1994.

This report developed a new political doctrine, the concept of 'human security', which emphasized the interconnectedness of different security sectors (food, health, environmental, social, political, personal, and economic) and linked these to the individuals' needs and conflicts. Another aspect that seems to be crucial for the hybridization of tasks is increasingly human rights related peacekeeping mandates starting with the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL). This inclusion of human rights into peacekeeping mandates led to a variety of obligations, among which, the obligation to provide (or at least actively support the conduct of) humanitarian aid.

7.1. Challenges of Peace Keeping

Peacekeeping is one of the cornerstones of the United Nations and was, is and will be an essential tool for creating lasting peace in war-torn societies. New actors and challenges have emerged and mandates have evolved. The 21st Century brings enormous challenges to the international community's peace and security and peacekeeping will have to address many of these challenges in the context of Human security requires multiple and diverse actors to develop solutions to interdependent threats. The interconnectedness of threats means they may spill over from the borders of one country or region to another, eventually affecting people across a wider region and even globally.

Human security also recognizes the interlink ages between peace, development, human rights and other fields, which are all relevant to address the cross-cutting challenges in conflict-affected contexts. Human security calls for complementary strategies ranging from the local to the regional and global levels, as well as inter-sectoral collaboration. Predicting the future of Peacekeeping missions is a minefield, but undoubtedly one of the toughest challenges for the new UN Secretary-General will be how to steer the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). Not only because it is one of the most expensive activities of the system, but also because it needs to reconcile two of the core values of the UN which include: - the maintenance of international peace and security, on the one hand, and human security, on the other.

While peacekeeping has certainly led to peaceful transitions and the rebuilding of legitimate and functioning states in many places (from Cambodia to Liberia and Sierra Leone), it still faces many internal and external challenges that need to be addressed. First, DPKO needs to ensure political support from host states which can be extremely difficult in places like Sudan (UNAMID), Haiti (MINUSTAH) and the Central African Republic (MINUSCA). Then striking the right balance between state consent for mission deployment and the international duty to protect civilians is becoming increasingly difficult to achieve. While it is clear that the UN has a humanitarian obligation towards people, it also has to respect the principle of state sovereignty.

Another problem is a fundamental crisis of confidence. First, the limitations of DPKO's mandate, budget, equipment and troops deployed often prevent it from meeting national and international expectations. Second, recent cases of sexual misconduct have severely damaged its reputation alongside that of the Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs) involved. Then, the fact that mandates are now multidimensional, focusing on civil and political affairs along with 'traditional' military tasks, creates further challenges for cooperation. It is now more important than ever to ensure DPKO cooperates with the entire UN system when operating in any given country, which in turn requires a constant and frank dialogue between the UN and its member states and between the UN Country Team (UNCT) and the Mission – as well as numerous NGOs in the host state.

The environment peacekeepers are facing has also changed dramatically over the last few decades. While the number of conflicts worldwide has decreased since the 1990s, more wars are protracted or recurring and are often more deadly than previous conflicts. These wars mostly occur in nations without clear political structures or peace agreements, which increases the pressure on peacekeeping to include political stabilization.

7.2. Peace Keepers and Human Security

Peacekeepers are now mostly deployed in areas where wars are fought asymmetrically between countries and rebel groups, between rebel groups and between combinations of the two. The weapons and tactics used by armed groups are constantly changing, which endangers not only civilians but also peacekeepers, and requires the Department to analyze which current rules of engagement are most effective and which actors need to be involved. Territoriality and accelerated globalization era is characterized by two simultaneous trends: global political and economic integration processes and national/local disintegration with serious ontological and existential insecurity implications.

Accordingly, the international relations of the new millennium are impelling many analysts to broaden their conception of security to include issues of human security broadly defined. Societal disruptions in the form of civil wars produce dissatisfaction and multilevel (individual, group, communal, and national) insecurity that have profound implications for conflict management/peace building efforts in war-torn regions. The many conflict management/peace building operation and democracy promotion efforts since the end of the Cold War have spawned many academic works on the subject (Yourdin, 2003; Rupesinghe 1998; Richmond 2002; Jeong 2002)

While these studies have underscored the strengths and weaknesses of particular efforts, relatively little attention has been devoted to the implications of the interactive relationship between peace building and human security. In other words, what are the prospects for effective peace building in post-war societies beset by (in) security problems? What paradigmatic shifts in the theory and practice of international relations, for example, underlie the relationship between peace building activities and human security? In what ways do these paradigm shifts/interactions shape the conduct of peace building and

affect dominant attitudes towards human security concerns. Current peace building efforts whether in Africa, Asia, or Europe are largely characterized by a language of power, exclusion, or defense of an international order that does not adequately address issues of emancipation and inappropriate impositions.

In most cases of peace building (reconstruction efforts after conflict termination) it is the integrity of the state that is often given security. Insecurity is, in other words, synonymous with an attack on the integrity of the state. As a result of this one-dimensional, state-centric view of security, many states confronted with civil strife have been unable to resolve their difficulties. Besides, many peace building efforts undermine the emphasis on human security because people are viewed as the "means" to political stability as opposed to being the "end" of all peace building efforts.

People areas viewed as the means to a stable state conducive to the infiltration of globalization trends. The objective of this article is to utilize a constructivist approach to human security and Peace building in order to better understand current peace building efforts in war-torn countries. In other words, how relevant is a constructivist approach to a better understanding of human security concerns and peace building efforts in post-war societies?

8. Conclusion and Summary

8.1. Conclusion

An analysis of the relationship between peace building and human security is a broad conceptualization of human security that takes into consideration the individual situated in broader social structures. This includes Individual sources of human insecurity harmful actions directed against people or property with visible and immediate consequences. They include banditry, lootings, and inter communal strife, among others. The worst affected are women, children, and the elderly.

Institutional sources of human insecurity harmful actions and neglect of institutions that undermine human rights and human security. These include, among others, the collapse of welfare systems, the politicization and neglect of the military, the unprofessionalism and paramilitary and police forces that were once an integral part of the neo patrimonial system. The specific examples are reduced wages, layoffs or a freeze on hiring, and workers (even soldiers) going for months without pay. Medical institutions such as hospitals without drugs and facilities, dilapidated schools and teachers with low morale, and increasingly corrupt civil servants are some of the effects of the neglect of institutions.

Structural and cultural sources of human insecurity harmful actions and results linked to the new modes of thinking and cognition in society at large, including international society. This results from the decline of the old social security/neo patrimonial systems and the ascendance of a neo-liberal morality that is more suitable to the societies of the advanced industrial states. The consequence is that tensions heighten between groups within a country, along with an increase in cross-border crimes and violence.

Fresh outbreak of old diseases, lowering of life expectancy, and an increase in infant framework mortality, among others, also abound. In order to guarantee human security at the personal, institutional, and structural cultural levels, power relations and relations of power should be underscored within a socio-cultural context. How is daily life affected by the historical constructions of gender, class and culture, and their impact on individuals, institutions, and structures?

What effect do the construction and reproduction of exploitative class/power elite identities have on the theory and practice of peace building and human security? In other words, emancipation or sustainable peace building occurs when one understands the true nature of things--class, gender, ethnic equality, and so forth. A great deal of peace building deals with issues of security within a positivist-rational epistemology (Checkel, 1997).

Culture and identity, ideas, knowledge, and structures within an interpretive "bottom-up" approach to peace building are crucial for understanding human security of marginalized individuals, groups, and communities. Human security is therefore a situation/condition free of injury/threats to an individual's groups, or community's well-being, including freedom from threats and/or direct attacks on physical and psychological integrity. To ensure such security involves the understanding of, or elimination of human security located at the structural, institutional, and personal (individual) levels of society. It involves an attempt to understand human security/insecurity in terms of those who experience them.

What motivates the dissatisfied to agitate and their beliefs as marginalized individuals should be seriously taken into account, instead of merely imposing on them. Peace building with a view to alleviating human insecurity involves transforming the social and political environment that fosters intolerable inequality, engenders historical grievances, and nurtures adversarial interactions. This may mean the development of social, political, and economic infrastructures that produce tolerable inequality and/or prevent future violence.

The focus is on dismantling structures that contribute to conflict--in particular, moving beyond short-term functions of maintaining a ceasefire, demobilization and disarmament, and monitoring competitive elections among former adversaries. While peacekeeping/peace building efforts generally operate on the assumptions of neorealist or neoliberal approaches to world order that underscore material power as the principal source of authority, influence, and struggle for dominance, social constructivism would emphasize both material and discursive (communicative: ideas, norms, knowledge, or culture) power as avenues for a better understanding of wars and peace building.

In war-torn societies like Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Rwanda, and so on, the war years are synonymous to a violent imposition on society and culture. Such imposition curtailed the power and opportunity of the weak (women to a large extent, the old, children, and non-combatants) to shape and control liberties and duties within society. Thus, whatever

collectively held norms, rights, or culture that existed prior to the war where disrupted, undermined, outlawed, and/or marginalized by the coercive environment of the war. In largely traditional settings (e.g. village level) even the web of kinship that provided the frameworks within which individuals and groups exercised their economic, political and social liberties and duties were jolted, undermined, or stifled.

8.2. Summary

An effective peace keeping and peace building and human security agenda ought to reactivate and reaffirm the right to life, education, freedom of movement, to receive justice, to work, and participate in the benefits and decision-making of the community (Welch, 1984). These rights which were pervasive in pre-Westphalia traditional societies existed within collective contexts. Often, for example, in the case of African states there is an inherent tension between external impositions (e.g., neoliberal internationalism) and communal African lifestyles. Thus, an African model of human security, especially with regards to human rights broadly defined, may be more relevant for sustainable peace building and human security. Josiah Cobbah in his critique of the Western rights tradition captures the relevance of the African model of human rights to peace, stability and security.

Cobbah, (1987), emphasizes communalism, duties, and hierarchy: Within the organization of African social life one can discern various organizing principles. As a people, Africans emphasize groupings, sameness, and commonality. Rather than the survival of the fittest and control over nature, the African worldview is tempered with the general guiding principle of the survival of the entire community and a sense of cooperation, interdependence, and collective responsibility... Although African society is communal, and hierarchical.

Since universal human rights emphasize a Lockean abstraction of natural rights, certain groups (women, minorities in general) have not fared well because Western rights tradition assumes an abstract equality of all individuals and downplays the reality of discrimination based on group identity which undermines individual, group, and human security in general. In especially a non-Western post-conflict society, the relevance of culture is significant for protecting the rights of the less powerful.

Where peace building is based on external impositions aimed at merely securing the late Westphalia state and other elements of neoliberal internationalism, the moment the foreign actors (UN, external NGOs, and so forth) withdraw, people who did not interact mutually with regards to political and economic reconstruction, or collectively define their postwar relationships will have to confront key issues. One issue might be what right groups made dominant by external favor had to retain their position. An equally important issue might be what claim does the postwar state have to the obedience that had recently been demanded by the external peace builders. The character and success of peace building and human security will depend to a large extent on how effectively these major issues would be resolved. Some of the consequences have been or are seen, in recurrence of civil wars and other types of political violence (coups, riots, or even genocides).

Traditionally, UN peacekeeping has focused largely on fulfilling the interposition tasks of supervising cease-fires in interstate conflicts. However, when UN peacekeeping operations have been sent to oversee the settlement of intrastate conflicts, they have been asked to fulfil some of the transition assistance functions that would require peacekeepers (including both military and civilian personnel) to engage in peace-building methodologies. In fact, these transition assistance functions are the key elements of the peacekeeping strategies that can promote the reintegration of divided communities and meet the security needs of people in violent conflicts.

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