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“Peace of Mind in Peacebuilding Practice”

How psychological components of sustainable peace are included in - and can be applied for - a national Infrastructure for Peace (I4P).

-Based on an analysis of the I4P for Ghana from 2013 to 2017-

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Alexander Michael Corlath, BSc

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ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Thomas Slunecko

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Abstract

The holistic and comprehensive model of sustainable peace by Coleman defines 51 psychological components on how to prevent violent conflict and promote sustainable peace in a society (PCSP), based on psychological research. However, within the vast (and compartmentalised) research area of peace and conflict studies and in the international peace architecture of the UN, the articulation and implementation of holistic peace psychological frameworks that include micro, meso and macro level are not exercised. Infrastructure for Peace (I4P) is a concept in *peacebuilding* that systematically aims at a behavioural change in society through the implementation and coordination of efforts on an institutional and organisational level. It is as such a suitable and applicable concept for the integration of the 51 PCSP. This thesis examines how these two concepts can converge by exploring if and how PCSP can manifest within a contemporary I4P.

For this, an iterative and exploratory document analysis was conducted on the I4P document for Ghana to identify 51 PCSP with a content analysis and a structuring category system as principal analytical tools. The central focus was put on the strategic objectives and action-steps of the I4P. The analysis revealed that 12 PCSP did manifest and 7 did manifest partially, while the majority of 32 PCSP could not be identified within the I4P. Based on those findings the study suggests improvements on how the strategy can implement PCSP to exemplify in which ways peace psychological knowledge can support holistic strategies on a national level.

Keywords: Peace psychology, psychological components for sustainable peace, I4P, peace structure framework, holistic peace approach

Zusammenfassung

Das ganzheitliche und umfassende Modell des nachhaltigen Friedens von Coleman definiert 51 Komponenten (*PCSP*) die, auf psychologischen Erkenntnissen beruhend, beschreiben wie gewaltsamer Konflikt verhindert und wie nachhaltiger Frieden gefördert werden können. Aber im umfassenden (jedoch unübersichtlichen) Bereich der Friedens - und Konfliktforschung und in der internationalen Friedens-Architektur der UN ist die Artikulation und Implementierung holistischer Friedens-Psychologischer Modelle, die auf Mikro-, Meso- und Makro-Level eingehen nicht etabliert. *Infrastructures for Peace* (I4P) ist ein Konzept innerhalb von *peacebuilding* das darauf abzielt, systematisch Verhalten in einer Gesellschaft, durch die Durchführung und Koordination von Maßnahmen auf institutioneller und organisatorischer Ebene, zu beeinflussen. Dadurch bildet die I4P einen optimalen Schnittpunkt ab um die 51 PCSP auf einer strategischen Ebene, anhand eines praktischen Beispiels zu integrieren. Diese Studie untersucht ob und auf welche Weise sich PCSP in einer solchen Strategie abzeichnen.

Zu diesem Zweck wurde eine sequentielle und explorative Dokumentenanalyse anhand des I4P dokuments für Ghana durchgeführt. Die methodologischen Werkzeuge hierfür waren eine Inhaltsanalyse und die Anwendung eines deduktiven und strukturierenden Kategoriensystems. Zentraler Fokus bei der Analyse wurde auf die *strategic objectives* und die konkreten *action-steps* der I4P gelegt. Die Analyse ergab das 12 PCSP vorhanden und 7 Weitere teilweise vorhanden sind in der I4P. Die Mehrheit von 32 Komponenten konnten jedoch nicht als hinreichend vorhanden identifiziert werden. Basierend auf diesen Erkenntnissen schlägt die Studie Verbesserungen vor, wie friedens psychologische Erkenntnisse beitragen können ganzheitliche Friedensstrategien auf nationaler Ebene zu unterstützen.

Schlüsselwörter: Friedenspsychologie, psychologische Komponenten des nachhaltigen Friedens, I4P, Friedens-Strukturen, ganzheitliche Friedensansätze

Introduction

In 2018, there were 372 running conflicts worldwide between and within states, 213 of which were fought violently. Of those conflicts, 40 were classified as highly violent conflicts (Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research [HIIC], 2019). Current trends show that more countries are experiencing violent conflicts than at any time in the last three decades (United Nations General Assembly Security Council [UNSC], 2018) and increasingly more conflicts become intractable conflicts that have complex roots and are resistant to peace efforts (Werther-Pietsch, 2017). The consequences of these conflicts are more extensive the longer the conflicts perpetuate. Increasing forced displacement of people, rising economic disparities between nations and regions, widespread violations of human rights and increasing poverty characterise these consequences. Together with growing instability and the prevailing toll on human lives and well-being, these developments demonstrate some of the consequences that accompany armed conflicts (Pederson, 2002; Gates, Hegre, Nygård, & Strand, 2012; Nuscheler, 2010, p.273 ff). Such developments make it clear that, in an interlinked world, the prevention of wars and the promotion of peaceful societies are becoming increasingly essential tasks transcending national borders. Lasting and deep-rooted resolutions for inter- and intranational conflicts become practical necessities, not just for the affected countries but also for the international community as a whole. This also includes presumably from violent conflicts un-affected countries, who might feel the accompanying ramifications such as global terrorism or irregular mass migration (Institute for Economics and Peace [IEP], 2017; UNSC, 2018; Werther-Pietsch, 2017).

Many national and multilateral organisations, most notably the United Nations (UN) and its different divisions, attempt to stop and prevent wars and armed conflicts between and within nations, as well as to establish and keep peaceful relations between its members. Since the establishment of the UN and the signing of the UN Charter, *peace*¹ and its sustainment were stated as central pillars of international cooperation. As such, they could be considered as the overarching aim of the UN (Jahn, 2012, p.99 ff; Werther-Pietsch, 2017, p.7 f), with

¹ The first paragraph of Chapter 1, Article 1 in the UN-Charter alone states the word peace/peaceful five times: *“To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;*” (United Nations, 2019).

peacebuilding and peace architectures generally considered as the political processes associated with tackling challenges regarding violent conflicts² and creating sustainable peace (Reychler, 2010). However, successes in this regard are disputable. After the end of the Cold War in 1989, a general decline in violent conflicts could be noted, yet newer statistical evidence shows, in fact an upward trend of violent conflicts during the last years (Wallensteen & Pattersson, 2015). Even though a positive trend in the signing of peace treaties between 2011 and 2014 can be noted (ibid.), looking at the situation and number of armed conflicts today and considering that a big portion of post-conflict countries relapse into violence within a decade after the cessation of a conflict (Collier, 2004; Mason, Gurses, Brandt, & Quinn, 2011), this distressingly shows that the constituent elements of sustainable peace are either not implemented or not implemented as intended in current peace efforts by policymakers (see Boulding, 2000; Sommer & Fuchs, 2004). Newer data from the Global Peace Index (2018) support this trend. The Index indicates that in 2018 global peacefulness has declined for four years straight.³

A multitude of peace approaches and theories describe constituent elements of wars, political conflicts, and violence. Furthermore, these theories describe how to decrease the probabilities of such occurrences (e.g. Christie, Tint, Wagner, & Winter, 2008; Coleman & Deutsch, 2012; Jahn, 2012; Lederach, 1995). While policymakers and peace researchers strived for decades to determine the right application of constituent elements of sustainable peace (especially in regions affected by violent conflicts), the overall discourse in peace and conflict studies nowadays has drifted towards systematic and holistic peace frameworks. It has become common sense in peace research, that a horizontally and vertically integrated⁴ approach that involves culture, civil society, military, government, media, and other stakeholders on all societal levels is a crucial condition for sustainable peace (e.g. Galtung, 1969; Hopp-Nishanka, 2012; UNSC, 2018; Werther-Pietsch 2017). These integrated and multilayered frameworks are called *peace structure frameworks*. One form of such a *peace structure framework* is the concept of *Infrastructure for Peace* or *I4P* (Unger, Lundström, Planta & Austin, 2013; van Tongeren, 2012).

² To enhance readability in this thesis, the term violent conflict will encompass different forms of violence that manifest on a society-wide scale, such as war, terrorism or sexual violence.

³ Note that the Global Peace Index even includes countries that technically are at peace but still have varying degrees of peacefulness.

⁴ For clarification what is meant with horizontally and vertically integrated approaches see section 1.2.2 in the next chapter.

I4P assumes that enduring peace can be strategically planned and achieved by a systematic approach that holistically interlinks several peace efforts within a nation and encompasses as many stakeholders of a peace process in society as possible. A certain number and configuration of such peace efforts are said to prevent the eruption of armed conflicts and to facilitate a profound transformation towards a peace-embedded society. This approach differs from fragmentary attempts in peacebuilding practice which apply individual measures for peace (e.g. mediation training) without embedding them in an interrelated strategy. Of course, as every conflict is as unique as its respective cultural and historical background (Dietrich, 2011), policymakers do agree that different geopolitical, historical and cultural contexts must manifest in distinctly different I4P strategies (Giessman, 2016; Van Tongeren, 2011). Therefore, the concept of I4P is more closely associated with loose guidelines than a *blueprint* or a clear-cut set of definitions explaining how to develop an I4P for a country.

One common element of I4Ps and peace structure frameworks, in general is that they connect systematic institutional approaches with the ambition of a widespread behavioural and attitudinal change in a population. Such widespread attitudinal and behavioural changes are directly linked to holistic psychological approaches (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012). The subdiscipline of peace psychology is especially aligned with the purpose and objectives of I4Ps. The vision for peace psychologists, as defined by Division 48 of the American Psychological Association (APA),⁵ is inter alia: “*the development of sustainable and just societies through the [...] increase and [application of] psychological knowledge in the pursuit of peace [...] [including] both the absence of [destructive] conflict and the creation of positive social conditions which minimize destructiveness and promote human wellbeing*” (Weiner & Craighead, 2010, p.1664).

In his model of *Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace* (in this thesis abbreviated as *PCSP model*), the psychologist Peter T. Coleman (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012) assembled a multitude of peace psychological findings⁶ to essentially identify the “*Essence of Peace*” within a society (ibid., p.353 ff). While not empirically tested as a whole, the model suggests how to accommodate conditions within a multilayered national framework to foster

⁵ Today it is also known as the independent organisation *Society for the Study of Peace, Conflict, and Violence* (Weiner & Craighead, 2010; p. 1664).

⁶ Psychological and peace psychological branches like communication for peace, cooperation, social justice, gender, education and a culture of peace among other sub-disciplines, are represented via different chapters in the book *Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace* by Coleman and Deutsch (2012).

sustainable peace. Every PCSP is assumed to affect behaviour, attitudes, and values of individuals of a society which increase the probability of sustainable peace. However, central to this model is not the accentuation of each individual effect of each particular PCSP for sustainable peace, but its systemic effect on how PCSP impact a societal system via a dynamical-minimal systems model. This dynamical-systems model is informed by complexity science (a subdiscipline of applied mathematics) and a dynamical systems theory (DST). In other words, the PCSP model suggests how *pieces of peace* connect to a *wholesome peace*. One aim of this model is to illustrate how knowledge of psychological conditions and processes can be generalized from interpersonal interaction up to international relations and accordingly contribute towards a multidisciplinary, holistic framework for sustainable peace. Another idea central to this model is that focus has to be put just as much on the promotion of peace as on the prevention of war, as “*war and peace potentials can co-exist*” (ibid., p.361).

This thesis aims to converge two holistic peace concepts to create a precedent for the synergy between defined psychological components according to Coleman and contemporary I4Ps. The research question guiding this interest is: *How psychological components of sustainable peace are included in - and can be applied for - a national Infrastructure for Peace?* To answer this, a written strategy of an existing I4P is determined and analysed to see, if compliance or partial compliance with the PCSP model is given. There are roughly two possible outcomes for this analysis. First, if the outcome is an I4P strategy that does not contain any or some PCSP, suggestions can be made on how to integrate them better in a peace strategy. Second, if the outcome is an I4P strategy that does contain all PCSP, further analysis could focus on the question if those elements of the strategy are implemented or implemented correctly, respectively. Irrespective of the outcome, the results will be considered as a basis for a suggestion on how a PCSP model can expand and improve an I4P.

As Coleman’s PCSP model has not yet been methodologically applied to an existing I4P strategy, nor was an I4P analysed regarding PCSP,⁷ such an endeavour can be considered a form of exploratory research. It is a blind spot in research of the applicability of holistic psychological peace frameworks and, as both concepts do not claim adherence towards a specific regional or national context, both propose a universal claim in its application and make such a convergence a promising and feasible endeavour, to inspire future analysis in

⁷ At least not to the knowledge of me nor Mr. Coleman himself as was insinuated by his colleague at the *Sustainable Peace Project* at the Columbia University (A. Chen-Carrel, personal communication, March 22, 2019).

this direction. Demonstrating how PCSP can be utilized in I4Ps might incentivize a general review of I4Ps concerning the PCSP model and guide policymakers towards a stronger integration of holistic-psychological approaches in general (peace) policy-making processes.⁸

Lastly, at this point it should be explicitly stated, that it is neither the aim nor in the capacity of this thesis to examine if, how and to which extent the components (that might or might not be located in the strategy) are or have been implemented. This work solely focuses on the conceptualisation of a national I4P strategy, not its application as this would expand the scope of this analysis and would be the inquiry for further studies.

Methodology

This thesis analyses an I4P document that outlines a peace strategy for Ghana for the timeframe from 2013 to 2017. This analysis identifies if measures in the I4P aim to generate conditions that are compliant with the respective PCSP. Or in other words, the aim of the analysis is to discover if one or several PCSP manifest in the measures of the I4P.⁹ Specifically this means, every measure/action as stated in the I4P is compared, analysed and interpreted in regards to every PCSP. To achieve this, a *document analysis* via a *qualitative content analysis* of the document is carried out via an exploratory research design.

In a first procedure, the analysis focuses on a direct comparison of explicit measures in the I4P with PCSP. A second procedure tries to detail the explicit measures by examining the rest of the I4P document and puts them in an interpretative relation to each other - to understand aspects of the document better with the help of the whole document. These “more comprehensive” or detailed I4P measures are then used for a third and final analytical procedure. This last step creates and applies a *category system*, commonly applied in content analysis. The category system is deductively construed based on the structure of the PCSP model and applied on those sections of the document that carry relevant information to eventually identify PCSP in the I4P. Especially the latter procedure is informed by theoretical

⁸ It should be noted at this point that this thesis does not assess the value of an I4P for a society or for the people regarding a peace process but solely aims to augment the concept alongside a current psychological holistic framework as the opinion of the author is that contributions of a holistic psychological framework are still underrated for national peace strategies (for a brief critique of the peace architecture, see the digression at the end of chapter 1). The thesis, therefore, moves on an organisational and even abstract level instead of a level of, for example, personal experience or perception.

⁹ What predestines Ghana as a suitable object of analysis is neither its specific socio-historical background nor that the first or the most lengthy I4P was implemented there. Rather, it was the first country that assembled a National Peace Council which was widely independent during the drafting and implementation of its nationwide I4P. Furthermore, the I4P is comparatively detailed in the formulation of its action steps and often considered as a role model-I4P with substantial success (Giessmann, 2016). Why the I4P Ghana was chosen for this thesis will be further elaborated in chapter 2, section 2.4.

indications of Mayring (2015). These sequential methodological steps are built on each other and can not be considered as separate elements in the methodological process but as one consecutive *understanding of meaning* of the document.

While this step-by-step analysis forms the most substantial part of the analysis, it represents at the same time a starting point for the actual contribution of this thesis: to suggest how the PCSP model and *missing* PCSP in the I4P for Ghana, can be formulated and integrated into the peace strategy. These suggestions form the final part of this thesis.

As such, the I4P for Ghana document is the only data source for this examination used for analysis and interpretation to “*elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge*” (Bowen, 2009, p.27). One aspect which makes this approach unique is that this is done regarding a theoretical model established by Coleman and other peace psychological authors. This implicitly carries the notion that the theoretical model of Coleman becomes the quality standard on which the I4P will be measured. For this thesis and analysis the PCSP model is not seen under a critical perspective per se, it will rather be scrutinized regarding its overall applicability to an existing I4P. While this can be seen as a biased perspective and a lack of a critical perspective towards the preeminence of the PCSP model, the author of this thesis justifies this not simply with the opinions of some researchers, emphasizing that psychology is still underrepresented in peacebuilding practices, (e.g. Christie et al., 2008) but also with the academic perspective of the author originating from the faculty of psychology. This does not mean the model is immune from any critique or shortcoming (at some points in the thesis this point is dealt with) but remarks in this regard are not a priority in favour of the pretence to foremost strengthen peace psychology in holistic peace approaches.

In the end, the foremost objective of this thesis is to serve as an illustration of how a synergy between two holistic peace frameworks could materialize. By surpassing the disciplinary boundaries of peace psychology and contemporary peace politics, comparing their holistic approaches towards prevention of violent conflicts and promotion of sustainable peace and, furthermore, integrating them into an applicable case study, this thesis aims not just towards an interdisciplinary but even transdisciplinary approach. This is underlined by a methodological approach which does not only use a content analysis informed by Mayring (2015) but embeds it within a hermeneutical interpretation to make meaning of the examined document. Transdisciplinarity here denotes an integrative approach, or *triangulation* (Bowen, 2009), combining practical knowledge (I4P) with theoretical knowledge (PCSP model), in addition to allowing methodological idiosyncrasies not being bound to common disciplinary perimeters (e.g. Mittelstraß, 2005).

Structure of the thesis

To create peace in society, to comprehend how societies are changed towards peace and to fathom how 51 PCSP are deducted from psychological knowledge there is a profound amount of theoretical knowledge to consider before an analysis can attempt to converge the two holistic peace concepts. As such, the starting point of this thesis consists of introducing relevant concepts within peace and conflict studies (chapter 1) which are both deemed necessary for a substantial understanding of the two principal concepts in this thesis. The overall purpose of this introducing chapter is to show and explain specific arguments and concepts in peace and conflict studies that already constitute a definitional boundary for the interdisciplinary perspective and analysis of this thesis. This is deemed necessary since the PCSP model and I4P are both different concepts but they are carried by common elements regarding assumptions on how peace is achieved in a society. After these theoretical cornerstones are established, the reader is acquainted with the political and intellectual origins of peace framework structures (chapter 2). The chapter closes with a thorough introduction of the object of analysis, the I4P for Ghana, before leading into the intricacies of the model of Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace (chapter 3). The specific order of the theoretical background is conducted for conceptual reasons since a formulation of the basic concepts in peace and conflict studies is seen as a necessary precondition to the understanding of function and purpose of I4Ps and the PCSP model.

This exceptionally extensive theoretical groundwork in three separate chapters is considered a necessary preliminary work for an analysis of a peace strategy which compliance' is tested on a holistic model with 51 different elements. Therefore, this theoretical constitution helps to generate a comprehensible understanding in this exploratory research process for the methodology described in chapter 4. Here, the qualitative approach to the research question is explained and justified together with the introduction of an iterative research design that uses a hermeneutical approach towards the document and includes a content analysis to answer the research question. The methods applied are hermeneutical-explanatory approaches and a category system informed by theoretical indications of Mayring (2015). This procedural step by step analysis identifies the use of different verbal and semantic phrases and words to eventually identify similar meanings between measures of the I4P for Ghana and individual PCSP.

The discussion section (chapter 5) will consist of two sections. The first section highlights a listing of PCSP which can be identified in the I4P, either explicitly or more

vaguely stated in the strategy. Included here is a detailed reflection on the limitations of the analysis.

As this thesis also aims to invite future attempts to include holistic psychological frameworks within holistic peace strategies, the second part of the chapter includes an evaluation of the analytical process and how the synergy of PCSP model and the I4P concept could improve future peace efforts on a national level. It also includes which remaining questions can guide research towards that end.

1. Theoretical concepts in peace and conflict studies

“Building peace [...] calls for long-term commitment to establishing an infrastructure across the levels of society”.

(Lederach, 1997; as cited by van Tongeren, 2012, p.3)

Peace and conflict studies encompass a vast field of research. They deal with the scientific understandings, descriptions, origins, and factors of peace and war, and how to eventually deduct suggestions for political actions. Especially in the last decades, such peace and conflict studies have increasingly become an interdisciplinary research complex, instead of an individual discipline with clearly defined objects of research and set methodologies (Jahn, 2012). Even though war and peace are forms of human behaviour and technically belong to the métier of social sciences (such as political sciences or sociology), peace researchers have acknowledged, that phenomena like the persistence of war and sustainment of peace, are highly complex social dynamics, requiring the mobilization of a variety of different theories and methodologies from different disciplines and angles. These can vary from anthropology, pedagogical sciences, history, and even natural sciences (Jahn, 2012, p.7; Sommer & Fuchs, 2004, p.4 ff; Imbusch & Zoll, 2010).

Regarding such a multitude of topics, methodological approaches, and highly specialized problems, there is doubt that a single researcher is even able to competently overlook, let alone interpret the overwhelming magnitude of the total knowledge production in peace and conflict studies (Coleman, 2012, p.55; Jahn, 2012, p.95). Appropriately, some speak of an academic "*compartmentalisation*" of the field (Reychler, 2010, p.9), even stating that there is no consensual peace term and that neither are there such terms for violence and conflict (Zoll, 2010, p.180 f).¹⁰ Zoll rightfully questions if there would even be any advantages for a common conflict term if it is so broad-ranging that it addresses diverse issues such as ethnic conflicts, nuclear armament, racism, North-South disparity, genocides, international migration, gender-relations, environmental destruction or mass unemployment (ibid.).

¹⁰ At this point I want to indicate that the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIC), the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) and the Berghof Foundation, consulted as data providers in this thesis, are by far not the only scientific institutions which research and produce data in the field of peace and conflict studies. With different prestigious organisations like the ÖSFK, SIPRI or PRIO, to name just a few, there are also slight differences between definitions of certain keywords such as *war* and *peace* (Ziai & Schaffer, 2011, p.173). This is an additional reason why this thesis dedicated an own chapter for clarification of relevant terms.

Peace as a common objective

Still, this thesis aims to bring together two distinct holistic concepts from peace and conflict studies - Infrastructure for Peace (I4P) and the PCSP model - which both have a particular understanding of peace and share it as a desired objective. They both are based on the assumption that societies can be addressed as a whole to eventually diminish the probability of violent conflict and promote peaceful behaviour. One comes from the domain of international peace work and the other originates from peace psychological research. This chapter aims to provide a certain level of coherence about relevant theoretical ideas and assumptions that are shared between the theories addressed in this thesis.¹¹ This is beneficial to the awareness of how - and if - the two concepts share basic structural properties necessary for a holistic peace approach. Simultaneously, these common structural properties legitimize the research interest, which is to draw analogies between them (e.g. the inclusion of PCSP).

Included in this introductory chapter are clarifications for the terms *peace*, *violence*, and *conflict*. Furthermore, a basic awareness of concepts like *conflict transformation*, *conflict management*, *peacebuilding*, and other such terms is useful as such terms often turn up during this thesis. These are not only expressions frequently used by policymakers and researchers in the field but do also appear in the examined concepts. To specify these terms enables the reader to better locate research question-relevant features of holistic peace approaches within such a vast and interdisciplinary research area as peace and conflict studies. For conceptual purposes, an introduction to the specific contributions of peace psychology for a systematic peace approach will be given in a separate chapter.

It was a conceptual decision to sketch such common theoretical ground and basic terms, before introducing more applied concepts like peace structure frameworks in chapter 2 and Coleman's parsimonious model of Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace (PCSP model) in chapter 3 - both of which are of central interest to the research question. Eventually, this chapter makes it easier to identify the presence of PCSP in the intentions of I4P measures, depicted in chapters 4 and 5.

¹¹ "Distinct" shall not imply, though, that both concepts do not share similar theoretical roots. The peace concepts of Galtung (1969) or the elaborations on conflict transformation according to Lederach (1995) are, for example, both fundamental parts for contemporary peace theory and practice and by this also related to the PCSP model. Suggested here is rather that both concepts do not emerge from a big overarching theory and have different intentions for their application in a peace process. I4P is an established practice in national peacebuilding and the PCSP model is a theoretical framework from an assertive peace psychological perspective.

1.1 Peace as a normative objective and multidimensional process

Regarding the research question, a definition of peace that consistently corresponds to I4P and the PCSP model may be considered a helpful analytical prerequisite. After all, if both models aim toward a similar building of peace, parallels and oversights could be identified more conveniently and an adaptation of an I4P with PCSP could be formulated more efficiently. Unfortunately, it is not that easy with the term *peace*; neither in practice nor in theory.

Sommer and Fuchs (2004) refer to a general problem within peace studies: What peace is and how to achieve it, are normative questions (ibid., p.6 f). How a peaceful society is defined by a culture or a government usually reflects the actual-state and the target-state of social reality. They further acknowledge that within peace studies it is especially difficult to keep up with a necessary social science standard of “*intersubjective binding knowledge and rational practice*” (ibid., p.8 f).¹² To agree on a peace definition that is the same for all the idiosyncrasies of different geopolitical contexts (such as countries applying peace strategies) is a disputable, or at the very least difficult, endeavor.

However, the PCSP model’s claim is exactly such an “*Essence of Peace*”, originating from a perspective of psychological mechanisms. One of this thesis’ objectives is to expand an I4P concerning this claim. To facilitate a theoretical and practical understanding of this objective, this chapter sketches the elemental aspects a contemporary peace term is built upon. This is deemed necessary because both concepts have roots and similarities in theoretical considerations about facets of peace which are clarified in this chapter (such as positive and negative peace). This gives further legitimacy to the research interest and objective of the thesis, while simultaneously evading the *science and value problem*¹³ that questions the assumption if real scientific objectivity on how to achieve peace can be

¹² The latest trend for a different answer on how to achieve peace can, for example, be seen with an increasingly influential China in world politics versus the conventional western ideas of peace. As China's growing economy and accompanying influence in development policy increases, the common (western) principles on the function of peace become challenged by an alternative way of how to achieve peace that is less concerned with a focus on human and social rights or sustainable development but predominantly driven by a stable economy that relieves tensions through opportunities (Abb, 2018). This so-called 发展 (Fāzhǎn héping), *developmental peace*, challenges dominant approaches that claim universal value on what *the right way* for peace is.

¹³ Referring to Bahm (1971), he states that the willingness to be objective in science, does not imply it is completely value-free, but instead, methods, the definition of problems and attitudes on how to solve them are value-saturated. This chapter demonstrates that this is especially the case with an understanding of *peace*.

attained. It further presents the requirements, holistic peace structures need to address according to the authors quoted in this thesis.

Different patterns in peace research

The aforementioned normativity of a peace definition is reflected in the fact that over decades, the general tendency in peace research assumed two competing patterns, depending on the perspective peace was looked upon and understood. These are called the *traditional* and the *critical* branch. While the traditional research branch (including psychological research) is problem-focused and primarily concerned with questions about the origins of wars or the likes of arms control and disarmament (e.g. Jahn, 2012, p.103 ff; Wagner, 1988, p.7) - political issues that could be described as more generic political aspects in the domain of international relations - the critical branch of peace research directs its attention to structural change.¹⁴ While the former defines a clear status of war and a clear status of peace,¹⁵ the latter considers peace as a spectrum, focusing on, for example, emancipatory approaches and how to improve living conditions (Sommer & Fuchs, 2004). Both branches are focusing on two distinctive facets of peace with different but complementary and reinforcing approaches. From a simplified perspective, the traditional branch is more affiliated with the *prevention of violent conflicts* while the critical branch is more closely associated with the *promotion of peaceful societies* (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012; Reyhler, 2010). It is a differentiation important for contemporary peace approaches like the PCSP model, because, as will be argued later, the notion of two *parallel objectives* for peace, also constitutes the process character of peace, “*fostered by a variety of cognitive, affective, behavioural, structural, institutional, spiritual, and cultural components*” (Coleman & Deutsch, 2014, p.11). A dynamic process, not as a fixed and defined *peace goal*, but closer to a variety of objectives on different stages, requiring an extended period, during which the building of peace is planned and monitored (Proto & Opotow, 2012, p.178). Different stages and objectives refer, for example, to the classification if it is a pre-conflict situation, an ongoing violent conflict or a post-violence situation (Christie et al., 2008; Hopp-Nishanka,

¹⁴ Peace studies have long relied on ideas from the domain of *International Relations* (Dietrich, 2011, p.20). Jahn (2012) speaks here of a paradigm shift in which the critical branch succeeded the traditional branch beginning in 1969 (ibid., p.26). Since nowadays peace researchers and policymakers acknowledge both research branches as similar vital aspects instead of competing directions, I also do not want to speak of a paradigm shift in the full sense and rather consider the term *expansion* as more appropriate.

¹⁵ Additionally, the traditional branch in peace research, especially in the USA, was partially under critique from an ideological point. Stating that research was more focused on stabilizing the international system and its relations instead of genuinely rehabilitating distorted relations or addressing the roots of violent conflicts (e.g. Christie et al., 2008; Koppe, 2010).

2012, p.4; IEP, 2017). These stages again can have varying degrees of intensity (Austin, 2012). That peace is characterized by more than just one general peace factor, is also reflected in how modern peace measurements use a variety of distinct indicators. For example, the prominent Global Peace Index uses 24 qualitative and quantitative assessment criteria to approximate the peacefulness of a society *and* its disposition towards violent conflict (Global Peace Index, 2018).

1.1.1 The duality of peace and violence

As shown until now, the first steps in comprehending an (as objective as possible) peace term are, besides its versatility, the acknowledgement of its normative character and that it is not free of sociohistorical and political idiosyncrasies (such as prevailing values). The meaning of peace can differ from culture to culture, and different actors use it in contrasting ways, depending on which aspect of peace is in focus (Abb, 2018; Austin, 2012). A prevailing common denominator of the antagonist of peace, though, is the application of violence. To elaborate on this, it proves useful to examine how the word “peace” is understood in contemporary discourse, as this definition is the basis for more elaborate peace definitions (e.g. as addressed by various I4P strategies).¹⁶

For a long time, peace was just understood as the absence of conflict and as a typical and “*harmonic picture*” of a society without conflicts (Jahn, 2012, p.31 f). This is also reflected in the etymological origins of peace, which stems from the Latin word *pax*, indicating an agreement, harmony or tranquility, among others (etymonline.com, 2019). Standard lexica usually provide a common denominator for peace in contemporary politics. Such as the American dictionary Merriam-Webster, which primarily defines peace as “*freedom from civil disturbance*” or “*a state of security or order within a community provided for by law or custom*” while a similar definition by the Cambridge dictionary suggests, peace is “*freedom from war and violence*” (merriam-webster.com, 2019; dictionary.cambridge.org, 2019). What these and similar prevailing definitions have in common, is that they primarily describe peace as an assured absence of violence between social actors¹⁷ - an understanding which nowadays falls short on several theoretical and

¹⁶ While essential aspects of the concept of *peace* have transcultural similarities, there are also slight idiosyncrasies to the word that have varied over various civilisations. For a closer comparison between ancient Chinese, Indian and Judeo-Christian concepts see for example Barash and Webel (2008, p.5 f).

¹⁷ Unless the context requires otherwise, the term “actor” here refers to a multitude of individuals in a certain region or state. In this chapter, it should not be confused with the same expression of “actor” used by some

practical aspects. It also alludes that the existence of peace and violence are inherently and interdependently connected. This means depending on the understanding of violence, peace can differ in its meaning and vice versa.

An important stepping stone for the extension of the concept of violence and the subsequent extension of the peace term - as well as the diversification of peace studies - was the work of Johan Galtung (1969). His characterisations of key aspects in peace and conflict studies have received widespread recognition (Austin, 2012). Jahn (2010) even endorses Galtung's essay "*Violence, Peace and Peace Research*", published in 1969, as the theoretical foundation for the beginning of the critical branch in peace studies; with his definitions of violence and peace as integral conceptual tools (ibid., p.26). Galtung not just established the differentiation between *positive peace* and *negative peace* but also the definition of *structural* and *direct/personal violence*. He defines violence as "*present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realisations are below their potential realisations*" (ibid., p.168). For him, violence is a broad spectrum that unilaterally deprives individuals of a potential state and can be acted out in various forms to impair physical and psychological well-being, as seen in figure 1.

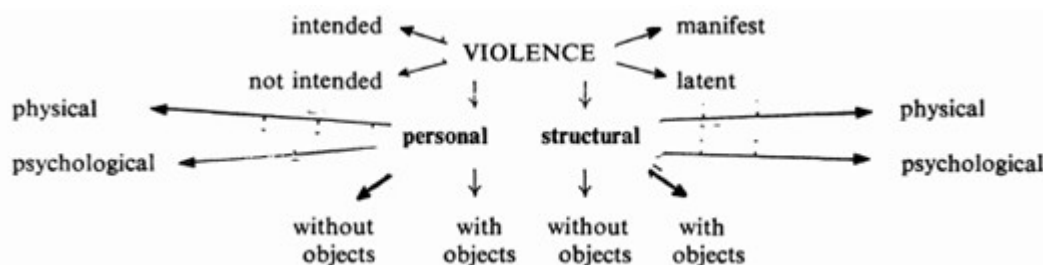


Figure 1: A typology of violence according to Galtung (1969, p.173)

Figure 1 helps to give a better understanding of the scope of the term according to Galtung. It exhibits how violence can be executed in 12 different manners. Regarding a structural peace term and the forthcoming research question, two thoughts in Galtung's definition of violence are of special interest. These are the differentiation between *personal*, *structural*, *latent* and *manifest violence* and "*the relation between the object [receiver] and subject [giver] of violence*" (ibid., p.177). These insights lead in turn to an apprehension of *positive* and *negative peace*.

institutions like the Uppsala Conflict Data Programme (UCDP) which defines it as "[a] state or a non-state formally organised or informally organised group." (Uppsala Universitet, 2019).

Personal, structural, latent and manifest violence:

For structural violence, Galtung exemplifies that the moment when deprivation, pain or even the deaths of individuals or groups is avoidable by certain actors, and yet still happens, it is considered violence. This form of violence can be the case even though it might not have been preceded by direct violence to destroy the actual means of potential realisation, but if information and resources were held back by a group of people or used for other purposes. If that happens then "*the actual level [of realisation] falls below the potential level [of realisation of the individual]*" (ibid., p.169). For example, the use of public funds for military purposes, instead of the financing of necessary human needs in a society, indicates a status of structural violence. This can be regarding food security, health, and public housing, leading to either repression, poor health and death (Johnson, Johnson & Tjosvold, 2012; Sommer & Fuchs, 2004). La Parra and Tortosa (2003) specifically point out to the detriments of social stratification (e.g. differences between gender, age, and social class) on which forms of structural violence act on and are sustained by. Noticeably, there is a danger that structural violence can be *invisible*. In this case, violence is woven into the structure of society and accepted as the status quo, as well as something *common*. Galtung realises, that even ethical systems directed against intended violence might "*easily fail to catch structural violence in their nets*" (Galtung, 1969, p.172). Similar terms in modern peace research for such a form of oppression are known as "*microaggression*" or "*civilized oppression*" (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012, p.7). They, too, describe phenomena of structural violence that are generally acted out unconsciously, considered normal and are generally accepted, everyday forms of oppression.¹⁸

Furthermore, the differentiation between latent and manifest violence indicates that violence might not express itself directly (manifestly), but that it sits on *the doorstep of social relations* and could happen at any given time within a social structure. The implications, therefore, are twofold. Firstly, the threat of the possibility of violence due to a tense and unstable environment - be it personal or structural - can be a form of violence in itself. Secondly, that truly peaceful societies cannot exist as long as the outbreak of violent conflict

¹⁸ A related term to *structural violence* is *cultural violence*. Cultural violence describes more specifically certain symbols and narratives in our culture that justify violence in one form or another (Christie et al., 2008). To exemplify this with an ordinary example from a gender perspective: A woman, who wants to get children while pursuing a career often has to balance an additional burden as mother (as the father is less attributed as a caregiver). If she fails to perform with this burden, she is not suited for the position or possibly referred to as "bad mother". Here, a culturally developed identity attribution towards women as mother and caregiver rationalises such a failure as natural and eventually legitimizes disparity between men and women in the labour market. The origin of the problem of inequality is naturalized instead of addressed within social institutions (e.g. more daycare facilities).

is very likely, and that a presumably peaceful society is more fragile in reality than it seems *from the outside*. This *blindfolding* of society from conflicts in public spaces and community narratives is said to one day lead to a break-up in an uncontrolled and violent manner.¹⁹

The relation between the object and subject of violence:

Another crucial realisation of Galtung's definition of violence is that the term structural violence not only postulates that it is devoid of the *traditional* subject-acts-on-object relation of deprivation (*one person hurts another person*) as mentioned above. But besides, that "*the violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as [unequal] life chances*" (Galtung, 1969, p.171). This indicates that by addressing structural violence, there is no necessity to identify a certain individual as the *culprit* to have a *victim*, and vice versa; there does not have to be a direct relationship between a specific subject/receiver and an object/giver that executes violence.

The existence of structural violence and non-linearity between the subject and object of violence is insofar important as it has implications on how peace can be addressed by policymakers. If structures are to be established against violence, the causes and the roots of violence need to be addressed. Since these causes cannot always be perceived *directly* and, therefore, often lack motives and intentionality,²⁰ these latent factors have to be addressed *indirectly* by such peace structure frameworks (see section 2.3) - this is also why ideas from complex systems theory, dynamical systems, attractor dynamics, and a multi level view on the determinants of violence and peace are pertinent for this thesis' research question, as will be elaborated in chapter 3.

Positive and negative peace:

Considering Galtung's dimensions and having in mind how violence can manifest, it becomes apparent, that a peace term that merely describes the absence of (personal) violence, would leave much of the world in a non-peaceful state. As peace and violence are inherently adjunctive terms, different aspects of violence indicate that a peace term can differ in a similar number of ways. Current peace literature reflects this: As of 2012, there are over 40 different definitions that distinguish between distinctive aspects and facets of peace

¹⁹ Jahn (2012) compares such instances with countries that try to uphold a total status of peace - as in denying the existence of political conflicts - as it happened during communist party rule in the former *Eastern Bloc* (ibid., p.32).

²⁰ For example is a soldier bribing citizens for money because the soldier wants more money, a clear motive, a burdensome high tax for military expenditures at the cost for welfare does not.

(Coleman, 2012, p.354). Depending on which aspect of violence is put into focus, they might differ in terms of scope (size of an area), level (between governments or between individuals), durability (stability of peace), and the way it is achieved (authoritarian or democratic). A *holistic* peace approach in the truest sense of the word would have to consider a majority, if not all, of those aspects as all forms of sustainable peace “*share some basic underlying qualities*” (ibid., p.355). With the introduction of structural violence, though, an essential differentiation was the one between *positive* and *negative* peace. Galtung describes peace as a two-sided coin (1969, p.183), one side being negative peace as the absence of direct violence (e.g., without political conflict - cp. figure 2 under 1.2.1) and the other side being positive peace as the absence of structural violence. Johnson, Johnson and Tjosvold (2012) nuanced these terms by coining negative peace “*Imposed Peace*” and positive Peace being “*Consensual Peace*”. With the former based on a forced agreement and the latter build upon active cooperation as the central aspect of sustainable peaceful relations. Thereby putting a focus on relationships and cooperation between relevant parties (ibid., p.17 ff).

Galtung’s definitions constitute a more expansive peace term, hinting at the prerequisites for a peace strategy. As noticed before, peace is here assumed to be a process rather than a finite state, with shifting conditions, different necessities, and multiple stages between negative peace and positive peace (e.g. Barash & Webel, 2008; Coleman & Deutsch, 2012). How to get from war to *non-war*, towards eventual peace, are all inherently complex and interwoven but still distinct processes which all need sequential and synchronizing measures and fluid transitions between approaches and priorities (e.g. Christie et al., 2008, p.544 ff). Reyhler (2010) talks of “*pacing the peacebuilding process*” as a basic requirement of a strategy towards peace (ibid., p.15f). In other words, any such strategy with the aim to succeed has to adapt to a specific social context. Nowak, Bui-Wrzosinska, Vallacher and Coleman (2012) fittingly describe peace as “*a constantly evolving and complex social phenomenon*” (ibid., p.266). It is easy to see why debates on the best approach towards peace - and how to *achieve* it - appear so often, and sometimes to such a degree, that the question of *how* to achieve peace, can produce conflict by itself within political or scientific domains (Barash & Webel, 2008; Sommer & Fuchs, 2004, p.8 ff).

1.2 Conflicts as necessary dynamic in a society

As established, even the aim to create a strategy that promotes peace requires us to address the existing structure of violence. As violence is an outcome that usually results from a

conflict, it follows that the *conflict structure* of society plays an equally fundamental role. The role of conflicts, their purpose and how they are resolved within a society, are what defines such a conflict structure. The better this structure is understood, the better peace measures can intervene. In general, a conflict is a clash between opposed ideas or interests that can happen on multiple levels.²¹ Johnson, Johnson and Tjosvold (2012) differentiate between *decision-making conflicts* and *conflicts of interests* (and their respective cooperative resolution) as relevant for peaceful relations (ibid., p.16). Similar to manifest and latent violence, conflicts too, can be either visible (manifest) in the interactions of actors, or invisible (latent), for example, if opposed interests are not explicitly expressed (Austin, 2012, p.75 f). The latter can be part of established structures within the political system and therefore has an evident similarity to latent violence. Especially if power positions between actors are not equally distributed it is easy to retrace how latent violence and latent conflicts can intertwine. Before moving on and consider the role of social conditions in conflict, it is substantial to explore conflicts and their purpose for society in general.

The peace researcher Gellmann describes conflicts as the sound of "*cracks*" in a societal system. Lederach, a figurehead in the definition in the transformation of conflicts, uses the metaphors of "*ebb and flow*" that can be utilised as an opportunity to alter human interaction (both as cited by Dietrich, 2011, p.20 f). The use of such metaphors already hints that conflicts are natural processes within society. Jahn (2012) even goes so far to consider *all social life as a conflict* (ibid., p.32). However, if all social interaction is permeated with conflict, it follows that all objectives with the intent to prevent conflict would be superfluous.

As such, an approach to a conflict must be seen differently. Less so as something that needs prevention, but more of a possibility to guide society towards peaceful relations. Or alternatively, as Dietrich (2011) fittingly describes it, conflicts are the natural product of human interaction and relationships, *as well as the necessary element for changing events, relationships and actors themselves* (ibid., p.19).

Galtung (2007) states that all conflicts are on the same level and can not be considered as more important or less important since they all matter for the people involved. Be it in a romantic relationship or an international committee. Conflicts, in the words of

21 Multiple levels include here every variation between individuals, between groups, between nations (Barash & Webel, 2008), and even on a "*mega-level*" between cultures (Galtung, 2007, p.11/159ff). This means conflicts can limit themselves on an intra-national scope but can also have a "*transnational or even global*" scope (Austin, 2012, p.74). Individual conflicts also include intrapersonal conflicts which also have to be considered since a harmonious relationship to oneself is also a relevant facet of peace (e.g. Coleman & Deutsch, 2012).

Galtung, are, therefore *born equally in right and dignity*, and all of them have the *right to be dealt with through transcendence and transformation* (ibid., p.9).

1.2.1 Conflict structure: Constructive and destructive conflicts

An important categorization for types of conflicts, as proposed by Deutsch (1969, 1977; as cited by Nowak et al., 2012) differentiates between constructive and destructive conflicts. While the former describes the resolution of conflict as an outcome that is a progression in relations between two or more opposing actors, the latter is often associated with negative emotions, violence and damage for a social group and a peace process in general (ibid., p.275). He emphasizes the relationship between structural factors and individual attitudes and behaviours that lead to a probability to either solve a conflict constructively or destructively (Austin, 2012, p.74 ff). Maintaining attitudes, skills, mechanisms and knowledge in constructive conflict resolution (or CCR) is considered a critical component for every peace process (Coleman, 2012, p.55 f).

Conflict escalation

Contrarily, a characteristic possibility of destructive conflicts is the risk to escalate into violence. Theoretical models of conflict escalation, such as from Glasl (2010; as cited by Austin, 2012), determined that such an escalation of a conflict can happen gradually. Step one is the “*Hardenening*” of positions, where resentments between parties exist, but talks are still possible until step nine that is, “*Together into the abyss*” (ibid., p.78 ff). On this final escalation level, a total confrontation between the parties involved is unavoidable and usually has the consequence of the total annihilation of the other party with no regard to the own costs or wellbeing. While a conflict escalation does not necessarily develop consecutively from one step to the other but can act non-sequential (Baros & Jaeger, 2004, p.226), Glasl’s typology of conflicts is nonetheless noteworthy in its depiction how conflict dynamics (constructive and destructive) are subject to changes over time. Or how actions of either party can have reciprocal influences on the conflict dynamic and the peace process, respectively (Kleinmann & Frey, 1993). If peace interventions are conceptualized they have to adapt to the respective escalation level (see also the digression to *UN-related peace architecture* at the end of this chapter).

Political conflicts

One outcome of such an escalation of violence usually takes shape during a political conflict.²² The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (2019) defines a political conflict “as a perceived incompatibility of intentions between individuals or social groups” (ibid., p.6), which can have varying degrees of violence and intensity from level 1 (dispute) up to level 5 (war). The different levels give a comprehensive categorization for the intensity of conflict by classifying the intensity and level of violence, as seen in figure 2. Reasons, why a political conflict can degenerate onto a higher level of intensity, can be identified by markers such as poor governance, state fragility, autocratic rule, and foreign domination. Peace structure frameworks - such as I4Ps (see section 2.3 and 2.4) - are often construed out of consequence because of concern about various forms of political conflicts and are endowed with a clear motivation and focus to prevent such conflicts (Giessmann, 2016, p.5; Jahn, 2012, p.96).

intensity Level	terminology	level of violence	intensity class
1	dispute	non-violent conflicts	low intensity
2	non-violent crisis		
3	violent crisis	violent conflicts	medium intensity
4	limited war		high intensity
5	war		

Figure 2: Concept of conflict Intensity for political conflicts according to HIKK (2019, p.6)

Social dimension of conflicts

In conclusion, conflicts serve as a motor for society. But depending on how they are resolved, these conflicts can be either predominantly constructive or destructive - with the latter having potentially serious consequences for the whole of society. A further important aspect of a conflict structure is its deep connection with social and political aspects and the

²² A similar definition by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) is “armed conflict” which can also be considered as an extreme expression of destructive conflict. The UCDP definition states a state-based armed conflict as “a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year.” As the definition of political conflict by the HIKK is broader and includes different levels of intensity I focus on this term for a conceptual depiction.

sociohistorical environment. Buckley-Zistel (2008) explains that conflicts within a population are not just happening because of different interests in the distribution of, for example, power and resources, but also because of competing collective identities in which experiences and attitudes are conserved (ibid., p.8). For Garcia (2006), *social change* is inseparably connected to the question of how conflict dynamics are to be transformed in society. He sees the roots of destructive conflicts in non-participatory social conditions, such as lacking respect for minorities and diverse identities, an unequal distribution of wealth, or violations of human rights (ibid., p.39 ff). Similarly, Christie et al. (2008) point out that these “*social, racial, gender, economic, and ecological injustices*” (ibid., p.543) are barriers to peace. Such social factors likely lead to political conflicts if violence is the only perceived way to change the status quo. Unequal power distribution in a *latent conflict* hints towards conditions that were described under *structural* and *latent violence* (cp. section 1.1.1). These “*asymmetric conflicts*” (Austin, 2012, p.76) hinder the transformation of conflicts. Accordingly, the reduction of social inequality leads in turn to more peaceful societies, such as the reduction of economic inequalities (Boehnke, Christie & Anderson, 2004, p.34 ff). This interrelatedness between a socio-political context and conflicts additionally hints towards the aforementioned notion by Deutsch (1973; as cited by Austin, 2012) on why successful transformations for conflicts need to include cultural-psychological elements (individual attitudes and behaviours) besides conventional political-institutional approaches (structural factors).

1.2.2 An opportunity for peace: The transformation of conflicts

The alteration of conflict dynamics and the conflict structure is an essential starting point in building peaceful societies. Thereby, the transformation of negative destructive conflict to positive constructive conflict in a broad social sector is considered as a critical objective in peace efforts (e.g. Coleman & Deutsch, 2012; Bloomfield et al., 2006; Werther-Pietsch, 2017). The concept of *conflict transformation*²³ is becoming steadily entrenched as a

²³ As conflict transformation is closer to an established concept than a clearly defined set of methods such a transformation can be realized through different approaches that have in common that they reframe the access to a conflict. The supply of workshops offered within the peace and mediation sector reflects on this - see Coleman (2012, p.60 ff) and his listing of 23 established CCR procedures. The *transcend method* by Galtung (2007), for example, depicts conflict transformation by transcending the goals of the opposing actors in articulating different goals and by “*lifting a conflict out of bed the parties have prepared for that conflict*” (ibid., p.27) for a different, a potentially peaceful, resolution. Dietrich (2011) stresses the process of transformation by discovering the common ground of communication, values, and interaction between conflict mediators and conflict parties to discover new ways to *elicit* a profound social transformation. An essential characteristic for *elicitive* conflict transformation that considers every conflict as unique and embedded in a culture and can thus only be transformed by local actors and the consideration of local structures (e.g. Lederach, 1995).

significant factor for social change in modern peace discourses. Likewise imprinted by the theoretical considerations of Galtung (cp. section 1.1.1), conflict transformation is often considered as the substantial guiding principle in policy papers regarding peace efforts. It is central in shifting the probability of conflict resolution in a society away from *destructive* towards *constructive* (see Austin, 2012; Bloomfield et al., 2006; Diedrich, 2011; Galtung, 2007; IEP, 2017).

Lederach (1995) defines conflict transformation as elevating the perspective from the imminent (or active) conflict, considering the whole of society and eventually changing the respective power balances within it and relationships between its members. Bloomfield et al. (2006) state that such a transformation deals “*with structural, behavioural and attitudinal aspects of conflicts*” (ibid., p.5). As a result, conflict transformation can include transformations on multiple levels. Miali (2004; as cited by Austin 2012, p.90) locates the dimensions where conflict transformations can occur as “*context*” (international or regional), “*structural*” (unequal power structures), “*actors*” (different leadership or decision-makers), “*problem*” (different solution for the conflict) or “*personal/elite*” (different perspectives and values). As the factors determining those conflict dimensions change between every culture, society and region, conflict transformation is a highly complex endeavour that cannot be achieved by using a *one-size-fits-all* approach in sustainable peace but demands a distinctive approach from affected social actors themselves (Dietrich, 2011). This does not exclude external help (e.g. the UN) or the application of proven concepts or experiences (e.g. training in constructive conflict resolution), but more so favours an approach that combines *top-down* and *bottom-up* approaches - such as successful I4Ps (Giessmann, 2016; Siebert, 2012). An appropriate notion, since peace has been established as being a *horizontally* (several sectors in a society) integrated process, it must evenly encourage a *vertically* (different levels of social hierarchy in a society) integrated process (IEP, 2017). As conflict transformation is as essential as it is equivalent, with every structural peace process, it is a central principle for both I4P and the PCSP model. A relevant factor for the comparability of the two concepts as will be seen in chapter 4.

Conflict transformation vs. resolution vs. management:

There is an abundance of terms similar to *conflict transformation*, and different authors use the term in ways with intersections and even contradictions. As the thesis steadily moves

from theoretical considerations to practical applications, a clarification of frequently used terms in this area will be helpful for the later analysis.

Conflict transformation should not be confused or equated with the often-used term of *conflict management*. While conflict transformation can be said to *change the reality of the conflict* (Galtung, 2007), conflict management refers to a more specific goal to contain the conflict and prevent the outbreak of violence between the actors involved. The goal of the latter is less preoccupied with a fundamental restructuring of social relationships. Therefore, approaches which only try to manage conflict, run the risk of supporting societies with structural violence because the roots of such conflicts are not dealt with (Rubin, Pruitt & Kim, 1994). Conflict management can also involve *conflict resolution* which aims to lead conflicting parties to a non-violent agreement (Christie et al., 2008). Methods that aim at conflict resolution or management are not to be considered as incompatible approaches for achieving conflict transformation, but more as different tools within a broader *transforming strategy*. If conflict transformation serves as the guiding concept for achieving sustainable peace, conflict management and -resolution have their use at different stages and places within a peace strategy (e.g. Hopp-Nishanka, 2012, p.9 ff).

1.3 An integrated definition of peace

So far, the quoted theory shows the requirement for a definition of peace that is conceived structurally, addressed in a multilayered manner, and includes relationships of social actors. All conditions acknowledged by I4P and PCSP model as the next chapters will illustrate. In addition to those conditions a common definition for peace further needs to address both concepts of *positive* and *negative peace*. As stated above, the definition must also move away from the idea of peace as an objective that can be achieved, as rather a process. A process that needs to be constantly upheld regarding the conflict structure, as well as social hierarchies, inequalities and all forms of (latent and manifest) violence (e.g. Proto & Opatow, 2012; Wagner, 1988). To comply with such necessities, the definition of sustainable peace by Coleman and Deutsch (2012) - guided by Boulding (1978) - will serve for the remainder of this thesis. They describe sustainable peace as:

"a state where the probability of using destructive conflict and violence to solve problems is so low that it does not enter into any party's strategy, while the probability of using corporations and dialogue to promote social justice and well-

being is so high that it governs social organisation and Life." (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012, p.355).

This definition is preferable for several reasons. Besides slightly circumventing the initial question on the normativity of a peace definition by characterizing it as an indefinite *probability of behaviour*, it also addresses the requirements of a two-dimensional peace definition that is not just the absence of violence but includes the promotion of peace (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012). It furthermore describes it as a guideline for relationships, encompassing structural violence by allowing *social justice* and *well-being* to be pillars of social organisation. By this, the definition acknowledges that there are different parties in a society whose views differ and lack strategies to solve those conflicts. This leads to violent confrontations. As conflicts happen between social actors, peace is similarly something that exists between actors as a "*relationship variable*" and not as a trait (Johnson, Johnson & Tjosvold, 2012, p.16). The used definition incorporates such a process character of peace that develops through relationships over time and states those relationships as principal addresses in holistic peace attempts.

Moreover, an important differentiation carried by the definition and indicated by Nowak et al. (2012) point out the differentiation between *sustainable peace* - as defined above - and *sustained peace*. The latter describes the status of a stable (or negative) peace, independent how conflicts are resolved in society; even if this is achieved by suppressing dissent opinions. The definition of *sustainable peace* on the contrary also includes properties that ensure a peaceful future (ibid., p.269). It allows going beyond the current state of relations between actors and *sustained peace*, by adding a dynamic process to a social system that is in constant adaptation. In other words, the definition allows sustainable peace the characteristic to *change* a social status instead of *being* a social status. That is why the above description is the preferred definition that is essentially to the PCSP model. (On a side note: The I4P for Ghana on the other hand - as the object of analysis for this research question - does not have an explicit definition of peace stated in its strategy.²⁴ This is beneficial as the research question examines the I4P for Ghana based on the PCSP-model and not the other way around.)

The discussion so far has shown that peace is a multidimensional phenomenon. The ways in which peaceful relations manifest in a society, the conflict structure and the

²⁴ Although the objectives of the National Peace Council Ghana do coincide with the above definition, as will be seen in section 2.4 of chapter 2.

dynamics of violence are unambiguously connected as “[v]iolent events are viewed as manifestations of interactions among a host of destructive inputs that are embedded in social, cultural, and historical factors” (Christie et al., 2008, p.543). This especially includes forms of structural violence that are more deeply embedded into a culture and the political system. This chapter tried to demonstrate that, for an understanding of a strategic peace process, it is mandatory to grasp a peace process as a structural and systematic endeavor, driven by a multitude of actors and groups and an abundance of social processes rather than a status to be achieved.

Finally, the advancement of two diverging branches in peace research (traditional and critical) and the determination of the concepts of *positive* and *negative peace* both suggest a conceptual differentiation between the prevention of violent conflicts and the promotion of peace - a fact that is prominently represented in peace psychological research and especially the PCSP-model, as will be seen later (Johnson et al., 2012). This also reinforces the idea that a peace process can and must conform to different stages of a conflict phase. As conflicts are essential parts of human interaction and social life, it is at the intersection of social change, individual behaviour, and the resolution of conflicts that peace strategies must focus, seeking a transformation in societies towards a state of affairs where the chances of constructive conflict resolution are higher than destructive conflict resolution.

Digression: The peace architecture of the UN and (post-) colonial criticism

Infrastructures for Peace (I4P) are of central interest in the next chapter in addition to being predominantly motivated by efforts and support of international organisations like the UN and its affiliated organisations (such as UNDP or the PBC).²⁵ As such they are closely connected to the current international peace mechanisms and peace architecture of these institutions (Giessmann, 2016). Therefore, it proves helpful to have a closer look at certain terms, aspects and also criticism of the UN peace architecture before moving on to chapter 2.

Based on the previously mentioned realisation of peace as a highly complex, multi-framework and multidimensional process, the UN adopted this recommendations into the

²⁵ Countless other national and international organisations are undoubtedly also involved in local peace processes but the UN and the UNDP are distinguished through its sheer presence and capabilities on the ground (Giessmann, 2016, p.48ff). As peace processes and conflict prevention are considered cross-sectional matters, they further allow the consultation and participation of a variety of non-peace specific organisations (see Jahn, 2012, p.103).

jargon of its peace architecture. The several tools and strategies in peace politics are called *peacebuilding*, *peacemaking* and *peacekeeping*. These are terms to compile approaches for achieving their proclaimed objectives to maintain international peace and security in a region or country (Reychler, 2010; un.org, 2019). Together with *Preventive Diplomacy* and *Mediation*, *peacemaking*, *peacekeeping*, and *peacebuilding* are defined as one common strategy and summarized under the umbrella term of *peace operations* (Schellhaas & Seegers, 2009).²⁶ This common strategy was first introduced in the *Agenda for Peace* document by the then UN General Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali (United Nations, 1992). He stressed the responsibility of the international community to prevent the relapse of countries into violent conflict and peacebuilding in general. In summary, *Peacekeeping* is described as deploying personnel (military and civilian) to expand the probabilities of fostering peace, while simultaneously preventing a country from relapsing into conflict. From a political perspective this is mostly done via contractual agreements between the different parties involved and usually enforced by dominant parties such as NATO or international alliances (Johnson et al., 2012, p.17 ff). *Peacekeeping*, therefore, can be seen as just suppressing the conflict instead of resolving underlying grievances (ibid.). *Peacemaking* usually precedes *peacekeeping* and aims to bring hostile parties to an agreement, while (post-conflict) *peacebuilding* is meant to strengthen structures for sustainable peace. *Peacebuilding* can express itself in different forms like a set of sequential policies, a humanitarian agenda and conflict resolution between parties (Johnson et al., 2012; Reychler, 2010; Schellhaas & Seegers, 2009, p.2). Sommer and Fuchs (2004) speak of a reciprocal causal relationship (ibid., p.9) between peace consolidation and peacemaking, while Christie et al. (2008) agree that the three concepts of *peacekeeping*, *peacemaking*, and *peacebuilding* must be fluid and not mutually exclusive. This reorientation for a peace strategy within the international community came together with the realisation that previous attempts at peace failed to recognise the importance of post- and pre-conflict periods for the peace process itself (Dietrich, 2011). The chapter so far showed that this is a coherent approach regarding the current theory.²⁷

²⁶ However, these five strategies should still just be considered as overarching strategies, as dealing with conflict transformation and constructive conflict resolution within such *peace operations* do exhibit a multitude of methods and approaches. Coleman (2012), for example, lists 23 different approaches alone that can be applied for the constructive resolution of conflicts in peace work (ibid., p.60ff).

²⁷ Considering Galtung's definitions of positive and negative peace, it becomes apparent that *peacebuilding* tries to tackle structural violence whereas *peacemaking* focuses on the prevention of direct violence (Sommer & Fuchs, 2004, p.9). Further proof that contemporary peace theory, as discussed till now, is included in UN peace strategies can, for example, be seen with terms such as *positive peace* and *negative peace*. These concepts have been for years expressed in strategies and plans (e.g. UNESCO, 1983).

Criticism

Critique for the existing peace system yet comes from the UN itself. The organisation admits the biggest problem in the “*scattershot, incoherent and occasionally contradictory or competitive [efforts of] international*” actors in the global community as the source of failed peacebuilding efforts (UNSC, 2018, p.2). This can be attributed to the different interests of separate actors in foreign relations. Another, more encompassing, critique of the current peace architecture is, for example, given by Schellhaas & Seegers (2009). They see peacebuilding as a new disguise for imperialism. As all highly intensive conflicts and the majority of political conflicts can be located in developing countries (see HIKK, 2019), it becomes evident why it is a criticism originating from *Colonial* and *Postcolonial theory*.

Without engrossing too far into Postcolonial theory (since it is not a clear cut theory but rather an umbrella term for partially controversial approaches), one common aspect of a postcolonial perspective criticizes an altered continuation of certain power-structures, power-relations and colonial discourses similar to those prevailing during colonialism and imperialism (do Mar, Varela, & Dhawan, 2015). A monopolization of political and economic power in the process of state formation that selectively benefits more developed countries in international relationships is a manifestation of such power-relations. The postcolonial perspective holds that this usually happens under the pretext of a “development” that simply is the accelerated adaptation of social, demographic, infrastructural and political conditions of developing countries (in postcolonial literature often referred to as *Global South* or *Periphery*)²⁸ according to the standards of developed (or industrialized) countries (Ziai & Schaffer, 2011). Universal “development” thereby assumes that different countries have similar categories of certain cultural concepts, for example, *identity*, *cooperation* or *(political) participation*. In simplified terms, this eventually results in an unequal economic competitive position and hierarchy between developing countries and industrialized countries. Such a perspective on development was especially prominent in the 50s and 60s of the last century under the developmental discourse paradigm of *Modernisation theory*.²⁹ As

²⁸ In Post-colonial and Dependency Theory, the terms *Global South* and *Periphery* are often used synonymical to *Third World* and *Developing World*. Even though those terms are subject to ideological variation, they still have in common that they loosely summarize the regions opposed to the *Global North* and *Center* - which in turn describe more *developed* (or richer) parts of the world such as the OECD countries (see Dirlik, 2007; Ataç, Kraler & Ziai, 2011). If a term like *Global South* is used in this thesis, it is not meant to reduce the complexity of social reality in whole world regions but instead used to illustrate a concept of differing hierarchical positions in international relations.

²⁹ This theory suggested that every country can progress through 5 developmental stages from a rural society towards an industrialized society, and was at least partially motivated to establish the western capitalist

the critique towards this model grew bigger and was additionally challenged by other developmental discourses, modernisation attempts lost their legitimacy in the wake of more emancipatory approaches in development cooperation. Postcolonial critique holds that such unequal relationships continue in other forms of contemporary development cooperation and development aid, respectively. With peacebuilding stated as an ever-growing responsibility of the UN, Schellhaas and Seegers (2009) particularly see peace operations as a new legitimization for interventions - and subsequent politico-economic restructuring - in affected countries - not unlike earlier attempts during which the modernisation paradigm was dominant.³⁰ They further state that key agendas of modern peace operations, as modernisation attempts, are to deal with structural causes and their transformation towards democratic systems and the liberation of the market. Especially in regions termed as *collapsed states* or *state failures*, *nation-building* legitimizes an integration into the global capital market and the restructuring of a nation into a capitalist economy for the well-being of its population (Paris, 1997). The promise of economic “*trickle-down*”³¹ benefits, together with the adaptation of a liberal democratic polity that involves excluded parties to provide procedures for conflict resolution, is said to decrease the likelihood of war-torn countries relapsing into violent conflicts (Schellhaas & Seegers, 2009, p.4 f). While this might be partially correct, it unmasks peace agendas which are decorated with words like *social rights*, *conflict transformation* and actions to counter *structural violence* as irrelevant concepts, circumstantial in the background of a shortened peacebuilding formula that translates to “*Democracy + Market Economy = Peace*” (ibid.). This is an equation that exposes the discrepancy of intention and impact in peacebuilding and making it the new “*house*” of modernisation (ibid., p.8).

This section should not be read as a thorough delegitimization of the UN-peace architecture nor as a comprehensive critique of the same, but rather as a brief look on how power constellations in politics can influence peace processes. Schellhaas and Seegers show

developmental model as preferable in comparison to the Soviet model of development during the Cold War (see Rostow, 1960/1999).

³⁰ Reinforcing a postcolonial notion is, that most countries affected by I4Ps or similar peace structures have a colonial history as the prefix “post” also includes the temporal aspect of regions that were formerly affected by colonialism. Van Tongeren (2012), for example, mentions 14 countries that applied various forms of I4Ps. Of those countries, only one (Nepal) is free from a(n) (immediate) colonial heritage. Furthermore, the higher susceptibility of violent conflicts in countries of the *Global South* is seen by Gantzel (1998; as cited by Ziai & Schaffer, 2011) due to capitalistic collectivization and modernisation attempts in the first place.

³¹ In a nutshell: A nowadays still used notion, coming from Modernisation Theory narratives, claiming that the economic development of richer social layers eventually benefits the poorer social layers within a socioeconomic space.

how good intentions and “shiny” political documents may obscure interests and agendas that are not necessarily in the interest of a peace process - or the victims of violent conflicts. As holistic and practicable approaches such as I4P-strategies are strongly intertwined with political realities in the international system, this thesis does not want to turn a blind eye towards critical perspectives such as *Postcolonial Theory*; rather, it wants to identify where such efforts do fail because of blind spots which derive from political realities. After all, a postcolonial critique primarily addresses the “*level of international control over post-conflict societies*” (ibid., p.11) and the disguise of “*neo-imperialism*” as peace-building. It does not come from the rejection of the fact that societies suffering from violent conflicts need a restructuring of relationships between its social actors - and awareness and reflection that methods and programs (in peace politics) cannot be apolitical, and are relevant for the interpretation of this thesis’ results for the discussion in chapter 5.

2. Current approaches to systematic and holistic strategies for peace processes

“Peacebuilding is in effect an enormous experiment in social engineering.”
(Paris, 1997, p.56)

So far, this thesis has approximated a definition for a peace term, including the *where*, the *who* and the *when* that a systematic process for sustainable peace should consider. *Structural violence* on a society-wide scope and *conflict structures* within a culture are *where* such processes actuate.

The *who* is addressed, since peace interventions encompass more than just the social actors directly affected by violent conflict. They rather encompass the whole of individuals and institutions of society, since interdependencies and dynamics in a culture still influence the conflict (Austin, 2012).

The *when* is addressed because a violent conflict can have varying degrees of escalation and intensity - apart from cultural and historical idiosyncrasies (Dietrich, 2011). Therefore, a peace process must be evenly varied to adjust to a specific conflict in a regional context. This means, depending on the peace process,³² the *when* can be at any given point in time (given that there are no societies in existence which are completely free of any form of violence).

This chapter wants to put more focus on the *how* of a peace process. While the previous chapter established under section 1.2 that the *how* certainly pertains to conflict transformation, the question of how to systematically adopt a profound conflict transformation on the scope of a whole nation or region, still requires further clarification. A far-reaching (or structural) conflict transformation includes multiple sectors (such as education, judicial system and economy), a significant amount of actors, and it addresses the relationship between individual behaviours and structural factors. Answers of Policymakers

³² There is a qualitative differentiation depending if we are talking about a measure aimed that simply establishes *negative peace* (e.g. actions regarding *peacemaking*) or a measure aimed at establishing *positive peace*. Measures that simply aim at the cessation of conflict (negative peace processes) are usually aimed at a region with existing political conflicts and, therefore, at a clear point of intervention (pre-conflict, post-conflict or during a conflict). Positive peace is not strictly bound to a region with an ongoing or past violent conflict. Measures here can take place at any time of the relationship between social actors as positive “*peace processes are ubiquitous*” and can be applied “*whenever there are social injustices*” (Christie et al., 2008, p.547).

or *peace architects* as to how to attain peace, must express themselves evenly elaborate. One such answer is the *Infrastructure for Peace* (I4P) concept.³³ Before the *how* of peace and the introduction of the I4P concept, though, it is essential to become familiar with the concepts of a *culture of peace* and *triple nexus*. As these concepts can be considered representative of the intellectual and political trends in the international community which gave birth to modern peace structure frameworks, they will be introduced under sections 2.1 and 2.2 respectively.

These concepts further illustrate the attention policymakers put on holistic attempts at peacebuilding and how they carry ideas which facilitate the establishment of peace structure frameworks and I4P in the international peace architecture in general. What follows the delivery of these essential ideas is a clarification for different variations in peace structures and an explanation of constituent elements of I4P under 2.3. Lastly, section 2.4 presents and describes the I4P for Ghana in detail; the object of analysis for this thesis.

2.1 A Culture of Peace as a stated objective in the international community

The international community - in the form of the UN - has realized years ago that peace can only be achieved by a systematic and holistic approach that includes several sectors and actors and encompasses the *whole culture* (Barash & Webel, 2008; Boulding, 2000; IEP, 2017). In resolution A/53/243 (1999), the UN decided on eight action areas that are supposed to be inextricably interwoven to establish far-reaching guidelines for a *culture of peace*. Those areas encompass *education, sustainable development, human and democratic rights, gender equality, diversity, dialogue, tolerance* and *promotion of peace*. The different sections of the document establish the different factions and sectors within a society that carry responsibility for a peace process. Article 6, for example, mentions civil society while article 7 includes the educative and informational role of the media. Furthermore, a culture of peace includes the notion that it is not enough for a nation to establish such a process just *by itself* - as within these action areas and in their national boundaries - but that the international community as a whole is called upon to take responsibility in upholding and maintaining peace between each member - see also *Agenda for Peace* (United Nations, 1992). Similarities

³³ I4Ps (Infrastructures for Peace) are strategies that are primarily employed in developing countries in a post-conflict setting, as opposed to industrialized countries - with the possible exception of South Africa (see Giessmann, 2016; van Tongeren, 2012). One possible reason for this has been illuminated from a postcolonial perspective in the digression in chapter 1. However, the gathered literature consulted for this thesis does not explicitly state that the principle guidelines of I4P are *not* suited for countries without a current or post-conflict situation (for example with a focus on measures for conditions of positive peace instead of prevention of violent conflict).

to the definition of sustainable peace are discernible in a multilayered approach, addressing a multitude of internal and external actors and sectors within a society and a focus on the relationships between actors (cp. section 1.3). Aspects that are also stated necessities to establish a culture of peace.

In 1995, UNESCO realised that the task of establishing a culture of peace is as indispensable as it is feasible - even though it is described as one of the "*most difficult and far-reaching*" goals in history (ibid., p.3). In conflict settings (as during or after a violent conflict), this goal is more specifically described as a shift from a *culture of war and violence* towards a *culture of peace*. Accordingly, Boulding (2000) suggests that every society is a "*blend of peaceable and warrior culture themes*" (ibid., p.4) - specific behavioural patterns that have evolved depending on how conflicts are handled. The composition and degree of this mix differ from society to society and from one historical moment to the next. She states that no culture, nor person, is inherently predisposed to be either wholly *peaceful* or completely "*warrior*"-like according to their "*genetic disposition*" (ibid.), but that they manifest these respective qualities depending on their social learning, practical experience and upbringing (see also Jahn, 2012, p.96). This diverse and flexible state of society is essential for the understanding of a culture of peace and concurrently for strategies that aim to foster such a culture.

These notions concerning a *culture of peace* correspond with the findings of conflict transformation as stated in chapter 1. Such as the necessity of a peace process severally addressing multiple sectors and levels on the individual level, the group level and the state level (e.g. Barash & Webel, 2008). Interesting in the definition of a culture of peace by the UN, though, is the political legitimization it carries. The Legitimation for implementing two essential aspects of peace structure frameworks (and I4P):³⁴ (1) As a peace process involves all actors and sectors, it states the necessity for a multilayered approach affecting many institutions and cooperative endeavours by several actors within and outside of the society. (2) It creates legitimacy for outside support for the affected country (e.g. neighbouring countries or multilateral organisations) while simultaneously stating the necessity that efforts have to grow from within the affected country (bottom up and top down approaches simultaneously).

2.2 Peace as one facet of a cooperation-nexus

³⁴ Simultaneously, this legitimization can also be translated differently. Namely to "*implant western models of social, political and economic organization*" (Paris, 1997, p.56) in conflict areas to pacify them, as the digression in chapter 1 showed.

An essential characteristic of contemporary politics is its “*multilevel character*” (Ataç et al, 2011, p.9). As several political matters and sectors are interconnected and interdependent, change in one area can only be achieved through adaptation in other areas. As has been demonstrated in preceding sections, peace as a political phenomenon cannot be an exception to this multilevel perspective.

Peace is considered an integral part in national and multilateral strategies in the fields of sustainability, human rights and security as trust, cooperation and inclusiveness are considered essential foundations to solve problems in those areas (IEP, 2017, p.3). *Positive peace* especially is associated with “*stronger economic outcomes, higher resilience, better measures of well-being, levels of inclusiveness and environmental performance*” (ibid.). Most evidently this can be seen with the establishment of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as recently formulated guiding principles for global transformation and relationships.

SDG number 16 states “*Peace, justice, and strong institutions*”,³⁵ as one of the 17 core goals in the political strategy for sustainable development and it is by itself assorted as a supporting element for the other SDGs (Barash & Webel, 2008; United Nations, n.d.). Thereby - using the phrasing of the SDGs - peace is by itself, just one component of a significant strategic transformation to foster “*peaceful, just and inclusive societies*” (United Nations, n.d., p.3). Likewise, the preamble of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development mentions peace as one of the ‘5 P’s’ together with *People, Planet, Prosperity*, and *Partnership* to bring about such a *sustainable transformation* (United Nations, 2016; Martens & Obenland, 2017).

This indicates that for the UN and its agencies, particularly UNESCO, peace is, alongside with development cooperation and sustainable development, inextricably linked to a successful global transformation (Boulding, 2000). Sommer and Fuchs (2004) consistently state, that peaceful solutions for conflicts are just one inter-linked element in a wider strategy for the eventual goals of social justice and freedom (ibid., p.4). This is characterized in general by a movement towards harmonisation and integration of different sectors and

³⁵ This inclusion is to that effect noteworthy, as SDG 16 surpasses the usual dimensions of sustainability (economic, ecological and social) and adds rule of law and peace to a development agenda. Attributes that were missing in the SDGs’ predecessor, the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs), making it a more intricate endeavour (United Nations Development Programme, 2016). One of the critiques towards the MDGs was the absence of a multidimensional perspective on peace, human rights, security, and justice (e.g. Martens & Obenland, 2017).

practices.³⁶ For example, the World Bank, together with the UN, established the concept of *triple nexus*. Triple nexus is a logical continuation of the *double nexus* approach. While the latter was aimed at removing barriers hindering the cooperation between developmental and humanitarian aid actors, the triple nexus includes efforts from the peace sector. This inclusion is stressing interlinkages between efforts in development cooperation, humanitarian aid and peace architectures to influence “*need[s], risk[s] and vulnerability[ies]*” of political measures by establishing harmonisation between different agendas (International Council of Voluntary Agencies [ICVA], 2018, p.1). The reasons why harmonisation in these areas are often deemed difficult lies, for example, in the implementation of international or multilateral agendas (such as SDGs) into a fragmentary global landscape of legal national frameworks (e.g. Kim, 2016).

This type of *nexus-thinking* is not unusual since often different visions and agendas in different sectors share similar objectives (ICVA, 2018, p.1). This becomes even further apparent considering varying strategies and declarations in international politics. Werther-Pietsch (2017) points out the convergence between definitions of objectives in different sectors like human rights, peace and security, development cooperation and sustainability (ibid., p.244). Likewise, the UN’s peacebuilding agenda and UNDP’s development agenda are “*intrinsically interconnected and mutually reinforcing one another*” (Giessmann, 2016, p.48). This reflects how the potential for building and maintaining efforts in several sectors is identified as mutually beneficial. An understandable conclusion, as this thesis has already established how issues of inequality, poverty and injustice - root causes of fragile societies - are linked to violent conflicts and need to be addressed as part of any profound peace process. Therefore, sustainable peace and sustainable development (such as the 17 SDGs) are just one example of how peace efforts can be integrated into other policy strategies.³⁷ The IEP (2017) concisely summarizes that “*Positive Peace is [...] a cross-cutting factor for progress*” and has a ubiquitous positive effect for business, science, production and governance (ibid., p.3).

These developments not only document that a guiding framework for peace is in place within the international community; they also indicate a consensus that peace is not merely a

³⁶ A realisation that has become apparent not only for peace efforts but also in other sectors that priorities the mainstreaming of specific agendas in political strategies. Such as national health systems (Pourbohloul & Kieny, 2011) or the human rights approach in development cooperation (Forsythe, 1997) as positive developments in these areas are considered dependent on the harmonisation with and integration into other sectors.

³⁷ Scheffran (2010) for example, draws a straight connection between environmental policies and security by acknowledging the importance of the protection of ecological habitats. It has as a preventive function for (violent) conflicts and is a measure to sustain peace. The just distribution of finite resources for future generations will prevent environmental or climate-change-related conflict issues (ibid., 348f).

completable goal with a clearly defined destination but rather an ongoing process. In accordance with the theoretical implications introduced in chapter 1, policymakers agree that sustainable development must be a collective and systematic effort in a cross-sectional strategy.

2.3 Peace structures and Infrastructure for peace (I4P)

Taken together, the knowledge of holistic peace efforts and the stated political will to implement those are already - at least *on paper* - integrated into the international system of the UN and its related organisations.³⁸ The formulation of respective strategic multilevel approaches for conflict transformation towards peaceful societies, has, therefore, conclusive support by both policies and research. *Peace structure framework* is the umbrella term for concepts that integrate institutional approaches and behavioural change to systematically establish and anchor sustainable peace within the fabric of a country to achieve a profound conflict transformation. Such frameworks aim to systematically apply peacebuilding efforts in a specific regional context, and in a focused and coordinated manner (e.g. Davis, 2016), especially where there has been past violent conflicts or where there is an imminent risk of a destabilizing conflict. In other words, it is a strategy within a wider peace architecture that aims to mainstream peacebuilding efforts in post-conflict areas. Peace structure frameworks exist, whenever there are linkages between different peace efforts (Hopp-Nishanka, 2014). Those efforts can take the form of mediation training between conflict parties, the installation of memorial sites or simply post-conflict reconstruction, and they can be executed by peace ministries, peace councils or by external peace missions (van Tongeren, 2012); whether these efforts originate from government, civil society or external actors is secondary.

An often-used metaphor for such a peace structure frameworks is *infrastructure*. It is a metaphor for an “*extensive network*” connecting various section of society to enable productivity (ibid., p.93). Unger and Lundström (2013), for example, draw an analogy between the *peace infrastructure* and the *transport infrastructure* of a country - with the whole of its respective elements and linkages between *railroads*, *a ministry of transport* or *public transport providers*. Another more relatable analogy can be drawn between health infrastructures and peace infrastructures. *Hospitals and health institutions* can be put as representative for *peace centers*, and *public health education* can be put in place of *education in constructive conflict resolution* (Irene & Majekodunmi, 2017). While a *strong health infrastructure* helps the prevention of diseases and promotes a healthy lifestyle among a

³⁸ The actual will for *implementation* is an entirely different debate, though (cp. Digression in chapter 1)

specific population, an *infrastructure for peace* helps to prevent violent conflicts and promotes constructive conflict resolution (ibid., p.27).

Hopp-Nishanka (2014) purports that while the idea of mutually enhancing dialogue processes and cooperation mechanisms for a peace process in a country or region is nothing new, the idea of focusing on infrastructures, on building upon the structural capacities of stakeholders, certainly is (ibid., p.1). Recent developments in theory and policies for peace infrastructures gave rise to many different concepts. Even though there is not yet a clear terminology among scholars, Hopp-Nishanka (2014) stresses the difference between (1) *Peacebuilding Infrastructures*, (2) *Peacebuilding Architectures*, (3) *Peace Support Structures* and (4) *I4Ps*. Table 1 gives an overview of those different concepts which emerged in recent years.

(1) Peacebuilding Infrastructure	(2) Peacebuilding Architecture	(3) Peace Support Structures	(4) Infrastructures for Peace (I4P)
<i>Refers to international actors as well as the domestic governmental (judicial, legislative and executive) and non-governmental structures and financial systems.</i>	<i>A more focused approach towards designing solutions for violent conflicts according architectural principles.</i>	<i>The concept of the ownership by all conflict parties other than the government, including non-state armed groups.</i>	<i>Focus on the organisational elements and linkages that form mechanisms for cooperation between all relevant stakeholders in the peace process by institutionalizing the response mechanisms to conflicts in order to transform them.</i>

Table 1: Clarification on different concepts of peace structures according to Hopp-Nishanka (2012; p.3 f).

Infrastructure for Peace (I4P) is the most tangible concept designated for conflict transformation. This is emphasized by the fact that I4Ps have been examined comparatively often (e.g. Giessmann, 2016, p.5; Siebert, 2012). In addition, unlike the other definitions in table 1, I4Ps are mostly based on national mandates and as such more tangible for analysis (Aldrighetti, 2013). As far as practical holistic peace concepts are concerned it is considered the most suited concept for this thesis' analysis. In other words, if an active *culture of peace* is the overall goal of ongoing peacemaking efforts and conflict transformation the means how

this is to be achieved, then an Infrastructure for Peace (I4P) can be considered the plan on how to get there. The Berghof Foundation - a peace research organisation focusing on sustainable development through conflict transformation (e.g. Giessmann, 2016; Unger, Lundström, Planta & Austin, 2013) - summarizes, that the idea for I4P rose after gathering practical experiences in peace-related efforts. This especially applies in the case of protracted conflicts. Contracted conflicts pose an enormous challenge because they stand out by being exceptionally fragile regarding new outbreaks of violence in addition to being resilient against peace efforts (Werther-Pietsch, 2017, p.45 ff). Such seemingly unmanageable conflict structures demanded more elaborate ways for achieving sustainable peace (Giessmann, 2016).

Jean Paul Lederach introduced and characterized the concept of I4P in the 1980s as a profound structural conflict transformation on a national level (Aldrighetti, 2013; Giessmann, 2016). The underlying assumption of this according to Giessmann (2016) is that "*sustainable peace emerges from a deep, structural transformation of violent conflict into stable, non-violent social and political relationships*" (ibid., p.4). The better this "*intrinsic fabric of peace*" (ibid.) is understood the better different societal actors can work towards it. According to him, this *fabric* can best be understood as a network of (changing) relationships between cultural, traditional, social, economic and political factors and its reciprocal influences to promote cooperative problem solving. In practice, an I4P shall not replace societal and governmental institutions but rather support institutions that already exist. In such a way they improve the ability of the government and society as a whole, to transform conflicts and "*create a culture of dialogue and behaviour that prioritises constructive collaboration as the principal approach of social interaction*" (ibid., p.11).

I4Ps in practice

The question remains: Do I4Ps work? Of course, such an answer must be as complex as there are examples of such strategies applied to regions (as strategies can have different key priorities and regions can have differing socio-political backgrounds). After examining different I4Ps, Siebert (2012) fittingly concludes that the answer is "*as ambiguous and complex as reality*" (ibid., p.39). While he identifies successful peace stories in Nepal, Kenya, South Africa, Lebanon or Ghana, he also does mention the failure of hundreds of local peace structures in Colombia and Sri Lanka to prevent violent conflict. As already stated, I4Ps can take different forms and shapes, depending on their regional localisation. They can also differ in regards to being government-initiated or (civil) society-based. They

can further differ in the scope an I4P takes (regional, national and local) or even by its set objectives and priorities (Giessmann, 2016, 19 ff; Irene & Majekodunmi, 2017, p.29 ff).

So while evidence shows that peace structures do work (van Tongeren, 2011, p.49), it is difficult to characterize factors for successful I4Ps, Siebert (2012) stresses the importance of the *quality* of actions instead of a sole focus on the *quantity* of measures. He further emphasizes a permanent awareness of environmental, conflict-related and relational factors (ibid., p.40) and summarizes criteria for successful I4P strategies as the simultaneous inclusion and commitment of (1) multiple actors, (2) multiple levels, from grassroots movements to governmental structures (vertical integration), and a (3) multi-sector approach (horizontal integration) that aims at conflict transformation to strengthen institutions and improve relationships for sustainable peace. Van Tongeren (2012) phrases this slightly different as the inclusion of all main stakeholders and the development of institutional mechanisms on national, regional and district levels appropriate to the respective culture (ibid., p.93). The thesis so far established that these notions are key concepts and integral to contemporary peace efforts.

In addition, a common denominator of a successful I4P is its functional use as a conceptual and organisational tool. A tool that needs to consider the society it is *applied on* according to the process-stage of peacebuilding. Different stages in peacebuilding can contain different challenges, circumstances but also progresses a society faces. Metaphorically spoken, it needs to adapt to a “*moving target*” (Giessmann, 2016, p.15). As I4Ps systematically aim to influence the framework of society towards peaceful relations, it should be assumed that this framework needs adaptation as society changes. The next section will present how a strategy of such an intended structural conflict transformation takes form in Ghana.

2.4 An exemplified strategy for peace: *The I4P for Ghana*

As stated, an I4P is not a clearly defined concept but varies from country to country. To analyse whether PCSP are included in an I4P and consecutively demonstrate an application of the PCSP model, a promising approach is to examine one case study. This case should be as detailed as possible and whose organisational properties could be applied to different contexts (e.g. different conflict regions). For this reason, the *Five-year Strategic Plan for the National Peace Council of Ghana* (2013-2017)³⁹ has been chosen as this thesis’ object of

³⁹ From here on abbreviated as I4P (2013).

research.⁴⁰ The reason why specifically the I4P for Ghana has been selected for this thesis has less to do with its socio-historical and cultural background, but rather how the I4P was conceptualized for the country (without implying, though, an I4P can or should be separated from its cultural and political reality).

The I4P for Ghana is considered successfully integrated into a national policy (Giessmann, 2016, p.27). Following the implementation of the legislative preparation of the national peace strategy, Ghana became West Africa's most stable democracy (Kumar, 2012; as cited by Giessmann, 2016, p.27). Giessmann (2016) lists three aspects that made this strategy successful: (1) The inclusion of all relevant stakeholders with a considerable amount of expertise and knowledge. (2) Independence of the council coordinating the peace strategy, rather than a government-dictated body; leading to an increased legitimacy and acceptance of the council among the public. (3) Technical, material and financial support from various international organisations (ibid., p.29). Furthermore, the I4P does not just encompass several levels of government administration, but in addition garners substantial support from civil society.

By including many actors in the peace process and including an organisational structure that is as evenly *top-down* (with a National Council) as it is *bottom-up* (with District Councils), the I4P accomplishes a vertical and horizontal integration of a peacebuilding process. As these are conducive conditions for a transformational peace process (cp. section 1.2.2), it becomes clear why the choice of the I4P for Ghana is by no means arbitrary but that it is based on its status as a model for general peace strategies and I4Ps. Another reason that marks this I4P specifically as valuable for the research question is its richness in detail on 63 pages. Especially, considering this as a document research focusing on a single case study, details become increasingly important for meaningful analysis. The more detailed the strategy of an I4P is conceptualized, the more identifiable is the compliance with PCSP and the PCSP model.⁴¹

Section 2.4.1 will consist of detailed background information for the I4P Ghana, while section 2.4.2 will detail the structure and the content of the I4P. Especially section 2.4.2

⁴⁰ Giessmann (2016) even quotes a questionnaire respondent involved in the I4P for Ghana that while it cannot “*be replicated everywhere*” (ibid., p.5), the strategy is still leading the way regarding an institutionalization of an I4P.

⁴¹ For the analysis later it will be alluded that both analytical units (PCSP and identifiable measures in the I4P) are imprecise. This is why a detailed document helps to clarify certain measures in the I4P as will be seen for the analysis in chapter 4.

can already be considered as a preceding analysis for chapter 4. As Bowen (2009) states ”document analysis involves *skimming (superficial examination), reading (thorough examination), and interpretation*” (ibid., p.32) this can already be considered a skimming and basic summary of the document and is referred to again in chapter 4. On an additional note, this section will not digress too far into social, political and historical realities of Ghana as this is considered secondary for the research interest (that is the I4P strategy). Instead, relevant details referring to social, political and historical idiosyncrasies are illustrated in footnotes.

2.4.1 The localisation of the *I4P for Ghana* in state administration

The *Five-year Strategic Plan for the National Peace Council (NPC) of Ghana*⁴² from 2013 to 2017 (publicly released in January 2013) is a 63-page document that is accessible on the *United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Ghana* website. It was designed and drafted as a joint effort between the UNDP and the National Peace Council (NPC) - an independent institution of the Ghanaian government - and it took eight years to establish the peace infrastructure (van Tongeren, 2012, p.94).⁴³ The I4P is divided into eight parts and 58 subsections revealing factors, structures and means, in addition to strategic objectives and a situational analysis on how sustainable peace can be achieved on all levels of Ghanaian society. While the strategy is generally detailed as it lists internal organisational capacity-necessities as well as a rough financial plan for certain measures, it does lack a listing of specific actions *on the ground*. This has two apparent reasons. First, the measures are closer to guidelines which serve as an orientation rather than concrete instructions for the hundreds of actors involved in the peace process in Ghana. Second, the specific actions and how they are translated from the I4P strategy into certain actions are executed by the *regional* and even

42 It should be noted that the document itself does not mention the exact phrase *Infrastructure for Peace*. The wording, its design, and the classification by researchers indicate its conceptualization as an I4P (Giessmann, 2016).

43 Preceding developments in Ghana which led to the I4P can be traced back to 1994, when violent conflicts led to the death of around 5000 people. In the aftermath NGOs in Ghana initiated a new way of *peacebuilding* by facilitating a dialogue between the warring ethnic groups. After new violent outbreaks in 2002 the government initiated the *Northern Region Peace Advisory Council*. Followed by this, were a variety of actions and measures to consolidate peace on which basis a far-reaching *Road Map to Peace* was eventually established (Aldrighetti, 2013).

more so *district* branches of the administrative body (see *National peace Council* further down).

Politically the strategy can be considered as a subagent strategy within the wider *Ghana shared Growth and Development Agenda*, or GSGDA (2015) for 2010 to 2013 and 2014 to 2017. Broadly speaking, the GSGDA is a roadmap to guide the overall political and economic development of Ghana.⁴⁴ To fully comprehend the I4P as the roadmap for peace in Ghana, it becomes mandatory to inspect the role of the NPC more substantially as it is simultaneously the drafter, the target and the main apparatus of the framework strategy.

National Peace Council (NPC)

The National Peace Council is an independent institution within the Ghanaian government and was established in 2005. It then got passed and given assent by the parliament on the 16th of May 2011 by the eight hundred and eighteenth (818) Act of the Parliament of the Republic of Ghana (Republic of Ghana, 2011). This Act gave the NPC power and legitimacy to act independently and effectively with other key stakeholders for a peace process in Ghana. The core function of the mandate, as stated in the I4P, is “*to prevent, manage, and resolve conflict and to build sustainable peace*” (I4P, 2013, p.9). It does so by coordinating and supervising all involved actors and recommending the government and other stakeholders on certain actions to achieve these goals. The NPC (as well as the I4P strategy) aims to achieve this, without having a mandate to execute force nor directly imposing solutions to conflicts (ibid., p.18).

The NPC consists of *National, Regional and District Peace Councils*. The *Regional and District Peace Councils* have their own boards but as the *National Board* has the capacity to appoint the respective *Regional and District Councils*, it has certain control over them. All councils have a similar structure with their own *Executive Secretary* and *Secretariat* for the execution of various administrative and operational tasks. The *National, Regional and District Boards* each consist of 13 members and are appointed by the respective governing

⁴⁴ It should be noted that the influence of the NPC and the I4P should not be overstated in the political reality of Ghana. By verbal reference, both have a vanishingly small partaking in the GSGDA policy framework matrix. To my knowledge, there is barely publicly available record hinting towards cooperation between the two. The I4P itself has no mentioning in the GSGDA-Framework 2014-2017 (GSGDA, 2015) and barely receives a side note as a collaborative agency in the GSGDA-Framework 2010-2013 (GSGDA, 2010). A connection exists as a reference on how to improve gender budgeting under the strategic point of Women Empowerment and, vice versa, the I4P itself mentions the intention to support peace education “*as stated in the GSGDA*” (I4P, 2013, p.22/38). Another mentioning of the GSGDA 2010-2013 in the I4P refers to the general desire of the GSGDA to foster peace (ibid., p.7/12/20). These findings indicate that the I4P has politically a minor role compared to other national developmental strategies.

body for four years (e.g. the *National Board* members are appointed by the Ghanaian president). The 13 members consist of eight people representing different religious bodies in Ghana, two people appointed by the president (of whom one has to be a woman), two others nominated by *identifiable* groups (private sector and professionals) and one member nominated by the *National House of Chiefs*.⁴⁵ This composition is the same for all council boards. All council members have to be independent of party politics. The NPC has its own consolidated funds and submits an annual report to the Ghanaian parliament. The National peace Council Act (2011) also indicates the establishment of a *Peace Building Support Unit* that can be considered as the connecting bridge between the NPC network and other governmental agencies. Figure 3 shows a basic organisational sketch of the NPC framework.

The list of acknowledgements in the creation of the I4P states that eight people were involved in the drafting of the document of whom two were responsible for researching and writing the document.⁴⁶ Furthermore, 20 organisations were consulted for the formulation of the strategy. The NPC Board (from 2010 to 2014) was responsible for the supervision and editing of the document.

Essentially the I4P is a guideline for all parties involved, including the *Regional and District Peace Councils*. There were no online documents accessible⁴⁷ at the time of writing, to ascertain if the *Regional and District Peace Councils* had their own strategies on par with the I4P or their own iterations of the main strategy. An inquiry via email was taken from the Executive Secretary of the Peace Council directly, who confirmed that “*all [...] Regional and District offices draw their annual plans from the National Plan z [sic], but with activities outline [sic] to address specific issues, that often find expression in any of the six thematic areas in the plan*” (G. Amoh, personal communication, September 11, 2019). Together with the indication in the I4P as a guiding strategy for all organisational elements of the NPC, this

⁴⁵ Ghana is characterized by a division of political power between a formal administration on a national level and local administration by a tribal structure. Latter is defined by having *Chiefs* (or *Queen Mothers*) as formal representatives of the population. The House of Chiefs marks the political inclusion of those Chiefs. The I4P in general regards issues of chieftaincy as a major source of conflict in regards to “*succession, destoolment, political interference and corruption in management and use of stool property*” (I4P, 2013, p.13).

⁴⁶ As an email contact address, there is just one person specified in the document; consultant Nana Teiba Chinbuah (ntchin5@gmail.com). Requests per email on two different occasions (11th of January 2019 and 5th of February 2019) to clarify how the division of labour during the writing process did occur, did receive no reply (as of September, 2019). One answer occurred though, in which email addresses of the Executive Secretary of the Peace Council, George Amoh, and the Administrative Manager, Henry Attah, were forwarded.

⁴⁷ If such documents are publicly accessible, neither were they encountered by me despite all efforts, nor did the I4P directly mention them.

indicates that the document is the sufficient indicator if PCSP exist in the I4P regarding the research interest (apart from supporting documents like Act 818).

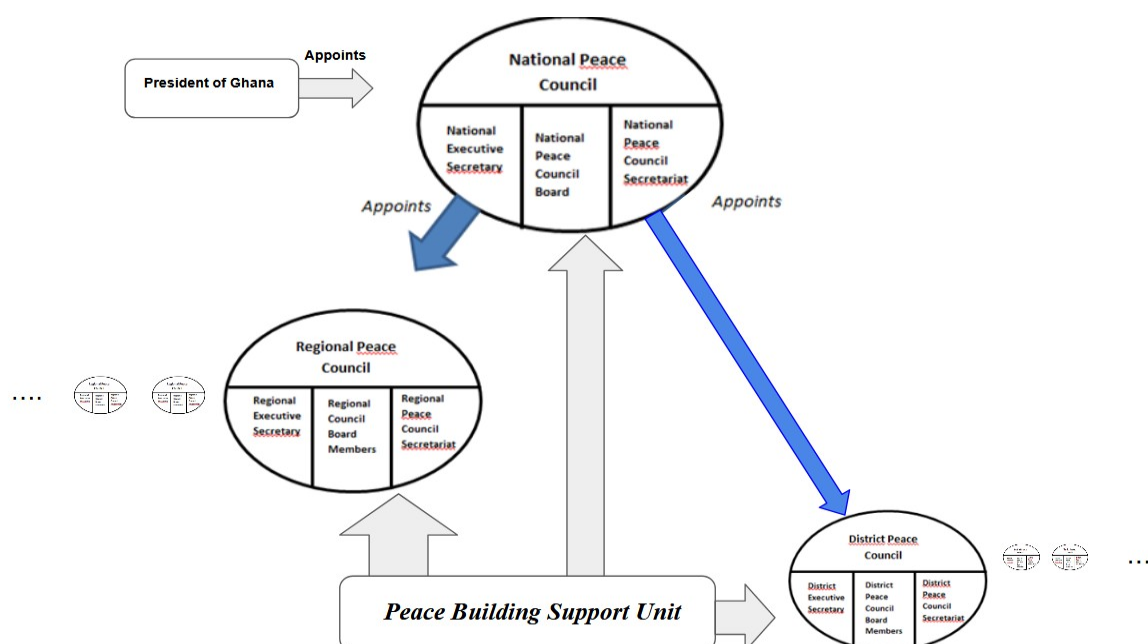


Figure 3: Basic organisational structure of the National Peace Council.

2.4.2 Content of the I4P for Ghana

Ahead of the first chapter, the document consists of a short description of the content, the country and the time-frame of the strategy. It further contains *acknowledgements* of the key drafters of the document, a *foreword*, a *list of abbreviations and acronyms* and a *list of contents*.⁴⁸ The participating actors are either described as consultants or as members of the NPC or the UNDP. Most worth mentioning in these first six pages is the foreword; written by the Chairman of the NPC. It already states two main objectives of the strategy. A change of behaviour of Ghanaians towards peace and the increase of national capacity for resolving conflicts. As a means to achieve this the inclusion of all participants of society as well as with the different (international) partners is also implied as essential (I4P, 2013, p.3, r.4/9/10). A superficial look over of the document suggests the division of the content into three main parts. For convenience those are labeled *introduction*, *main part* and *final part*. This division proves helpful for differentiating the relevance of the content.

⁴⁸ The cover sheet of the document is also noteworthy regarding its symbolism. Depicted is a dove with a bay leaf in its beak. Under it is a map of Ghana. The dove as a universally accepted symbol of peace and the depiction of Ghana implies that the strategy must address the country as a whole. This underlines the assumption in this thesis that the strategy's claim is to address all of Ghana.

(a) Introduction

The first three chapters of the five-year strategic plan for the NPC of Ghana are the *Executive Summary*, the *Statutory Mandate* and a *Situational Analysis*:

Part 1: The *Executive Summary* is a general summary of the strategy, it gives antecedents of the political situation in Ghana, composition and objectives of the I4P, and its interaction with the NPC. Here it already states the nature of the *Implementation Plan* (which is section 6 of the I4P) as “a flexible guideline with clear direction” (I4P, 2013, p.8).

Part 2: The *Statutory Mandate* declares the legal background of the I4P which is delineated from its mandate under Act 818. Here, the basis of structure, organisation and functions of the different Councils, (national, regional and district) are listed and presented with an explanation of how they aim to achieve sustainable peace. This part mainly follows the wording of the legal version of the *National Peace Council Act* (2011).

Part 3: The *Situational Analysis* gives a comprehensive and concise summary of the political situation in Ghana. Included here are cultural, economic, political and demographic factors that showcase relevant indicators for a peace process in Ghana as of 2013. Listed is also a SWOT-analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) for the NPC that spells out relevant circumstances affecting its mandate.

(b) Main part

The following parts - and for the research question and consequent analysis most relevant - are part 4, the *Strategic Model*, part 5, the *Programmatic Direction and Requirements* and part 6, the *Implementation Plan* of the strategy:

Part 4: The Strategic Model - as the name implies - gives a general outline of where problems and hotspots for conflicts in Ghana can be identified and what the strategic approach must adhere to overcome them. Regarding this strategic outline, key directions are identified in seven sub-sections:

- (1) -*Gender, Youth and Security Mainstreaming*
- (2) -*Networking, Partnership and Coordination*

(3) *-Public Peace Education and Research*

(4) *-Elections*

as well as

(5) *-Conflict Prevention*, (6) *-Management*, and (7) *-Resolution*, respectively.

Part 4 closes with six strategic objectives and respective indicators. These allow the reader to have an idea of the I4P framework and where its different measures aim at. Important for the later analysis (see chapter 4) are the remarks under certain measures that are conducted to achieve the overall objective of the NPC: *build sustainable peace in Ghana* (I4P, p.25).⁴⁹

Part 5: Programmatic Direction and Requirements mainly focuses on the internal capacity building, i.e. what processes the council has to undertake to be able to achieve its mandate and objectives. As this deals with the inherent qualification of the I4P and the NPC respectively, it is not of major relevance for the research question as it does not tackle questions on how sustainable peace will be achieved.

Part 6: Implementation Plan contains detailed action plans on how Parts 4 and 5 (the *Strategic Model* and the *Programmatic Requirements*) will be operationalized. As the research question asks for the inclusion of PCSP in the measures of the I4P, part 6 is considered a core interest for the later analysis (see chapter 4). Apart from the *Programmatic Requirements Action Plan*, the *Strategic Action Plan* lists 29 individual action steps to achieve the six Strategic Objectives. Those 29 steps comprise less than four pages of the 63-page document (which becomes relevant for the choice on the research design as will be seen in chapter 4). The last part of the chapter follows up with an *Implementation Roadmap* that prioritizes the different action steps which are preconditions for other actions or need achievement until the midterm of the strategy.

(c) Final part

The I4P closes with essential administrative regulations handling *Monitoring and Evaluation* and eventually *Financial Framework*:

⁴⁹ The six strategic objectives and its indicators here will serve as a foundation to analyse if and how PCSP are included in the I4P.

Part 7: Monitoring and Evaluation contain the mechanism for the council to assess if it is meeting the set strategic objectives. The section is meant to inform the NPC, if there is a discrepancy in planned actions and implementation and defines roles, responsibilities, risks, assumptions and reporting requirements. Part 7 closes with a Logical Framework to evaluate progress towards expected results. As far as the practicability goes, this part is helpful in terms of the realisation for the strategy, since it includes potential hindrances for implementation.

Part 8: Peace Fund details the financial aspects of the strategy and handles the necessity of an independent financial source from the government. It features an *Indicative Budget Plan* showing empty slots that can support running costs for the individual action steps for each year from 2013 till 2017.

d) Annex A and B

Annex A lists structure and functions of the different organisational branches of the NPC while Annex B lists all persons and organisations consulted in the formulation of the strategy. It also does include references to the consulted literature

2.4.3 Additional remarks on the I4P for Ghana

For final remarks, the document can be considered a detailed instruction and manual for actors involved in the peace process in Ghana but still leaves enough leeway to implement measures compatible within a regional or local context. It puts a lot of effort in stressing on the intention of capacity building for structures that enable a successful peace process. For the analysis in chapter 4 already relevant findings of the above summary are the different thematic foci of the individual parts and sections. The relevant formulations of measures the I4P executes are concentrated on the main part, parts 4, 5 and 6. This does not mean that the later analysis ignores the other parts of the document, rather it tells us which parts help the most in answering the research question.

The strategy is formulated without any reference to major psychological theories such as those used as a foundation for the PCSP model.⁵⁰ The four papers referenced in the I4P (Aikins, 2011; Abotchie, 2006; Crowston, 1997; Henderson & Lee, 1992) reflect a detailed

⁵⁰ Just once the necessity of skills in “[p]sycho physiological and behavioural aspects of conflict” for mediators is mentioned (I4P, 2013, p.31)

summary of internal processes in Ghana and a solid theoretical foundation for organisational models but do not mention psychological theories nor even the word “psychology” itself at any point (besides of a negligible small reference to a paper depicting organisational psychological theory used by Henderson and Lee, they consulted for organisational theories). And even though no valid assessment is possible about the cited online sources⁵¹ - as online documents and websites are changing constantly, especially over years - it is assumed that psychological theories as introduced in the next chapter have not been leading stimuli and inspiration in the formulation of the strategy. This is insofar interesting as it strengthens the implicit notion of this thesis that psychological theories and especially holistic psychological approaches are not consulted for modern day peace framework structures/I4Ps.

Some aspects of peace and conflict studies as introduced in chapter 1, on the other hand, can be recognized very well. The strategy explicitly addresses the relations between different actors in Ghanaian society by stating that the “*element of its mission*” is to institutionalize the necessary steps to achieve conflict transformation (I4P, 2013, p.20). The strategy does acknowledge that conflict is a natural “*part of life*” (ibid., p.22) and further that conflict prevention, conflict management and conflict resolution are all strategic guidelines to transform the very conflict structure of society (ibid., p.23 ff). In addition the particular measures of the I4P (which are of central interest in the analysis in chapter 4) include a multilayered approach as they address, individual behaviour (micro level; e.g. education campaigns focused on managing behaviour), organisational processes (meso level; e.g. fostering of exchange in research institutions) and national institutions (macro level; e.g. nationwide conflict mapping).

So while at first sight, the *outside* of the strategy does not show parallels to psychological theories and components, the objective surely shows an analogy to the holistic psychological approach suggested by Coleman and Deutsch (2012) as shown in the next chapter.

⁵¹ The two websites which contain a bare minimum of scientific psychological content (if looked for), www.cia.gov and www.buildingpeace.org simply refer to geopolitical information and a webinar regarding *gender and peacebuilding*, respectively in the references (I4P 2013, p.63).

3. A holistic and comprehensive model of sustainable peace based on PCSP

“[...] a theoretical framework that provides understanding about how the interplay of a wide variety of social, political, cultural, psychological solutions will emerge in different peace dynamics is called for.”

(Nowak et al., 2012, p.266)

As seen in the prior chapter, political strategies implementing systematic peace processes, such as I4Ps, try to identify and coordinate specified measures within a regional or national framework. I4Ps provide those measures with strategic and organisational structure. Such peace framework structures systematically promote a process for dialogue, conflict transformation and sustainable peace (Hopp-Nishanka, 2012). However, as every I4P manifests differently, they cannot per se give generalisable and comprehensive instructions on the basic conditions of a sustainable peace process. In other words, the organisational structure of an I4P usually takes form corresponding to the overall political conflict structure of the specific national or regional context. While it contains certain characteristics that influence the success of the peace process, these primarily define characteristics on an organisational level (Giessmann, 2016). This thesis so far has discussed that sustainable peace is something that eventually must address individual behaviour in peacebuilding (cp. section 1.3). Consistently, characteristics that determine success or failure of an I4P should be located in the psychological processes of individuals, groups and nations. Assumed here is that certain psychological processes regarding peaceful behaviour transcend cultural idiosyncrasies and affect people independent from cultural context.⁵²

For these reasons, this chapter will present a more generalizable approach for a sustainable peace process from a psychological perspective: A nested model of Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace by Peter T. Coleman (2012). The model is an attempt to establish a psychological framework for sustainable peace by linking a variety of branches in psychology together (such as education, communication and psychodynamics). This framework takes form in a parsimonious model with 51 different *Psychological Components*

⁵² Here referring to relational concepts such as conflict dynamics or a conceptual difference between prevention of violent conflict and promotion of peace (cp. sections 1.1 and 1.3). This shall not imply that a cultural context would not influence individual behaviour or that individual behaviour can be analysed and understood independent from cultural context (e.g. Slunecko, Wieser & Przyborski 2017).

of *Sustainable Peace* (PCSP) for either the prevention of destructive conflict or the promotion of sustainable peace. Parsimonious here does not imply that the model lacks in detail, it implies that psychological theories and findings are concentrated and abbreviated on general conditions which can serve as guidelines for decision-makers and peace workers.

Arguably, the model somewhat challenges the notion of a *custom-made* peace strategy for a regional context (such as I4P), as Coleman's model of sustainable peace initially *discards* contextual factors of a region and is motivated by the identification of the “*Essence of Peace*” (ibid., p.353) in society, based on psychological findings and principles.⁵³ These include advices how sustainable peace can manifest under certain conditions. The model stresses the contribution of peace psychology for such an *essence of peace* by incorporating practical and theoretical knowledge within a *dynamical systems theory* (DST). The underlying assumptions behind an incorporation of DST are that complex social dynamics, with all their different factors and reciprocities within the social system as a whole, require analytical tools to be comprehensively understood. In his model, Coleman claims that the presence of those PCSP and their reciprocal effects on society as a whole either reduce the probability of an outbreak of violence or increase the probability of sustainable peace in a social system (e.g. equal treatment or peaceful language). It is comprehensible that such complexity requires analytical tools like DST.

To better identify the presence - or absence - of these PCSP within an I4P, this chapter provides an orientation on how research into peace psychological and best case examples of peace work yield the 51 components and where their respective theoretical foundations can be located. This is first done by introducing the general structure of the PCSP model in section 3.1, followed by providing a brief orientation to the theoretical and empirical foundations of psychological components in section 3.2. The 51 PCSP itself will be listed at the end of the chapter in section 3.3. In summary, this chapter will introduce the multitude of factors, conditions and processes related to peace psychological findings, and how they are given a coherent *scaffolding* represented by the PCSP model.

3.1 The structure of peace: A two-dimensional, multilevel and dynamical-systems model

The PCSP model is the product of varying findings of psychological theory incorporated into a model. The structure of the model itself is guided by certain theoretical assumptions from

⁵³ The PCSP model carries the notion that political measures should accommodate those 51 PCSP. This means the application of every singular PCSP - similar to the organisational manifestation of an I4P - would still need a contextual translation depending on the regional and political environment.

peace research and complexity science, a sub-discipline of applied mathematics. These basic principles give the different PCSP a *scaffolding* via a *two-dimensional orientation for peace*, and a *nested model of constructive conflict resolution* with three levels. In the following, they are depicted together with an adapted *Dynamical-Minimal Model* for sustainable peace guiding the whole model.

Two dimensional orientation

The word “orientation” in *two dimensional orientation* implies where the principal purpose of a PCSP lies. While each of the 51 PCSP is different, they can still be grouped in two orientations. 21 components serve to prevent destructive conflict and 30 components serve to promote sustainable peace - accommodating not just the fact that war and peace potentials can co-exist, but that measures aiming at negative and positive peace processes are simultaneously desirable. As sustainable peace is not only the absence of violent conflict but includes the presence of conditions that foster peace, as has already been established several times in this thesis (cp. sections 1.1 and 1.3), it is enough to note that the PCSP model fundamentally integrates this differentiation by giving each individual PCSP an orientation on either one of the two dimensions (see Christie et al., 2008, p.548; Galtung, 1969; Johnson et al., 2012, Proto & Opatow, 2012, p.178).⁵⁴

A nested model

PCSP cannot simply be described by their orientation but also based on the level in which they function, which is either the micro-, meso- or macro level. The localisation of the 51 PCSP on different levels within a nested model is based on the idea that social science needs a level on which an analytical unit is examined (e.g. Barash & Webel, 2003). Suggestions for actions in a society, without differentiation between individuals, organisations and institutions would be very vague. For peace, the *macro level* of analysis engenders societal norms and policies while the *meso level* considers collective narratives and actions of groups and the *micro level* of peace involve subjective states and behaviours regarding sustainable peace and prevention of violence (Christie & Noor, 2012, p.156). A localisation on different

⁵⁴ Although it is noteworthy to acknowledge that a shift from a sole orientation towards problems (such as prevention of war or violent conflict) to a focus on solutions (such as promotion of cooperation or equality) is not just a unique property to peace and conflict studies but is reflected in a general tendency in the psychological domain. A tendency of an emerging positive psychology paradigm to create positive social conditions converges with the aim of peace psychology, as Christie et al. (2008, p.540) point out. A thought stream that can be compiled as, putting equal importance on visions for alternatives that are *wished for* instead of what can be *prevented*.

levels also reflects the peace psychological practice in network analysis of examining psychological phenomena on the respective level itself as well as the reciprocal links between the psychology of individuals, groups and organisations, and macro-level phenomena (e.g. Christie et al., 2008; Coleman, 2012; Sommer & Fuchs, 2004). Based on the findings of these reciprocal effects, multilevel-interventions can establish sustainable peace.⁵⁵

The nested model is identical with Colemans own suggestion of a multilayered framework in *constructive conflict resolution* or CCR (see section 3.2). He similarly stresses the importance of CCR on micro-, meso- and macro level and as an elemental condition for a holistic peace effort (Coleman, 2012, p.63 ff). It is only consistent that Colemans PCSP model is embedded in a similar nested framework since the behaviour for sustainable peace is inherently connected with CCR on micro-, meso- and macro level.

In this nested model, *micro level components* describe initiatives affecting the emotions, behaviours and minds of individuals. *Meso level components* act on what we understand as families, schools, organizations and communities, while *macro level components* affect societies, nations and regions as well as the global society as a whole. This model states that activities on the three levels are not independent but “*being nested within a communal system of interlacing initiatives which can serve to support and bolster one another*” (ibid.). For the PCSP model, this signifies that a PCSP on one level is either facilitated or inhibited by other PCSP on different levels (ibid.).⁵⁶

It is important to note, why a three-leveled differentiation of PCSP is important at all. Since the idea is that *all* PCSP, on *all* levels, influence each other anyways, one might question if a focus on a multilevel-approach even bears any additional value for the model. A differentiation of the model on three levels is legitimate for two reasons. The first reason is that it enables to better locate certain political measures in the structure of the PCSP model - depending on the actors and the sectors the measures target. This might appear self-evident but (as the later analysis of the I4P will show) bears relevance because such a *classification*

⁵⁵ As mentioned in chapter 1, some authors even include a 4th level above the macro-level, the mega level (see Galtung, 2007). The PCSP model functions without such a differentiation of the level and integrates mega-level aspects (such as culture) in its macro-level PCSP.

⁵⁶ As an example for a CCR-measure, Coleman (2012) refers to a school mediation program for adolescents (meso-level): Depending on the adolescent and the stage of development the individual is going through, it can affect the impact of the program itself (*micro-level*). The *macro-level* has an impact on the schools, depending on the political situation or current form of government (autocratic or democratic) such a program can be adopted more or less willingly by schools. But also the meso-level itself influences the success of such a program, depending on if the school is located in a wealthy upper-class district or a violence-plagued area with low socioeconomic status (ibid., p.65). Such an example can be formulated for every measure in CCR, the same way it can be applied to PCSP.

of measures is not common in peacebuilding practice. The PCSP model itself is stated as help and orientation for policies and as such also wants to accommodate decision makers to relate better to underlying psychological processes. Secondly, the dynamic of a PCSP with another PCSP on the *same-level* is still different from the dynamic of a PCSP with a PCSP on *different-levels*. While not explicitly stated by Coleman in his depiction of the PCSP model, Sommer and Fuchs (2004) do indicate that a social system is organized in different partial systems (e.g. certain groups, organisations or partisans). The interactions of those partial systems differentiate them from the outside and organize them within (ibid., p.6). A micro-, meso- and macro level, while not an adequate representation of *all* partial systems in society, is a structural framework to organise these partial systems. As such, levels facilitate a better understanding of relations between these interdependent partial systems and social organisation as a whole. For example, a political measure regarding *teacher trade unions* (meso level), would have more influence on *school organisation* (also meso level) than it would have on the *relations and the education system of a neighbouring country* (macro level) or the attitudes of a *parent from a student* attending a school (micro level). Still, such a measure would influence the latter two to a certain degree. Particularly for questions of war and peace, these multi-level implementations signify that foreign politics and relationships between two states can influence domestic issues of the same and even third states. Furthermore, such relations on a macro-level can influence other levels and sectors, including the behaviour of certain individuals in a population. Vice versa, (aggravated) subjective behaviour can influence foreign politics. Or as Johnson et al. (2012) fittingly describe: “*The level of peace constantly increases or decreases with the actions of each relevant party*” (ibid., p.17).

A dynamical systems perspective

In chapter 1 it is established that the overall conflict structure of a society is marked by both the potentials for war and for peace (Coleman, 2012, p.361). Naturally, societies are comprised of opposing tendencies in a complex social, cultural, economical and political setting and lead to unpredictable dynamics. All of these settings can have a certain degree of influence on each other and influence in a peace process. Correspondingly, each tendency and every dynamic influences the system as a whole. One event can trigger a long period of violence, while a seemingly insignificant matter can end long periods of violence (ibid., p.265 f). In addition, such dynamics, as indicated by the nested model, are affected by sub-

systems on all societal levels and from individual experience to international relations (e.g. Barash & Webel, 2008).

Coleman suggests the establishment of peace in these complex dynamics with the multilevel, two-dimensional PCSP and by support of a systems approach originating from complexity science. Complexity science usually examines mathematical models to appropriate complex social systems or social networks, respectively. Modern research in this field further examines how such social networks are connected with the spreading of behavioural patterns (Barrat, Barthélemy and Vespignani, 2013). Behavioural patterns do not have to be necessarily understood as steady determinants, but closer to flexible “*probability distributions*” (ibid., p.1f) - similar to the adopted definition of peace for this thesis as a probability depending on the prevailing tendency of aggregated behaviour (cp. section 1.3). To analyse how to influence such probabilities regarding sustainable peace, the PCSP model adapts DST.

DST has been used to address phenomena with similarly complex attributes. Nowak et al. (2012) describe a dynamical system as “*a set of elements interacting over time*” (ibid., p.269). Essential elements of DST are so-called *attractors*. As the name implies, an *attractor* draws certain social dynamics towards it, which in turn evolve over time (such as towards peaceful relations or towards violent conflicts). While there are different kinds of attractors in DST (*stable point*, *periodic*, *quasi-periodic*, or *chaotic* attractors), the PCSP model uses the “*simplest attractor structure*” (ibid.) - so-called single-point-attractors.⁵⁷ So far, the quoted theories and assumptions in this thesis such as to conflict dynamics and a *culture of peace* (cp. section 1.2.2 and 2.1) established that with peaceful behaviour and violent conflicts, every society has its own (conflict) dynamics (e.g. Boulding, 2000). This also applies to how a society can react to certain events. This can partially be explained by attractors.

The whole of single-point-attractors for peace and violence determine the dynamic of society oscillating between peaceful relations and violent conflicts. They influence the probability of a current social state to develop towards another social state in the future. The total of these interactions is called *attractor dynamics*. An attractor that decreases the probability of a social state to escalate into violent conflict (e.g. during an economic crisis or new elections) is an attractor of peace. The whole of such attractors for peace alludes to how resilient (or vulnerable) a current system regarding to a peaceful state or a state of violent conflict. Or in layman's terms, many attractors for peace, slowly “pull” a society (respectively

⁵⁷ That is why Coleman (2012) phrased it a *dynamical-minimal model of sustainable peace* (ibid., p.359). Nowak et al. (ibid., p.269) confirm that more complex models are possible though.

the behaviour of a society) towards sustainable peace. To further detail such a dynamic, figure 4 visualizes the basic properties of DST and attractor dynamics.

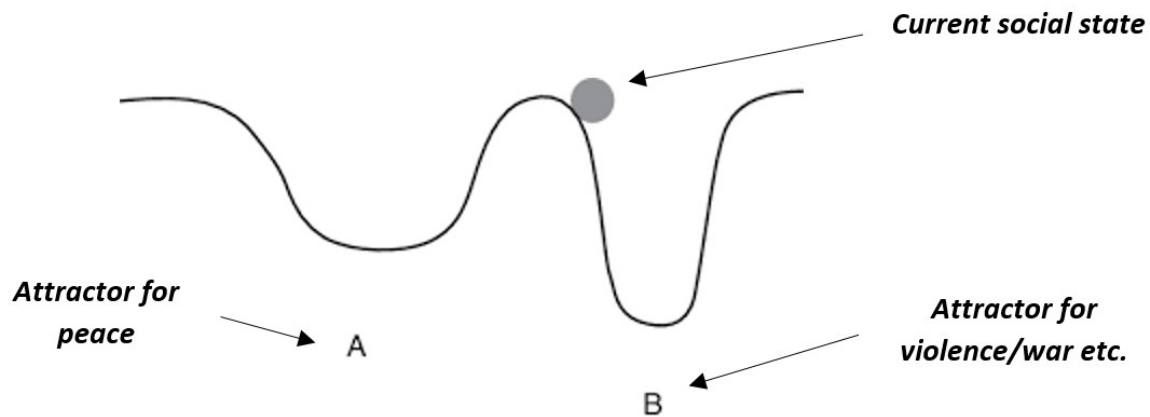


Figure 4: A system with two attractors according to Coleman (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012, p.270/362)

The ball close to the top of the central state represents the *current state of a social system* while *A* and *B* are single-point-attractors. Every *point* on the line is a social state and every attractor has its own *basin*. This means every attractor has a set of states that evolve towards that attractor. If assumed *B* is an attractor for conflict and *A* is an attractor for peace it becomes apparent that it is much more difficult to “push the ball uphill again as it is to roll down” (similar rules as in physics). While the same properties apply for the attractor for peace, the slope is still not as steep as *B*, hence it is somehow more difficult to undo the consequences of the attractor of conflict from a social state than from an attractor of peace. Thus, the model demonstrates that a wider array of social states can lead to peace than can lead to violent conflict. It should be noted that a *wider array* does not mean there are more possibilities. In this case, it means more different social states, therefore, more energy and time is needed to move the *current social state* to *A* than to *B*. The different depth of the valley signifies the strength of an attractor on a social state. To use a metaphor from physics: It needs more *energy* to dislodge the ball from a deeper point. In the case of sustainable peace, this means it is easier to create and keep up a conflict and more complex to create peace (Nowak et al., 2012, p.270). Or, to use a more common phrase, it is easier to make war than to make peace. Thus, the model can explain why some occurrences that lead to sudden transitions of a social state - due to its *vulnerability* - and some occurrences that do not change the system - due to its *resistance* - can be partially explained by attractors.

Figure 4 only shows a static system not including the possibility of attractor dynamics changing over time. The depth, the width and the shape of the attractor curves can change, while the social state itself is not changing. Attractors that have such an *invisible* effect are called *latent attractors*. They do not change the social state (ball) but the landscape of the system (line). For peace politics this means that at first glance fruitless measures might still be beneficial for a peace process in the long term. It also shows that the interaction of peace measures with other peace measures over time is at least as important as the actual peace measure itself.

The systems dynamic of sustainable peace is of course much more complex than showcased in this section, as the presence of a multitude of attractors and their interaction in a constantly changing social system is not the main focus of this thesis. Important for the research question is an understanding of how PCSP aim to change the probability of behaviour towards sustainable peace on a societal scale. Relevant is also how measures within an I4P can change behaviour in a society according to the PCSP model as such measures have to be equivalent to peace attractors. Most importantly though is the function of peace attractors to increase the resilience of societies. Resilience, a word borrowed from material sciences, describes the ability of a material to withstand changes to its original form after a shock or a trauma (Werther-Pietsch, 2017, p.53). The idea is that like a material, a nation, an organisation or even a household can have resilience towards shocks that would change its social status from one state to another, such as from peaceful relationships towards violent conflicts (this can be a labour strike turning into a civil war, or a housekeeping issue turning into domestic violence). The PCSP model suggests an implementation of elements of resilience for peace (PCSP) on multiple levels - from an individual, organisational and institutional level. As such it fulfils an essential characteristic for strong resilience in society (or large-scale-systems using the phrasing of DST): a systems thinking approach carried by holistic programming (ibid., p.50 ff).

3.2 The components of peace: Theoretical roots of 51 PCSP

In the book *Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace*, Coleman and Deutsch (2012), identify 13 *psychological components*⁵⁸ of sustainable peace as essential characteristics for a

⁵⁸ To avoid confusion in terminology, the 51 components of the PCSP model are abbreviated with PCSP while *psychological components* refer to the more general 13 guidelines as seen in table 2, which form the theoretical basis for the 51 PCSP. Still, this does not mean that every PCSP can without a doubt be *assigned* to a certain psychological component. They should be considered closer to an effective inference from psychological

peace process (see table 2). Coleman and Deutsch, together with a variety of renowned authors of peace psychology, give their thoughts and insights regarding these 13 psychological components (ibid., p.6 ff).⁵⁹ These 13 psychological components are the preliminary elements preceding the PCSP model. Coleman, in turn, derived the aforementioned 51 PCSP from the insights and observations of his colleagues and structured them into a dynamical minimal model of sustainable peace (cp. section 3.1). The model can be considered an amalgamation of different theories instead of one specific research brand.

The model does not specify *how* the individual PCSP should be implemented by decision-makers nor does it explicitly assign every PCSP to a specific psychological theory. The latter can be attributed to the similarity of many PCSP, which are based on the same psychological theories such as *Social Interdependence Theory*. Secondly, the related psychological processes have to be understood as reciprocal and interdependent. For this reason, and a holistic overview, it is more practical to focus on the introduction of the 13 founding psychological components of the 51 PCSP.

The PCSP model consists of a plethora of psychological insights and findings. A comprehensive history and introduction of all fifty-one affiliated theories is beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, this section briefly reflects upon the most important aspects of the psychological components and how the PCSP model is deducted from them. These components overlap - like PCSP - as measures for sustainable peace are cross-cutting issues that encompass various aspects of relationship and human interaction (e.g. *reconciliation* and *education for peace*: Both carry importance for a peace process and require integration during early socialisation).

Effective Cooperation

Johnson et al. (2012) consider the establishment and continuation of cooperative relationships as keys for building and sustaining peace (ibid., p.15). Cooperation is both the objective of peaceful relations but also ensures its continuous perseverance. It is also deeply connected with a variety of psychological mechanisms: The formation of a mutual identity, mutual goals, mutual dependence, mutual benefits but also the adoption of civic values which both

findings of several of those psychological components (e.g. the PCSP: “*Strong norms for procedural and distributive justice in schools, workplaces, marketplaces, and elsewhere in the community*” incorporates likewise aspects from the psychological components of *Power and Equality*, *Social Justice* and *Education*).

⁵⁹ This does not imply that every chapter can be associated strictly to one psychological component or even PCSP. More so most of the chapters are interconnected and interrelated and explain and analyse certain topics and how psychological mechanisms are related to them. This interrelated relation between the chapters of the book is generally reflected on how PCSP should be understood, as mentioned several times in this chapter.

include a concern for each other's well-being (ibid., p.18). If accomplished on all levels from the individual to international, effective cooperation leads to the institutionalisation of peace in society. *Social Interdependence Theory* exemplifies psychological mechanisms of effective cooperation.

Johnson et al. state three types of social interdependence: (1) Positive interdependence states that members of a group can reach their goals only if the other members of the groups, they cooperate with, also reach their goals and support each other. The accompanying psychological processes are *substitutability*, *inducibility* and *positive cathexis* (ibid., p.20). They describe how the action of one person substitutes the actions of another, the openness of being influenced by another and the emotional investment into another person as oneself. *Entitativity* is influenced by strong positive interdependence, it describes the perception of the group as one entity in which members belong to each other. (2) Negative interdependence exists if the group's or individual's goals can be solely achieved if the other group fails to achieve its goals and leads to the opposite effects. This can be exemplified by the non-substantiality of each other's actions, resistance to influence each other and an emotional focus on oneself. (3) No interdependence exists when groups can achieve their goals independently from other groups' achievements (ibid., p.19 ff). Empirical studies establish a positive effect on a variety of fields such as the effort to achieve, psychological health and the level of cognitive and moral reasoning are one of the largest bodies of psychological research (ibid., 22 ff). To "*create a web of positive interdependence*" (ibid., p.26) is a fundamental aspect of peacebuilding, positive interdependence does not just include the desired objective or reward but also the means on how to get there. The perspective of an individual in a group with positive interdependence would be: *Not only do I achieve my goal if the other group achieves their goal, but I also realize that I need the necessary contribution of the other groups' members to reach my goal.*

Identity is another essential aspect of positive interdependence as the existence of *boundaries* or the lack thereof determines how much an individual identifies with the group (ibid., p.30). Boundaries can be a variety of imaginary or perceptual separations between groups, like spatial separation (different rooms) or identity (different nationalities) (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). For example, if a mutual identification as a human would be a central aspect of the identity in all groups on a global scale, the lack of out-group/in-group boundaries in identity would help foster effective cooperation. This, in turn, can lead to further identify with other groups that share this characteristic of identity. It is easy to see how effective cooperation can be "*the foundation on which peace is built and sustained*" (Johnson et al.,

p.19). Measures that aim at fostering effective cooperation, promote common identities and remove discriminatory practices in economy, politics and education foster this psychological component of peace. Fry and Miklikowska (2012) stress in regards to cooperation and interdependence the flexibility of social identity to foster a *culture of peace*. This social flexibility is one of the basic assumptions the PCSP model is built upon.

Examples for corresponding (but not exclusive) PCSP would be: “*Values attitudes, skills and behaviours promoting cooperation and trust*” (Pro-Mic-4) or “*Coordination between local governments, civil society and international organisations to prevent violent conflict*” (Pre-Mac-6).

Constructive Conflict Resolution (CCR)

This essential psychological component was presented in chapter 1 as a vital aspect of *conflict transformation* (cp. section 1.3). Section 3.1 further clarified the relevance of CCR as a multi sector and multi level approach. CCR essentially lies at the *crossroads of conflicts*. It determines if the outcome of a resolution deteriorates into hostile bitter relations or if it benefits harmonious and cooperative relationships (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012, p.7). Depending on whether a conflict is resolved constructive or not constructive can also signify the difference between *sustainable peace* and *sustained peace*.

Coleman (2012) stresses the importance of institutionalisation on all levels of society. For for protracted conflicts, he identifies the necessity for complex approaches that use systems-thinking to establish successful peace processes with parallel CCR measures, where singular CCR measures often fail instead (ibid., p.74 ff). Practical examples presented by Coleman (2012) show the relevance of institutionalisation of CCR on all levels of society, but especially in the early socialisation of the education system (e.g. CCR curricula or CCR pedagogy, see the component *Education*). Coleman stresses that these processes must assimilate as a norm for young people to internalize such mechanisms to become the dominant behaviour in conflict resolution. He further stresses that while such norms need to have strong *top-down* support, they eventually need to combine both top-down and bottom-up processes to be successful. The establishment on all levels for social taboos against destructive conflict and violence is another vital aspect of CCR that can be implemented by governmental agendas (p.78 f).

A corresponding PCSP is for example: “*Knowledge, attitudes and skills for CCR*” (Pro-Mic-5).

Social Justice

Section 1.2.1 referred to discrimination and social stratification as barriers not only for sustainable peace and CCR, but also as a breeding ground for destructive conflicts. Social injustice is the discrepancy between the actual state and a state that should be in regards to “people who have fewer resources than they deserve, while others have more than their fair share” (Proto & Opatow, 2012, p.178). The widespread slogan “no justice, no peace” is reflected and substantiated by a variety of psychological research in social justice and its interdependent influences on intergroup relations, prejudice and racism.⁶⁰

Prejudice between social groups and their impacts on social (in)justices has stimulated a plethora of research underlying its psychological mechanisms. *Social categorization, discrimination, ethnocentrism, ingroup favouritism, ingroup bias, outgroup derogation, social antagonism, stereotyping, and social distance* are a few of the accompanying psychological and interpersonal reactions (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001, p.2, Proto & Opatow, 2012, p.178 f). These dynamics can and do lead to violent conflict if the discrepancy of “what/who should be” and “what/who is” grows so strong that action to change these conditions is considered as inevitable by disadvantaged or discriminated groups.

Measures that involve individuals, groups and institutions across identity boundaries for a common objective and a dialogue for social justice, strengthen a mutual identity and widens the scope of the own horizon. Such an engaging cultural practice for peace is for example showcased by Proto & Opatow (2012). They exemplified how an international campaign called “The World March for Peace and Violence” improved possibilities to make social injustices invisible and how collaboration over a wide scope of social actors and regions can tackle these issues.

PCSP which especially reflect social justice are: “*Use of the internet and other social technologies to mobilize broad non-violent movements for social justice and corporate responsibility*” (Pre-Mac-5) or “*Norms of gender equity and equality in the home, schools and the workplace*” (Pre-Mes-2).

Power and Equality

Previous chapters have established that equality (such as political, economic and gender equality) contributes to sustainable peace, while inequality tends to lead to social and political

⁶⁰ About the differences between *prejudice* and *racism* there is a lot of arguing and ambiguity in academic and everyday discourses. There is a general agreement that prejudice is considered as an individual and personal mechanism, while “*racism is a broader construct that links individual beliefs and practices to wider social and institutional norms and practices*” and as such normalizes discriminatory practices on a society-wide scope (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001, p.3).

conflict (cp. sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2). For Albin and Druckman (2012), the role of equality means “*equivalent treatment or shares for everyone regardless of any differences*” (ibid., p.133). From a psychological perspective, equality (similar to social justice) is understood as a guiding principle for *procedural justices* and *distributive justices*. The former refers to decision making processes and the latter to fair goods distribution between members of a group. Both forms of equality are key for a just society. An essential psychological mechanism underlying fair treatment is *reciprocity*, or a mutual concession of the respective other side (ibid., p.134). While the value and the legitimization of equality in society have been a matter of philosophical argument for thousands of years (ibid., p.140 ff), the understanding of psychological mechanisms underlying equality are newer, but continue to reflect often contradictory results. Equal treatment in procedural and distributive justice processes is generally preferred by every side in a negotiation - even by those in more powerful positions (ibid., p.136). While this general preference for equal treatment is similar across a wide array of scenarios and cultures, there are certain conditions in which equal and unequal treatment is preferred in society. This apparent contradiction can be explained by the peculiarities of Social Identity Theory (e.g. Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Psychological mechanisms accompanying equal treatment (such as reciprocity) lead to more similarity and therefore to more attraction and liking of the respective other (see similarity-attraction effect). Too much equality, though, can lead to the disliking of one group towards another group, if that other group is defined as an outgroup. This *attraction-similarity paradox* appears when both as ingroup and outgroup defined factions, receive similar outcomes in a common distributive process. This occurs due to ingroup favouring biases, as well as in the preference for a similar opponent to receive an unequal outcome (Albin & Druckman, 2012, 142 f).⁶¹

On a macro level, certain types of equality (such as equal treatment and equal shares) lead to more durable peace agreements. However, the effect on long term sustainable peace is still inconclusive in practice (ibid., p.145 ff). Albeit vague in their theoretical explanations, the general tenor identified by Albin and Druckman regarding equality for a peace process seems to have a balanced perspective of equality which is neither *too much* and nor *too divergent* in a society. A classic example independent from peace processes would be a classroom setting. If everybody in a class is treated the same with no regard to performance, some would not feel encouraged and become unsatisfied. If children in a class are encouraged more than others (e.g. because of language barriers for children with migration background),

⁶¹ A contemporary example would be a distributive process such as *social welfare* for immigrants. If social welfare would not differentiate between locals and immigrated citizens some factions of society would get vocal in demanding a preferred treatment of locals.

the less encouraged would feel discouraged to perform (ibid.). Measures, as outlined in chapter 1, show that societies with institutions, narratives, and policies that lead to more social equality are less at risk of destabilisation than those prone to marginalisation and discrimination (cp. section 1.2.1).

A PCSP which could be said to strongly reflect issues of power and equality is “*Strong norms for procedural and distributive justice in schools, workplaces, marketplaces, and elsewhere in the community*” (Pre-Mes-6).

Human Needs and Emotions

Human needs are the basis of peaceful societies. It was established in chapter 1 that the effects of structural violence - but also direct violence and cultural violence - influence the potential somatic and mental realisations of human beings - e.g. of one group through another (cp. section 1.1.1). To satisfy the basic needs of humans is, therefore, not just detrimental to structural violence, it also is a prerequisite for other psychological components that promote sustainable peace such as cooperation, CCR and social justice (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012, p.8). Basic emotional and physical needs like Maslow (1954) identified them with physiological needs, love, self-actualisation or safety are necessary that no (emotional) frustration impairs the willingness of individuals to engage in cooperative efforts and negotiation for conflict transformation.

In addition, studies show that there is a correlation between people’s satisfaction towards access to basic needs (such as medicine or clean water) and peacefulness (e.g. Barash & Webel, 2008, p.16). Political action to enforce this component is strongly intertwined with economic and political questions of distribution of common goods, which is also intertwined with the perception of social Justice and equality (see above).

A PCSP that is strongly based on this component is “*Satisfaction of basic human needs including physiological needs, safety and dignity*” (Pre-Mic-3).

The Psychodynamics of Peace

A psychodynamic approach towards peace considers the interaction of internal conflicts (e.g. a certain desire) and external conflicts (e.g. social norms). If such an internal struggle is denied a resolution, it can be projected to the outside (Gratch, 2012). This intrapsychically developed and unconscious instincts (primarily related to sexual and aggressive desires) can express themselves hatefully and violently onto other social groups in order to release

tensions (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001, p.8). This psychological component shows how important knowledge of intrapsychic mechanisms can be for the impact on peaceful relations. The *Drive Theory* and the *Relational Theory* are the two principal approaches in psychodynamics regarding peace. Albeit not compatible with each other - since one focuses on the resolution of internal struggle between libidinal and aggressive drives and the other is taking the broader social context into consideration in which the individual, the group or the state is embedded - they are both relevant in the application of psychoanalytic thinking for sustainable peace (Gratch, 2012, p.206).

Measures or components which can be applied from a psychodynamic perspective might at first glance be difficult to formulate for the meso and macro level, or as Gratch puts it, “*you cannot place groups or nations on the couch*” (ibid., p.222). He still locates the principal benefits in the psycho-educational domain admitted for example via track II diplomacy. Concrete examples given by Gratch can take form in sports infrastructure that can help to ease out rivalries between different groups (ibid., p.208) and ground rules for civic interaction in internet forums. On a macro level, leaders take an influential stand since often they are figures of identification. Their demonstrations of empathy and acceptance of wounds inflicted on the other group on a large, public scale would ease deep narcissistic wounds. He gives the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as an example and how such a demonstration of empathy would be an elemental and necessary precondition for a fundamental reconciliation (ibid., p.214).

An exemplary PCSP for this psychological component is seen with “*Opportunities for peaceful sublimation of aggression through competitive or extreme sports, occupations, creative arts, etc.*” (Pre-Mes-4).

Creative Problem Solving

This component puts focus on negotiation. Conflicts happen daily between individuals, organisations and states (cp. section 1.2); for that reason, constructive negotiation becomes an essential characteristic of peaceful societies. How to solve a conflict in a creative way with new perspectives, is of fundamental importance according to Shapiro (2012). He pitches two dominant approaches in negotiation against each other. One is *hard bargaining*. It accompanies a certain win/lose mindset that is characterized by *negative interdependence*. To give by means to concede to the other party and has several drawbacks for a constructive conflict resolution. It does not engage parties in value creation, such as a new perspective on the conflict (cp. sections 1.2.1/1.2.2). It also does not allow adversarial negotiators to elevate

from their own hardened positions such as sharing information that would help find a creative solution. Lastly, it also damages long-term relationships in the long term as the more successful negotiator is considered less trustful by the *unsuccessful* negotiator.

Another disadvantage of hard bargaining is that the negotiation process is always biased towards the more powerful group. These social hierarchies can influence and coerce less powerful groups to an agreement which may not be beneficial for a long-term, harmonic relationship (ibid., p.87 f). The other dominant approach in negotiation is *problem solving* or a mindset of mutual goals. For conflict resolution, the most widespread approach is the *interest-based negotiation* (ibid.). The roots for a constructive negotiation lie here that both sides participate in mutual concession-making to reach the most acceptable (even though not necessarily mutually optimal) settlement for both sides. Differences are established as shared problems that can just be solved jointly and by identifying the interest that accompanies a certain position of another party. By knowing the actual interest that accompanies a certain position, more options are available to find solutions for the problems accompanying the conflict.

This does not strictly apply to individual situations but even to more complicated settings like multi-actor conflicts such as climate change or post-conflict-negotiations. Instead of involving all relevant stakeholders in the process Shapiro identifies “*second level actors*” that are “*discussing underlying interests and needs through an unofficial, non-binding process*” (ibid., p.91) as a basis to address complex conflicts on meso- and macro level. Furthermore, he stresses the importance of including emotional aspects in negotiations. Shapiro’s work uses the *Relational Identity Theory* as the theoretical model for understanding the role of emotions. Central to this theory are primary and secondary appraisals of interactions for personal relevance. Over time these appraisals become core-themes in a relationship and manifest as beneficial or harmful emotions (e.g. guilt or fear) for the relationship (ibid., p.94 f). These emotions and relationships are strongly influenced by individual social identities and social structures and are, therefore, similarly an indicator and tool for a sustainable peace process.

Taking the conflict in Northern Ireland as an example, Shapiro suggests several practical implementations that are based on the above findings. These are the redefinition of an identity of parties away from hardliners who need to *win a fight*, to negotiators which can bargain for problem solving as a noble process for the common good (ibid., p.100). Another way would be the redefinition of positions adversaries have between each other by building affiliations on an individual or collective level by building personal relationships (e.g.

unofficial meetings between decision-makers or an integrative education system).

A PCSP that directly refers problem-solving can, for example, be seen with “*A transcultural elite with shared norms of tolerance, cooperation, and creative problem-solving, who model for all the efficacy and value of constructive, non-violent action*” (Pro-Mac-3).

Complex Thinking

Complex thinking is opposed to *simple thinking*. The latter focuses on the present and does not include the past and future in thinking processes or different places and interests. Interrelated issues and conflict areas such as climate change or terrorism can solely be understood if a global perspective is taken into mind to create willingness in accepting the own role (nation or individual) in a solution that suits all parties. (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012, p.9). As seen with the psychological Component *Creative Problem Solving*, peaceful relations need an understanding of the other sides’ perspective. This demands a minimum of ability for systematic thinking. This ability enables an imagination of complex relationships, motivations and identities in a conflict situation. Oversimplified perspectives - like “black and white thinking” - blocks groups from attaining mutual goals. In contrast, an understanding of the groups’ intricate needs, motivations and different realities, can help to create and establish goals that benefit both sides (cp. positive interdependence).

PCSP which strongly comply to this psychological component are “*Higher levels of integrative, emotional, behavioral, and social identity complexity*” (Pro-Mic-6), “*Capacities for tolerance, humanization, realistic empathy (understanding how a situation looks to someone else) and compassion for members of one’s ingroups and outgroups*” (Pro-Mic-7) and “*Recognition and understanding of the inordinately strong salience of threat and tendencies towards inequality and competition in many societies across the globe*” (Pre-Mac-1).

Persuasion and Dialogue

Persuasion is unlike coercion. While the former changes people's minds, the latter aims at changing their behaviour and is relevant if *sustained peace* or *sustainable peace* are the objectives in peacebuilding (cp. section 1.3). This makes the use of persuasion a helpful and necessary requisite for sustainable peace. Depending on the relationship between a *source* and a *recipient* of a message (e.g. constructive or destructive), persuasion can be more or less effective. The connection with other psychological components becomes apparent when

having in mind that more persuasion leads to more mutual exchange of information, perspectives, and needs as well as to better cooperation and convergence of values (Coleman & Deutsch, p.9). Dialogue is a common interaction that, if featured by mutual respect and equal standing (cp. *Social Justice* and *Power and Equality*), has the potential to discover “*common ground and mutual understanding*” (ibid., p.9).

Peaceful language has a facilitating effect for both persuasion and dialogue by facilitating communication. It is an approach that systematically promotes a vocabulary that expands its use in media for the humanisation of vulnerable groups and decreases the use of language that dehumanizes another group. Mato (2012) suggests how a peaceful language can improve life and health and can be educated on all levels of society (from the diplomatic level to preschool) and improve “*communicative life on Earth*” (ibid., p.128 f) for more peaceful societies.

A PCSP directly referring to on such a communicative aspect of the psychological components is “*Language for peace: a large lexicon for all aspects of cooperative and peaceful relations and sufficient use of such terms to foster automaticity*” (Pro-Mic-9).

Reconciliation

Staub (2012) considers the psychological component of Reconciliation an essential characteristic of peace processes. Without an active settlement between victims, perpetrators and bystanders, a renewed outbreak of violence becomes very likely. In other words, reconciliation demands that the past is not ignored.⁶² For Staub, reconciliation is the “*mutual acceptance by hostile groups of each other*”, in addition to “*the societal structures and processes directly involved in the development and maintenance of such acceptance*” (ibid., p.245). Staub cites two basic forms of reconciliation which are equally important for sustainable peace: An *instrumental reconciliation* to achieve common goals (cp. *social interdependence*) and a *socioemotional reconciliation*. *Instrumental reconciliation* refers to cooperation to achieve common goals, while *socioemotional reconciliation* puts focus on the admission of past wrongdoing and subsequent forgiveness. Former stresses the importance of contact between groups, the latter stresses the “*apology-forgiveness cycle*” as essential. Both processes reinforce each other (ibid., p.246 f).

Staub further lists a variety of inhibitors and promoters which influence reconciliation

⁶² In *peacebuilding*, this essential aspect can be found in the political concept of *transitional justice* that institutionalizes processes in a country to rehabilitate the violent past between social actors. This is considered as a vital aspect for post-conflict peace processes and security (Buckley-Zistel, 2008).

among a population. Besides the fulfilment of basic psychological needs, (e.g. security, feelings of effectiveness and control over important goals) he further stresses the rehabilitation of past traumas (for victims and perpetrators), the establishment of values and attitudes in the socialisation of children (such as altruism and moral courage), strong democratic and justice mechanisms, and the establishment of ideologies which are constructive - as in finding goals that are compatible with other groups - instead of destructive - as in selfish goals can just be achieved by damaging another group (ibid.).

Reconciliation overlaps with the other psychological components discussed as a cross-sector issue that influences cooperation, CCR and emotional responses among others. Reconciliation consistently affects a variety of psychological processes, such as *Conditional forgiveness* or *Chosen traumas*. The former expresses the will to forgive if the perpetrator acknowledges what they did and if they ask for forgiveness. The latter describes a process when previously victimized groups act violently in a new conflict as they see it as a defense mechanism (ibid., p.251).⁶³ Mechanisms like this must be encouraged or prevented, respectively, through political and social institutions which ensure that the process of forgiveness includes all involved actors, policies and also the media in a peace process (ibid., p.260). Measures that can be actively applied for reconciliation are, for example, trainings on how genocides and violent conflicts originate or how violence impacts the behaviours of others (ibid., p.249 f). The establishment of educational radio programs that actively teach about such mechanisms is one possibility on how to conduct such measures.

A corresponding PCSP is “*Shared, accurate and transparent collective memories of past events, conflicts and relationships between groups*” (Pro-Mes-6).

Education (for peace)

Education is maybe the most obvious tool regarding the implementation of all the psychological components mentioned above. Not just is education applied on all societal levels from childhood to adulthood and in all sectors, education has clear contact points for the individual (educators), organisational (school) and institutional (education system) efforts for sustainable peace. As such, this multifaceted component is also considered as a cross-sector issue that must assimilate all of the above mentioned components and should be

⁶³ Since decades it is known that psychological processes like guilt and trauma can be transgenerationally passed on and manifest in various ways within the identities of the children and grandchildren of perpetrators and victims alike (see Moré, 2013). If these parts of the identity are not processed appropriately they can lead to new forms of self-hatred or hate towards others and are passed to the next generation. This makes reconciliation such an important aspect for sustainable peace and a long term peace process.

regarded as a possibility to merge the above stated principles into an education system. Adapted curricula or *peace curricula* that foster cooperation, dialogue and a mutual identity alongside common school subjects are concrete examples for contemporary *peacebuilding*.

PCSP referring to education can be seen with “*Early access to peace education and multicultural tolerance programs in preschool, elementary and middle school*” (Pre-Mes-3) and “*Structures of cooperative task, goal and reward interdependence in schools, workplaces, and politics*” (Pro-Mes-4).

Norms for Policy

A central aspect of this thesis is the integration of psychological principles in political practices and social norms. Psychological findings and knowledge cannot be considered as a solution to a harmonious and sustainable peace by itself. As such, this component is technically not derived from a certain psychological theory or mechanisms but carries essential importance for both the legitimacy for the PCSP model as a tool used in practice.⁶⁴

Norms for Policy must be understood as a general guideline for decision makers and reforms because such norms carry with them psychological processes that either prevent violent conflict or promote peaceful societies. This component is both a necessity and a demand of the PCSP model.

A PCSP symbolizing such a principle is “*Institutions which reflect and uphold self-transcendent values*” (Pro-Mac-7).

The Practice for Sustainable Peace

Similar to policy norms, *the practice of Sustainable Peace* should be closer understood as a principle instead of a psychological component. As chapter 1 of this thesis insinuated, with peace as a constantly evolving objective (cp. section 1.1.1) this principle encompasses the notion that “[p]eace is never achieved” (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012, p.11). This realisation brings with it that within a cultural context, practices, ideas, and methods always must be formulated and applied anew to *achieve* sustainable peace. It also stresses the interconnectedness between *good-case* examples in peace work and the integration of such practices with psychological mechanisms.

PCSP exemplifying this are “*The establishment of peace parks: natural parks located at the borders between disputing nations where development and use of the parks are offered*”

⁶⁴ This also carries relevance for the integration in an I4P.

as superordinate goals” (Pro-Mac-12), “Use of crisis-mapping: an open source platform for collecting and plotting local cell-phone accounts of the commission of violent atrocities to inform the international community of emerging crises in a timely manner” (Pre-Mac-4) and Peace-mapping: an open-source platform for collecting and plotting local cellphone accounts of the commissions of peaceful and humanitarian acts to inform and inspire other potential ‘third-siders’ ” (Pro-Mac-11).

Psychological components (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012)	Examples of psychological theories and mechanisms underlying the components
<i>1.Effective Cooperation</i>	Social Interdependence Theory: Positive and Negative interdependence. E.g. <i>substitutability, inducibility, positive cathexis, entitativity.</i>
<i>2.Constructive Conflict Resolution (CCR)</i>	Conditioning of behaviour (for CCR on all societal levels).
<i>3.Social Justice</i>	Social categorization, discrimination, ethnocentrism, ingroup favouritism, ingroup bias, outgroup derogation, social antagonism, stereotyping, prejudice, racism, and social distance.
<i>4.Power and Equality</i>	Social Identity Theory, Similarity/Attraction Effect, Reciprocity. Distributive Justice and Procedural Justice.
<i>5.Human Needs and Emotions</i>	Fulfilment of basic human needs: Self-actualization, self-esteem, love and belonging, safety and physiological needs (e.g. food, water, clean air).
<i>6.The Psychodynamics of Peace</i>	Drive Theory and Relational Theory.
<i>7.Creative Problem Solving</i>	Relational Identity Theory and Interest based negotiation.
<i>8.Complex Thinking</i>	Social Identity Theory
<i>9.Persuasion and Dialogue</i>	<i>Peace linguistics: peaceful language</i>
<i>10.Reconciliation</i>	Chosen traumas and Conditional forgiveness.

Table 2: Psychological components and principal theories and/or mechanisms according to Coleman and Deutsch (2012, p.3 f).

3.3 Psychological Components of Sustainable Peace

In conclusion, the psychological components as well as the PCSP model do not comprise a clear-cut theoretical model with absolute definitions. It is an amalgamation of many findings and has to be understood as this *mixture* of implications that affect society as a whole - more so than its individual measures do. These psychological components and its related theories are what the PCSP are *translated* from to suggest a holistic model to establish sustainable peace.

It is important to note, that the PCSP examples given for every psychological component should not be understood as specifically allocatable to one specific psychological component alone but that they need to be comprehended as interconnected, with overlapping facets in (peace) psychological research. The following table will list each *Psychological Component of Sustainable Peace* according Coleman (2012, p.356 ff). The PCSP are sorted first by prevention of destructive conflict to promotion of sustainable peace and from micro level to macro level. Under each PCSP will be a suggestion how such a component could be implemented according to the theoretical implications introduced in 3.2.

Components for Prevention of destructive conflict

Micro level PCSP

1-Awareness of the causes, consequences and escalatory tendencies of destructive conflict and violence (***Pre-Mic-1***).⁶⁵

2-Moderately high levels of self-monitoring, restraint and regulation of internal impulses for destructive or violent acts (***Pre-Mic-2***).

3-Satisfaction of basic human needs including physiological needs, safety and dignity (***Pre-Mic-3***).

4-Values, attitudes, skills and behaviours supporting non-violence (***Pre-Mic-4***).

5-Moderate levels of tolerance for uncertainty (***Pre-Mic-5***).

6-High levels of tolerance for and openness to difference (***Pre-Mic-6***).

7-A capacity for forgiveness (***Pre-Mic-7***).

⁶⁵ The abbreviation behind every PCSP serve to give an more legible identification of PCSP in the results section (see chapters 4 and 5).

Meso level PCSP

8-Social taboos against corporal [physical] punishment and other forms of violence in the home, schools, workplace and public spaces (***Pre-Mes-1***).

9-Norms of gender equity and equality in the home, schools and the workplace (***Pre-Mes-2***).

10-Early access to peace education and multicultural tolerance programs in preschool, elementary and middle school (***Pre-Mes-3***).

11-Opportunities for peaceful sublimation of aggression through competitive or extreme sports, occupations, creative arts, etc. (***Pre-Mes-4***).

12-Functional and accessible venues for constructive, non-violent action to seek recourse and address perceived injustices and other harms (***Pre-Mes-5***).

13-Strong norms for procedural and distributive justice in schools, workplaces, marketplaces, and elsewhere in the community (***Pre-Mes-6***).

Macro level PCSP

14-Recognition and understanding of the inordinately strong salience of threat and tendencies towards inequality and competition in many societies across the globe (***Pre-Mac-1***).

15-Establishing national political and social institutions that ensure the implementation and follow-through of negotiated settlements (***Pre-Mac-2***).

16-Well-coordinated early warning systems operating through local governments and NGOs networked locally, regionally and globally for efficient communication (***Pre-Mac-3***).

17-Use of crisis-mapping:⁶⁶ an open source platform for collecting and plotting local cell-phone accounts of the commission of violent atrocities to inform the international community of emerging crises in a timely manner (*Pre-Mac-4*).

18-Use of the internet and other social technologies to mobilize broad non-violent movements for social justice and corporate responsibility (*Pre-Mac-5*).

19-Coordination between local governments, civil society and international organisations to prevent violent conflict (*Pre-Mac-6*).

20-Well-functioning global organizations and institutions such as the United Nations, the International Criminal Courts, Interpol, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (*Pre-Mac-7*).

21-Developing awareness and knowledge of the dilemma of the Commons* and how to manage it effectively (*Pre-Mac-8*).

Components for Promotion of destructive conflict

Micro level PCSP

⁶⁶ A practical tool in peace practice. A similar system to enable a quick response to escalation hotspots might be a possible replacement as long as it fulfils the same function of enabling quick responses. The same applies to *peace-mapping* further down.

22-Recognition of the interdependence of all people, similar and different, local and global (*Pro-Mic-1*).

23-A strong self-transcendent value orientation committed to the welfare of others and society, with a sufficient self-enhancement orientation to mitigate individual resentment (*Pro-Mic-2*).

24-A healthy balance of openness to change and conservatisms, responsive to changing times and circumstances (*Pro-Mic-3*).

25-Values attitudes, skills and behaviours promoting cooperation and trust (*Pro-Mic-4*).

26-Knowledge, attitudes and skills for CCR (*Pro-Mic-5*).

27-Higher levels of integrative, emotional, behavioral, and social identity complexity (*Pro-Mic-6*).

28-Capacities for tolerance, humanization, realistic empathy (understanding how a situation looks to someone else) and compassion for members of one's ingroups and outgroups (*Pro-Mic-7*).

29-An appreciation of environmental stewardship and equitable sharing of the earth's resources among its members and with all human beings (*Pro-Mic-8*).

30-Language for peace: a large lexicon for all aspects of cooperative and peaceful relations and sufficient use of such terms to foster automaticity (*Pro-Mic-9*).

31-A strong sense of global identity with a concrete understanding of the steps that need to be taken locally to act as global citizen (*Pro-Mic-10*).

Meso level PCSP

32-Strong norms valuing and nurturing children (***Pro-Mes-1***).

33-Early socialization of children oriented toward mutual care and nurturance (***Pro-Mes-2***).

34-Cross-cutting structures fostering common interests, activities, and bonds across different ethnic and religious groups (***Pro-Mes-3***).

35-Structures of cooperative task, goal and reward interdependence in schools, workplaces, and politics (***Pro-Mes-4***).

36-Programs and workshops in constructive conflict resolution and creative problem-solving for children, adults, parents and leaders of schools, businesses and politics (***Pro-Mes-5***).

37-Shared, accurate and transparent collective memories of past events, conflicts and relationships between groups (***Pro-Mes-6***).

38-Common use of peaceful language in popular media and normal daily discourse (***Pro-Mes-7***).

39-Strong emphasis on both local and superordinate identities at the ethnic, communal, national and global levels (***Pro-Mes-8***).

Macro level PCSP

40-A societal idea of peace that includes an ethic of interethnic unity, care and nurturance of others, which is as strong (or stronger) as the view of peace as something that need be secured and defended (***Pro-Mac-1***).

41-Societies that define themselves as internally and externally peaceful (***Pro-Mac-2***).

42-A transcultural elite with shared norms of tolerance, cooperation, and creative problem-solving, who model for all the efficacy and value of constructive, non-violent action (*Pro-Mac-3*).

43-National governance structures tending towards egalitarianism and democracy (*Pro-Mac-4*).

44-A strong community of global citizens engaged locally in initiatives fostering global citizenry and addressing shared global concerns (climate change, poverty, etc.) (*Pro-Mac-5*).

45-Political and business ethics that are in harmony with nature and environmental stewardship (*Pro-Mac-6*).

46-Institutions which reflect and uphold self-transcendent values (*Pro-Mac-7*).

47-Gender parity with a proportional number of women in politics and the military, politics and the military (*Pro-Mac-8*).

48-Use of the internet and other social technologies to mobilize broad social movements for humanitarian works and global peace (*Pro-Mac-9*).

49-Strong communications, trade, and cultural and civilian exchanges between nations (*Pro-Mac-10*).

50-Peace-mapping: an open-source platform for collecting and plotting local cellphone accounts of the commissions of peaceful and humanitarian acts to inform and inspire other potential “third-siders” (*Pro-Mac-11*).

51-The establishment of peace parks: natural parks located at the borders between disputing nations where development and use of the parks are offered as superordinate goals (***Pro-Mac-12***).

4. Methodological approach

Before diving into the methodology of answering the research question, some clarification is needed regarding to the division of the research interests. The title of this thesis already indicates two separate objectives: (1) An interest in which and how many PCSP can be identified (and are missing) in the national I4P for Ghana, and (2) - constitutive for such an analysis - a suggestion on how to adapt I4P for eventually missing PCSP. To ensure a concise separation between these two objectives, the latter will solicit part of the discussion section in chapter 5 and outline how to adopt the I4P in respect to the findings. This chapter solely concentrates on the analysis of the I4P in relation to Ghana (as outlined in section 2.4.2) by introducing and conducting an iterative and explorative research design and content analysis guided by Mayring (2015).

A rough sketch of an iterative approach in this document analysis

This chapter consists of three major parts which build upon each other. This iterative procedure towards a gradually deeper understanding follows the general notion in document analysis to proceed from a general and “*superficial examination*”, towards a more detailed “*thorough examination*” and interpretation (Dannecker & Englert, 2014; Bowen, 2009, p.32). Section 4.1 starts this analytical process⁶⁷ with a careful approach towards the document.

This is accomplished by asking fundamental questions regarding the unique material and examines on how to answer the research question. The section closes with a plain and rough analytical procedure: A direct comparison of I4P measures and PCSP. This naive and unsystematic approach delivers a first (subjective) impression if and how PCSP exist in the I4P strategy. While these findings are neither to be regarded as finite results nor withstanding criteria in validity and objectivity, they are a first *impression* of the material and form and the basis for further analysis as they indicate where the measures in the I4P lack a necessary understanding to answer the research question.

For a better understanding of I4P measures, a second analytical step in section 4.2 examines the document for information which facilitates a deeper understanding of the strategic objectives and action-steps in the I4P. This step includes hermeneutical elements as the material is examined and summarized again with knowledge that was generated in section 4.1.

⁶⁷ Meant is here the analytical process for this chapter as the process of a systematic understanding already started with the introduction and summary of the document in section 2.4.2 (see section 4.4).

Section 4.3 presents a content structuring category system. This category system is deductively created and based on the theoretical foundation of the PCSP model. It is applied on the action-steps and strategic objectives of the I4P which contain relevant details generated in the preceding section 4.2. This category system facilitates a better identification of PCSP. Subsequently, section 4.4 systematically determines, presents and interprets the result in addition to giving a reflection of the research process.

The chapter, thus, systematically unfolds an exploratory research design and demonstrates how, in several steps, PCSP are identified in the I4P. Furthermore, this chapter as a whole details how typical biases that are common in document analysis are addressed, such as *biased selectivity* and *researcher bias*, and how quality criteria, such as validity, objectivity and reliability as well as process-specific quality criterion are addressed in this qualitative study. This is achieved according to specified standards in qualitative content analysis (Bortz & Döring, 2016).

4.1 Preliminary thoughts: How to analyse the I4P document, the rationale for a qualitative approach and a first analytical approach

The focus of this methodological chapter is set to show how to read the I4P document through the glasses of the PCSP model and identify analogies and connections. Or simply: *How much of an I4P could be understood by only using the PCSP model and its 51 elements as a system of reference?* From a viewpoint of falsification, a hypothesis would assume *51 PCSP are included in the holistic peace strategy for Ghana*. Departing from this assumption, the analysis would be to verify or falsify this. A document analysis would have the primary function to, in the words of Bowen (2009), “*verify findings and corroborate evidence from*” a data source (the I4P strategy) to prove (or disprove) that PCSP are included in the I4P (ibid., p.30).⁶⁸

That this endeavour is more difficult than it might sound and why an unconventional methodological approach is necessary, becomes more understandable after examining the material closer. This examination is conducted by answering four fundamental questions in regards to the material. Answering these questions, not only serves as a more profound introduction to the material, it further has the function to illuminate the cornerstones on which this document analysis is built (and why a document analysis is conducted at all). This

⁶⁸ Another research interest (e.g. what were the motivations for the drafters of the I4P document to achieve peace/to include PCSP) would be a questionable endeavour if the document would be the only source of data (Atkinson & Coffey, 1997; as cited by Bowen, 2009).

specifically means an answer on how this document analysis can create a meaningful understanding to eventually deduct recommendations for the I4P. These questions are partially based on the findings of the first summary of the I4P in section 2.4.2.

To reach a first approximation of the material, the questions are: (1) Is one document alone enough (sufficient data) to answer the research question? (2) Why is a qualitative approach preferable to a quantitative approach? (3) How can a highly functional and technical document (policy strategy) like the I4P for Ghana be approached and abstracted for an efficient document analysis? And most importantly - because it comprises the biggest methodological challenge for this analysis - (4) How can a vague guideline, such as a PCSP, be identified within measures of a national strategy if the measures of the strategy itself are defined rather imprecise? The last question answers this by simultaneously conducting a first analytical step. This first analytical procedure shows where PCSP can manifest in the I4P and demonstrates where problems of an uninformed analytical approach manifest.

(1) Why only one document must be sufficient to answer the research question

Since one document is the only source of information to empirically answer the research question, *biased selectivity* might come up as a point of critique in this analysis. Biased selectivity describes the incomplete collection of documents in document analysis. Yin (1994) points out that in an organisational context (in this case the NPC and UNDP Ghana) the available documents can be aligned with corporate policies, procedures and agendas hindering an objective perspective. They do not convey an objective perspective (e.g. acknowledging cultural peculiarities in a peace process) but are biased by an organisational narrative. How a document is written, always reflects interests or opinions in it and carries cultural and historical symbols or artefacts (Dannecker & Englert, 2014). Thus, if just one document is taken as a data source, it risks objectivity in the research process. The drafters of the I4P could implicitly assume certain facts which are unknown to the reader (e.g. a specific understanding of the practice in *conflict management*). It follows that there is a risk to overlook PCSP in the strategy because the document does not mention those implicit assumptions.

However, it was a conscious decision for this analysis to examine only the I4P document to identify PCSP. The reason for this decision is that the national I4P is the stated guiding strategy for *all* organisational levels of the NPC (national, regional and district) and, therefore, considered the only relevant strategy for the nationwide peace process (cp. section 2.4.3). On the contrary, an inclusion of other documents - on which basis' the inclusion of

PCSP would be examined - would diminish the claim of the research question to see if one holistic peace strategy includes PCSP. After all the strategy claims to be a credible, legitimate, and available strategy for “*all citizens*” in Ghana (I4P, 2013, p.33) and should as such be apprehendable and usable by as many actors as possible. If PCSP would not be identified in the I4P, this would be a lack in the conceptualisation of a holistic peace strategy - and not a lack of methodological objectivity.⁶⁹ For this reason the I4P is considered the only relevant document for the analysis⁷⁰ and needs as as detailed as possible examination.

Furthermore, there is another reason why *biased selectivity* is not considered a disturbing factor for the objectivity of this thesis. The previous chapters (1 and 3) established a common theoretical foundation on which both I4P and PCSP are built on. These theoretical foundations and concepts, such as conflict transformation, conflict dynamics, structural violence and sustainable peace, are common concepts in the domain of international peace work and for the PCSP model alike. That PCSP model and I4P concept can be compared on this common basis is also the epistemological legitimisation how one concept (I4P) can eventually be improved by another concept (PCSP). Therefore, the sought information in the I4P (and the concepts on which this information is based on) transcend narrative restrictions of an organizational context and is as such independent from other documents.

(2) Why a qualitative approach is preferable for analysing the I4P document

While a 63-page document is without a doubt a valid and extensive object of analysis or, as Lamnek puts it, a *written protocol of everyday monological communication* (ibid., p.492) - it can still be considered a relatively short data output - not mentioning its highly *technical* nature common to governmental strategies (which goes along with an even further decrease of passages with continuous text in favour of passages containing *listings* or *charts*). This shortage of *raw* empirical material becomes even more relevant since the actual measures, which are of special interest in this thesis, account for only 4 pages (text seen in table 3).

69 The presumption for this reasoning lies also in the personal opinion that a well-drafted holistic peace strategy should be readable, understandable and applicable for all relevant actors in the peace process. Be it an highly educated or less educated person, or if it is an international foreign expert or a local *chief*. It follows the I4P must *function* independently from other documents.

70 This might seem problematic whenever there are direct references towards other documents in the I4P. But since this is only once the case with the GSGDA framework in regards to peace curricula, and peace education is sufficiently detailed in the I4P (as will be seen in section 4.2), the impact of this aspect in the analytical procedure is negligible.

The I4P for Ghana is an already clearly structured and concise document (in opposite to for example large quantities of interview recordings or vast amounts of newspaper material, common in qualitative analysis). A lot of planning already went into the drafting of the material with the aim to organise and narrow it (this is reflected by the sheer amount of time, the expertise of people, and organisations involved in the production of the document - cp. section 2.4).

As such, the data (words, sentences, references, similarities) which would be quantitatively *dissected* from such a data material are not expected to result in enough confluent data and a significant statistical evaluation (e.g. test power for a significant quantitative falsification based on word count as hinted to in the introduction of this section). A more helpful method can instead be located in an interpretative paradigm to describe the material in a meaningful way (e.g. how is a similar word changing its significance with additional context information). As such a content analysis that systematically reads and examines the document is considered the most suitable methodological approach (Mayring, 2015).

A content analysis can be further specified regarding the principal procedure. In general, it can be conducted in two different ways. Lamnek (2005) differentiates here between a normative paradigm - or *quantitative content analysis* - and an interpretative paradigm - or *qualitative content analysis* - which are both applied in content analysis. Both approaches aim at the classification of symbolic material by scientific rules to extract data, but the former puts focus on the quantitative relations of this extracted data while the latter uses this data for interpretation. Due to the peculiarities of the document stated above, this thesis applies a *qualitative content analysis*. This does not imply, though, that certain quantitative methodological steps are excluded from the analytical process. Mayring (2015) even emphasizes the meaningful integration of quantitative and qualitative steps if it helps the analytical procedure (ibid., p.53). A category in a content analysis that appears exceptionally frequent in comparison to another category could, for example, indicate special relevance for said category.

Furthermore, a qualitative approach is preferred because applying quantitative methods on documents (even if there would be sufficient raw data material for significant results) often neglect the implicit assumptions of the analyzed material (Mayring, 2015, p.65). The digression at the end of chapter 1 already hinted, that especially strategies for peacebuilding are not necessarily independent from the interests of certain actors. This could make an unreflected analysis of said material under certain circumstances - and depending on

the research question - problematic. Thorough *qualitative content analysis* is suited to prevent this since it moves within an interpretative paradigm and processes the material before interpreting it.

A document analysis, in general, has further apparent advantages of which the most noteworthy are the *unobtrusiveness* and *non-reactivity* during the research process. The former states that the presence of the analyser and the examination itself do not interfere with the research process. The latter describes concerns of reflexivity regarding the construction of meaning by the researcher during social interaction and how this is prevented (Bowen, 2009, p.31).

(3) How the I4P document is approached and abstracted

Chapter 2, section 2.4.3 already alluded that the I4P strategy makes it easy to separate the document into more relevant and less relevant analytical sections regarding the identification of PCSP. Mayring (2015) consistently states that it can be helpful in content analysis to break the text down *roughly and in detail* (ibid., p.31). For this analysis, these rough parts are broken down and labelled as *identifiable measures* and *additional information* (see figure 5). This step is of utmost relevance since it determines the whole ongoing analytical procedure. This step essentially states that the document analysis distances itself from a focus of the whole document towards a specific and manifest part of the document. As such, this procedure is in itself a relevant step in the analysis because it states the importance of concrete actions (or *action-steps*) in the I4P for PCSP. Therefore, all the analytical procedures from this point onward have the aim to understand the *identifiable measures* better and cut down the relevance of the *additional information* as “supporting material”.

The *identifiable measures* are the 29 individual action-steps summarized under six principal strategic objectives (cp. section 2.4.2). Strategic objectives and action-steps are summed up in sub-chapters 6.3.2.1 till 6.3.2.9 and called *Strategic Action Plans* (pages 38 till 40) in the document.⁷¹ The action-steps are more detailed measures with the aim to follow through with the strategic objectives. Therefore action-steps and strategic objectives should be considered as linked.⁷² For an overview of all action-steps as they appear in the I4P, see table 3 on the next pages.

⁷¹ Technically the respective indicators under 7.5: *Logical Framework* on pages 47 till 50 can also be considered part of the action-steps but are not relevant for the analysis at this point.

⁷² That is the reason why action-steps and measures are sometimes used interchangeably in this thesis.

Identifiable measures⁷³	
Strategic Objectives	Action-steps
1: To Coordinate and Harmonize All Peace Initiatives within Ghana Outcome (by 2014): National peace and stability is enhanced through a harmonized and coordinated peace mechanism	1.1 Establish a network of all peace actors in Ghana 1.2 Identify and evaluate all ongoing peace initiatives in Ghana 1.3 Institute a national platform for Peace Partnerships to initiate joint initiatives 1.4 Develop a coordination and operational framework for peace actors and initiatives 1.5 Set up committees for planning, managing, implementing, and monitoring of harmonizing effects
2: To promote understanding of peace for behavioural change Outcome (by 2017): Ghanaians are more prone to informed behaviour with an increased respect for and tolerance of diversity, and increased knowledge of, skills for and positive attitudes about sustainable peace	2.1 Collaborate with research and other institutions to undertake the research such as -A conflict baseline survey on Oil Zones ⁷⁴ and their surrounding communities -The role of youth in conflict -An integrated study on the economic social/anthropological, legal perspectives on the Bawku conflict ⁷⁵ 2.2 Develop and conduct nationwide formal and informal peace building educational campaigns specifically designed for each target group using all forms of media, social networks and mobile telephones 2.3 Develop an informative website, facebook page and twitter account for ongoing peace education 2.4 Collaborate with the University for Development Studies to institutionalize the Harmattan School ⁷⁶ 2.5 Support the Government's efforts (as stated in the GSGDA) ⁷⁷ to mainstream peace education into school curricula

⁷³ Notably is also that the same strategic objectives with their respective action-steps appear three times in total. As already stated in the *Strategic Action Plans*, but also in the *Strategic Objectives* (4.4) and the *Indicative Budget Plan* which approximates the allocation of funds (8.3). Partially even a fourth time in *Implementation Roadmap* (6.4) which approximates a time frame for the implementation of certain action steps, and a fifth time in the *Logical Framework* (7.5) which states the indicators for the strategic objectives. This repetition stresses the central relevance of the *identifiable measures* in the document.

⁷⁴ Why specifically “Oil zones” are mentioned here, refers to the access to, control of and use of resources in Ghana, such as land, minerals, and oil deposits on the sea coast. This was and is a constant breeding ground for violent conflicts (I4P, 2013, p.20).

⁷⁵ Cp. footnote number 43.

⁷⁶ According to the I4P, the *Harmattan School* is a learning platform where peace and conflict issues affecting the conflict prone area will be deliberated and creative solutions developed (I4P, 2013, p.22).

⁷⁷ Cp. footnote number 44

3: To facilitate prevention and management of electoral violence Outcome: Peaceful elections by December 2012 and 2016	3.1 Engage all political parties on strategies to ensure peaceful elections 3.2 Collaborate with key stakeholders to undertake activities to reduce the likelihood of conflict 3.3 Engage the media on strategies for peace driven journalism 3.4 Engage other governance institutions on the electoral processes and to develop strategies to ensure inclusiveness, fairness and transparency 3.5 Promote peace by supporting the creation of platforms for religious/traditional leaders, in conflict areas, and regional platforms for interaction between political parties and Chiefs, the media, security, women, youth leaders and CSOs 3.6 Strengthen the mediation platforms in conflict areas such as Bawku, Dagbon Alavanyo/Nkonya, and Hohoe⁷⁸ 3.7 Conduct a post-election experiences and lessons learned in all regions
4: To Prevent Tensions From Erupting into Conflict Outcome: By 2017, improved national capacity to prevent conflict through strengthened conflict prevention mechanisms	4.1 Facilitate or develop an effective monitoring system of conflict indicators 4.2 Strengthen the national Early Warning System by developing a common framework to ensure information is fed into the system and it reaches responding agencies 4.3 Develop and conduct conflict analysis which should include a conflict mapping and an identification of underlying history, interests, specific root causes, actors, patterns of occurrence, status of the conflict, barriers to human security and opportunity for peace building 4.4 Promote research, learning and sharing of good practices within and outside the country 4.5 Facilitate or develop training programs using the most effective, cost efficient, and practical methods for peace partners and other stakeholders including but not limited to women, youth, representatives of security services and Chiefs on the following areas: Monitoring of Conflict Indicators; Contribution to and Use of Early Warning System; Conflict Analysis; Dialogue; Preventive Diplomacy; Confidence and Trust building.
5: To Manage Conflicts So As To Contain and Limit Further Escalation Outcome (By 2017): Improved national capacity to manage conflict through strengthened conflict management mechanisms	5.1 Promote the peace process and foster efforts to advance cooperation and understanding of differing interests through ADR [Alternative Dispute Resolutions] mechanisms, including consensus building, Negotiation, and Mediation 5.2 Conduct peace education campaigns focused on managing behaviour and speech which will incite violence especially for the media and affected parties 5.3 Facilitate or develop training programs, using the most effective, cost efficient, and practical training methods, for Peace Partners, and other stakeholders including but not limited to women, youth, representatives of security services and Chiefs on the following areas: Monitoring of Conflict indicators; Contribution to and use of Early Warning System; Conflict Analysis; Dialogue; Preventive Diplomacy; Negotiation; and Mediation
6: To Identify Root Causes and Resolve Conflict	6.1 Conduct research on specific conflicts to identify underlying causes, needs and interests 6.2 Advice and recommend to government policies and/or legislation that will address underlying root causes beyond the purview of the Council for example as social and economic causes of conflict

⁷⁸ While these conflicts are not detailed in the I4P itself, they all refer to past violent conflicts that happened in Ghana (cp. footnote number 43).

Outcome (by 2017): improved national capacity to identify root causes and resolve conflict through strengthened conflict resolution mechanisms	6.3 Promote peace building, stabilization, reform, and reconciliation using mechanisms which may including, Conflict Analysis, Dialogue Consensus building, Negotiation, and Mediation 6.4 Facilitate or develop training programs, using the most effective, cost efficient, and practical training methods, for Peace Partners, and other stakeholders including but not limited to women youth, representatives of security services and Chiefs on the following areas: Monitoring of Conflict Indicators; Contribution to and use of Early Warning System; Conflict Analysis; Dialogue; Advanced Mediation; and Peace Agreements
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Table 3: Summary of the stated objectives and action steps in the I4P for Ghana (Identifiable measures)

The *additional information* is the rest of the document apart from the *identifiable measures*. This phrasing is chosen because the *identifiable measures* are the explicitly stated operations in the strategy and as such of obvious interest for answering the research question.⁷⁹ Every “other information” in the I4P only becomes relevant as far as they help to better understand these measures. Thus, *additional information* has, as the name implies, importance for a better understanding of said operations. For a visualization of the relation between I4P, *identifiable measures* and *additional information* see figure 5.

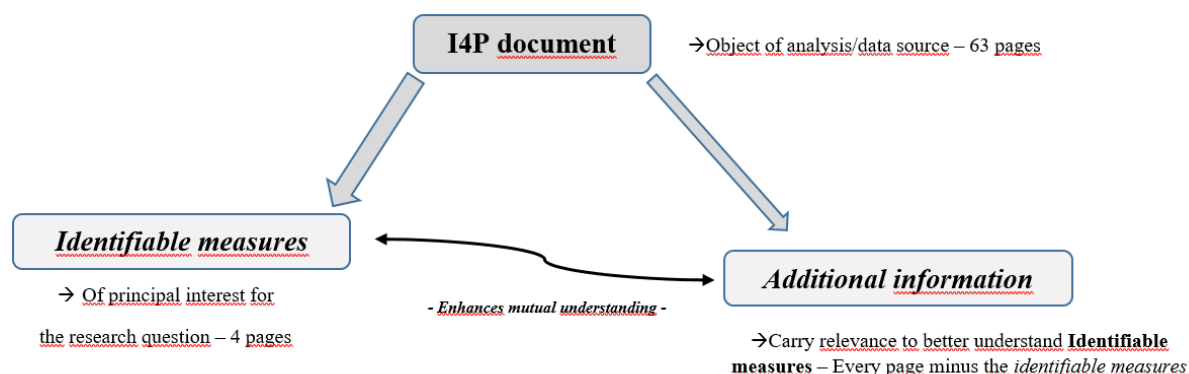


Figure 5: A rough sketch of how the research question is approached

(4) A direct comparison of identifiable measures (without details) and PCSP

Now that the methodological foundations of this analysis have been clarified (one document is examined in detail with a qualitative content analysis - focussing on the *identifiable measures*, with the rest of the document serving as supporting information), there still remains the most relevant question: How can measures in the I4P be compared to particular

⁷⁹ The logical reason behind this assumption is that PCSP are conditions that manifest through *actions*, and concrete *intents* in the I4P are the first steps for actions.

PCSP and analysed? Or more specific, how can the presence of PCSP be detected in a measure? Based on these questions, another question can be deducted: Why is a direct *lineup* of *identifiable measures* and PCSP not a sufficient and more straightforward methodological solution?

To demonstrate the problems with such an “analytical shortcut”, a preliminary analysis is conducted.⁸⁰ This is done not just to highlight the shortcomings of this approach but also to identify necessary steps to define the ongoing analysis. Table 4 shows the outcome of this endeavour on the next two pages.

	Prevention of destructive conflict	Possible	Partially	Promotion of sustainable peace	Possible	Partially
Micro level	<i>Pre-Mic-1</i>	2 2 4 5 6	4	<i>Pro-Mic-1</i>	1 1 2 3 3	1 1 2
	<i>Pre-Mic-2</i>	2 2 5	2 2	<i>Pro-Mic-2</i>		
	<i>Pre-Mic-3</i>	6		<i>Pro-Mic-3</i>	2 3	
				<i>Pro-Mic-4</i>	2 5	
	<i>Pre-Mic-4</i>	2 2 5		<i>Pro-Mic-5</i>		
	<i>Pre-Mic-5</i>	6		<i>Pro-Mic-6</i>	1 2	1
	<i>Pre-Mic-6</i>	1 2 2 3 5	1 2 2	<i>Pro-Mic-7</i>		
	<i>Pre-Mic-7</i>	2 2 6		<i>Pro-Mic-8</i>	3 4 5	4 5
				<i>Pro-Mic-9</i>		
				<i>Pro-Mic-10</i>		
					2 5	
					11233355	1 4
					2	
					3 5	
					2	

⁸⁰ Technically, this whole first analytical process is closer to a “*thematic analysis*” that recognizes patterns (Bowen, 2009, p.32) or even a “*first hermeneutical circle*” which examines the material and interlocks the text comprehension with prior knowledge (Hussy et al., 2010, p.238 ff).

Meso level	<i>Pre-Mes-1</i>	3 3 5		<i>Pro-Mes-1</i>		
	<i>Pre-Mes-2</i>			<i>Pro-Mes-2</i>		
	<i>Pre-Mes-3</i>	3			2 2	
				<i>Pro-Mes-3</i>		
	<i>Pre-Mes-4</i>	2 2 2 2 5 6	4	<i>Pro-Mes-4</i>		3
	<i>Pre-Mes-5</i>			<i>Pro-Mes-5</i>	1112335	
	<i>Pre-Mes-6</i>	5	5	<i>Pro-Mes-6</i>		
		3 3 3 5	3 5	<i>Pro-Mes-7</i>	22244556	4 5 6
				<i>Pro-Mes-8</i>	3 3 4 6	
					2 2 3 5	5
Macro level	<i>Pre-Mac-1</i>	2		<i>Pro-Mac-1</i>	1 2	
	<i>Pre-Mac-2</i>	1133333	1 3	<i>Pro-Mac-2</i>	3 6	
	<i>Pre-Mac-3</i>	11144445	4 4 5 6	<i>Pro-Mac-3</i>	2 3 4	
		6				
	<i>Pre-Mac-4</i>	4 5 6		<i>Pro-Mac-4</i>	11333345	1 1 3 3
	<i>Pre-Mac-5</i>			<i>Pro-Mac-5</i>	66	
	<i>Pre-Mac-6</i>	2 2	2 2	<i>Pro-Mac-6</i>	1 1 1 2 2 4	
	<i>Pre-Mac-7</i>	11111233	3 3 4 5 6 6	<i>Pro-Mac-7</i>		
		334566			1133333	1 1 3 3 3
	<i>Pre-Mac-8</i>	1 1		<i>Pro-Mac-8</i>		

				<i>Pro-Mac-9</i> <i>Pro-Mac-10</i> <i>Pro-Mac-11</i> <i>Pro-Mac-12</i>	2 2 4 4 4	2 2 4 4 4
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Table 4: Summary of measure-PCSP connections. Highlighted are the measures with no identified compliance (red) and those with at least two measure-PCSP connections on “partially” and “possible” from at least two different strategic objectives (green).

On first sight, the table seems confusing, but essentially the results show a simple and direct comparison of *identifiable measures* with PCSP. This is conducted without any

methodological preparation and only with preceding knowledge. The table as a whole indicates a simple reflection of possible compliance between PCSP and *identifiable measures*.⁸¹ This was conducted without any other information from the I4P document (*additional information*). As such, the *identifiable measures* only provide the information which is inherent in *themselves* (the exceptions being names and places unique to the Ghanaian context which are explained in footnotes; cp. table 3).

Table 4 only indicates the total amount of *measure-PCSP* connections. Table 4 uses the abbreviations of PCSP as indicated in chapter 3, section 3.3. In the following, the *procedure*, the *findings*, the *conclusions* and the *shortcomings* are detailed. Followed by the *conclusions* and *implications* for the ongoing analysis.

Procedure

Each of the strategic objectives and action-steps, as listed in table 3,⁸² is compared with each of the 51 PCSP. A compliance of action-step and PCSP (or simply *measure-PCSP* connection) is based on an apparent analogy of meaning, logical reasoning and knowledge of the author about the I4P and PCSP, discussed in chapters 2 and 3.⁸³ One measure can comply with several, one or none PCSP. Whenever a PCSP is identified within a measure, a *measure-PCSP* connection is marked.

The possible outcomes whether a measure complies with a particular PCSP are labelled as *possible* and *partially*. “*Possible*” states that a particular PCSP could manifest within a measure but still lacks information to ascertain or reject it. “*Partially*” essentially means the same as “*possible*” with the only difference that a measure apparently fits better. This differentiation was just conducted to have a minimum of differentiation between *measure-PCSP* connections.⁸⁴ Still, both outcomes are based on a subjective opinion. An example is action-step 4.4 *Promote research, learning and sharing of good practices within*

81 “Preparation” here means especially regarding any context or details from the *additional information*.

82 Strategic objective and its respective action-steps are considered interrelated as they appear together in the I4P. As such, they were always put together with an action-step (see Annex A). This becomes especially relevant in action-steps 4.5, 5.3 and 6.4 which are formulated nearly identical but change their meaning somewhat in light under which strategic objective they *operate*.

83 One approach was also the identification of verbal similarities, but as both PCSP and identifiable measure do contain a negligible amount of identical words (e.g. *sharing*, *education*, *network* and few others) *this* approach was quickly dismissed.

84 Even the outcome “*Present*” was included as a purely theoretical category to describe whether a measure entirely complies to a PCSP (as in the same words and the same unmistakable meaning). As there is no action-step which could be labelled as “*Present*” with absolute certainty, the category was dismissed.

and outside the country. This is a very imprecise indication that could manifest in a variety of PCSP such as Pre-Mac-3: *A transcultural elite with shared norms of tolerance, cooperation, and creative problem-solving, who model for all the efficacy and value of constructive, non-violent action*, depending on the target group of the action-step. It could also manifest in Pre-Mic-1: *Awareness of the causes, consequences and escalatory tendencies of destructive conflict and violence*, depending on the nature of the “good practices”. All in all, this shows how random an uninformed *measure-PCPS* connection manifests

The numbers in the table indicate under which strategic objective the *measure-PCSP* connection was identified. The more numbers are listed in a cell the more often a *measure-PCSP* connection was identified (or assumed) under a strategic objective. The different numbers (1 to 6) indicate under which strategic objective the *measure-PCSP* connection was identified.

Obviously this approach lacks in objectivity as, for example, no interraters are used for this analytical step. Inter-rater reliability is not considered relevant at this point since this preliminary analysis only has the primary purpose to get a first impression of comparability between identifiable measures and PCSP. At this stage of the analysis, a possible *researcher bias* is not considered as a relevant influence on the final results of this thesis because the results (as shown in table 4) are not the final outcome. In addition, inter-rater reliability would be problematic with interraters that have no knowledge regarding certain theoretical concepts such as the PCSP model or I4P. This would complicate the process to identify a PCSP in an action-step.

Findings

Table 4 shows various notable results. Compelling, at first sight, is that “*possible*” compliance is the predominant allocation, while “*partially*” is identified for far fewer measures. An obvious problem while determining if PCSP manifest within measures was that some PCSP are labelled as “*possible/partially*”, even if they do not comply with PCSP.⁸⁵ This results from the general uncertainty during the mapping of measures, since the possibility exists that some information or specification in the *additional information* is not considered.

⁸⁵ If they are not labelled as either “*possible/partially*”, though, it is very unlikely that PCSP manifest within them (this has implications for the later analysis as seen in section 4.3).

Such a specification or information, thus, could change a subjective understanding of the measure.⁸⁶

Pro-Mes-1, Pro-Mes-4, Pre-Mes-6, Pro-Mac-6, Pro-Mac-8, Pro-Mac-12 and Pre-Mac-8, do not have any obvious *measure-PCSP* connection. Pro-Mic-1, Pro-Mic-5, Pro-Mic-7, Pre-Mic-6, Pre-Mes-5, Pro-Mes-5, Pro-Mes-8, Pre-Mac-2, Pre-Mac-3, Pro-Mac-4, Pro-Mac-6, Pro-Mac-7, on the other hand, do exhibit several connections with at least two strategic objectives on “*possible*” and “*partially*” *measure-PCSP* connections. These results become relevant for the interpretation of results in section 4.3.

Shortcomings

As already mentioned, this approach is too free-handed in that the analysis is based on superficial and verbal similarities. It relies too much on assumptions of the author. It also is not guaranteed whether the results would be similar if another person would decide the compliance of PCSP and action-steps. Therefore, sufficient reliability is not given (Bortz & Döring, 2016). The procedure is neither systematic nor rule-based.⁸⁷ The results lack in validity and objectivity since they are based on just a small fraction of the whole document and cannot be generalized for an evaluation of the whole document.

Conclusions and Implications (that are relevant for the ongoing analysis)

The objective of the thesis and the research question demand a holistic *understanding of meaning* of the I4P. This means to identify a detailed intention of every single measure.

In light of the conducted comparison above, the aim of this chapter and the analytical procedure now becomes comprehensible. To accurately identify PCSP in the I4P, an exhaustive analysis is needed that leaves no space for assumptions that refer to

⁸⁶ The only measure that apparently did not comply with any PCSP was 2.4 (*Collaborate with the University for Development Studies to institutionalize the Harmattan School*). This seems obvious as neither the University of Development Studies nor the Harmattan School does deliver any information in this specific context that hint towards the manifestation of PCSP besides its specification in the overall strategic objective 2 to *promote knowledge, skills and positive attitudes for peaceful behaviour*. This finding should not be overstated, though, since this measure is defined very context-specific and can still be regarded interdependent with the other measures of strategic objective 2. As such, it could still comply with one or more PCSP. However, this is exemplary for the tendency that a lack of detail might hinder the identification of certain PCSP.

⁸⁷ This does not mean the applied method is random. This form of analysis and interpretation is what Mayring (2015) calls *text-immanent interpretation* in content analysis (ibid., p.30 f). This examination of the text allows logical reasoning next to the identification grammatical, semantic and syntactic relationships between segments of the text. He describes this procedure as one of the more applicable process steps within hermeneutical interpretation (ibid.).

“possible/partially”, because the measure either complies to a PCSP or the PCSP does not manifest (or the PCSP complies in part but the part is exactly detectable). For that reason, to discover a manifestation of PCSP in *identifiable measures* requires an as informed as possible understanding of those measures. In other words, the true meanings and intentions of the *identifiable measures* in the I4P document must be identified exhaustively and action-steps need all the details the document provides for a better understanding.

Even though the results of this first analytical section lack in validity and objectivity (no interrater, cp. above) they are an important analytical step and a foundation for an ongoing analysis due to following reasons.

(1) The indicated *measure-PCSP* connections show where measures apparently comply to PCSP and can be mapped on the PCSP model. While not final, this marks a connecting factor and hints where attention should be put for the later analytical steps. Even more interesting is which PCSP do not have any obvious connection to the I4P because they might have hidden (or latent)⁸⁸ connections which only become apparent in the rest of the document. Therefore, the results give a baseline to compare the findings for a later interpretation in section 4.3.

(2) The results further show that the *identifiable measures* with more details usually also have a higher number of “possible” *measure-PCSP* connections. This is reasonable as the more information the measure contains, the more indications can be drawn to eventually map them on the PCSP model. The logical reasoning here is that if measures would contain more details (as in containing more information), they would probably comply more clearly with PCSP and with a higher number of PCSP.

(3) Consistent with point (2), it became apparent that a lack of detail in the measure made it difficult to adequately identify a PCSP. This deficiency in detail indicates which questions need further details for a better identification of PCSP. Therefore, it is possible to ascertain which questions the analytical process “need to ask” the *additional information*. “Need to ask” is here not only meant as a metaphor but includes the idea that such a process and examination is just allowed to extract information from the I4P directly because this process aims to identify how the I4P as a document clarifies its own statements/measures.

⁸⁸ Bortz and Döring (2016) even hold that the principal goal of a qualitative content analysis is to deduct the manifest *and* latent meanings of a document (ibid., p.542).

Additional conclusions:

- The degree of detail varies greatly with different action-steps. Some measures are more detailed, with addresses, indicators and several measures (e.g. action-step 5.3), while others are nothing more than a stated intent (e.g. action-step 4.1). This is the reason why an analytical operationalisation further subdivides the “longer” action-steps for readability. For example are the conduction and the development of peace education campaigns spelled out as conduction of peace education campaigns and the development of peace education campaigns (this is only an optical adaptation of the measures in Annex A and B, and does *not* alter any contents or words of the measures itself).
- Some action steps by themselves did only provide sufficient information if they were considered together with their strategic objective (e.g. action-step 2.1). This insinuates that each strategic objective and their particular action-step provide each other with additional information. Therefore, neither should a strategic objective examined by itself nor should the action-step be examined without the context of a strategic objective. All action-steps are portrayed together with their respective strategic objectives (this is also a solely optical adaptation as can be seen in Annex A).
- Another possible finding worth mentioning is that no measure complied with absolute certainty to a particular PCSP. But this outcome is conceivable, as the PCSP model was not used as an apparent source of reference in the creation of the I4P strategy. PCSP are broad guidelines and absolute verbal and semantic similarity without intention is highly unlikely.

General problem of the analysis

This first section indicated the central problem in this analysis: The main reason that makes a direct comparison so difficult and a specific analytical approach necessary, lies in the general difficulty to pinpoint concrete acts or procedures of both theoretical concepts (PCSP and I4P). This is no surprise, as a guideline for national, regional and local organisations (e.g. peace councils), the measures in the I4P are defined relatively imprecisely instead of clear-cut operations.⁸⁹ The particular PCSP are also considered general guidelines (to establish peaceful societies). As such, they too are formulated rather imprecise and, thus, cannot with

⁸⁹ The strategy even describes itself as “*flexible guideline with clear direction*” (I4P, 2013, p.8).

certainty be mapped to a certain measure in the I4P (or other imprecise political measures for that matter).

For example, already the first stated action-step 1.1 (*“Establish a network of all peace actors in Ghana”*) seems compliant with several PCSP, such as *“Cross-cutting structures fostering common interests, activities, and bonds across different ethnic and religious groups”* (Pro-Mes-3) or *“Coordination between local governments, civil society and international organisations to prevent violent conflict”* (Pre-Mac-6). But to definitely map the measure on the PCSP model, the exact meaning of *network* is necessary. Additionally, an implication which (or in what fields) *peace actors* engage would be helpful for further clarification.⁹⁰ Such an *abstract versus abstract* analogy makes it difficult to conveniently allocate similar meanings.

Furthermore, because PCSP are defined so broadly, the analysis reverts to considering a PCSP present even if it is only *in part* present.⁹¹ This methodological backstop is deemed necessary because the practical and theoretical implications of a partially fulfilled PCSP would need further elaboration of the whole PCSP model. A possible adaptation could be the splitting of one PCSP into several variations with respective implications.⁹² However, as the adaptation of the PCSP model is not the aim of this research (cp. introduction) this would expand the scope of this thesis.

In summary, the *identifiable measures* do not lack so much in comprehension, as they lack in details to accurately map them on the PCSP model. To achieve this *meaningful understanding of identifiable measures*, a second analytical step examines the document (or rather the *additional information*) again, but this time with a specified focus.

4.2 Second analytical step: Examination of the *additional information* and detailing of *identifiable measures*

90 There is a possibility that an analysis of the additional information does not clarify the nature of the peace actors. However, if this is the case it is a deficit in the I4P strategy.

91 E.g.: Pre-Mes-8: *Social taboos against corporal punishment and other forms of violence in the home, schools, workplace and public spaces*. If any of the addressees (home, schools, workplaces and public spaces) is identified in a measure that complies to this PCSP it would still be labelled a valid *measure-PCSP* connection in the strategy, even though it does not fully encompass the whole claim of the PCSP.

92 E.g.: Pre-Mes-8: *Social taboos against corporal punishment and other forms of violence in the home, schools, workplace and public spaces* could, for example, be expanded into:
Pre-Mes-8a): *Social taboos against corporal punishment in the home*;
Pre-Mes-8b): *Social taboos against forms of violence in the home*;
Pre-Mes-8c): *Social taboos against corporal punishment in the workplace*; [...] and so forth.

The above findings are not useable for conclusive results but they pave the way how to proceed with the analytical procedure. Now it is clear where information lack in the *identifiable measures*. This knowledge can lead the analysis for a better understanding of them. The objective for the next part of the analysis is, therefore, adding as many details as possible to the action-steps in order to reconstruct the I4P's intents for the respective action-steps. The aforementioned division of the I4P in *additional information* and *identifiable measures* is the starting point for this endeavour.

While at this point it is unknown *if* the *additional information* contains the knowledge to make the action-steps more detailed, it is still possible to determine *what* the knowledge should be to make the action-steps more detailed. In other words, the *identifiable measures* generate questions for the *additional information* (see table 5). After these questions have been generated, the *additional information* is thoroughly examined with those questions in mind. Parts and segments of the *additional information* which directly refer to the question are gathered and written next to the question (see Annex A).

This methodological strategy resembles what Hussy, et al. (2010) describe as the *second hermeneutical circle* in which the *whole* of a text helps to understand the *part* of the text better and vice versa. This hermeneutical-interpretational approach infers in this case from the whole (*additional information*) to the part (*identifiable measures*). As such it permits a better understanding of relevant meaning (ibid., p.238 ff).

Questions as the leading analytical tools for the 'additional information'

Table 5 lists the 29 action-steps in the *first column*. The *second column* lists questions which could help detail the *identifiable measures* based on the procedure in section 4.1.⁹³ This examination of the document is conducted with the following four guidelines:

(1) The examination of the document is conducted with the focus to answer the questions. As such, it has a “data-reducing” character to identify only the relevant information and neglect irrelevant information. Similarly, otherwise interesting but non-beneficial information regarding a question is ignored.⁹⁴ While this irrelevant information is not used for the further

⁹³ For a better overview the *answers* to the questions are directly integrated next to the action-steps in Annex A.

⁹⁴ For example, if peace actors are vaguely described as a “*plethora*” (I4P, 2013, p.21) of peace actors in Ghana, it does not add additional information for the measure and is left out of the third column - even though it specifies *peace actors*.

analysis to identify PCSP, notable uncommon findings are still noted for the later reflection and discussion.

(2) No *interpretations* by the author nor other documents should answer the questions (cp. section 4.1: *Why only one document must be sufficient to answer the research question*). Only original words, passages and segments of the *additional information* can provide information regarding the questions. Conclusively, every information refers to the page number in the I4P (in brackets) and can be easily traced to the original location in the document (see Annex B or table 6). Assumptions by the author are *allowed* insofar as there is an indication that words, segments and passages possibly refer to answer a question, even if the material is not clear about this.⁹⁵

(3) A question (as seen in table 5) is not meant to facilitate a better understanding of that particular action-step alone but, depending on the information, can help to bring about a better understanding of other or even all action-steps (interrelatedness of measures, e.g. *peace education* is mentioned in action-steps 2.3, 2.5., and 5.2). Therefore, the same information can appear more than one time under an action-step if the information facilitates a better understanding of the respective action-step.

(4) Some action-steps do not necessarily need additional information since they are *sufficiently detailed*. “Sufficiently” means that they are detailed enough and have no apparent need for further clarification to identify PCSP (action-steps 2.1, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 4.1 and 4.3). Nonetheless, if details exist for those action-steps that progress an understanding of that action-step, the information is still included. (For a better overview Annex A details the assigned words, segments and passages.)

<i>Identifiable measures</i> ⁹⁶	Necessary detail
1.1 Establish a network of all peace actors in Ghana	Is network specified in the document?

⁹⁵ For example: Mainstreaming of gender equity. While not stated directly referring to *promote reform in dialogue and mediation* in action-step 6.3 it is still assumed that the general statement to promote gender equality on page 29 of the I4P.

⁹⁶ The strategic objectives are not listed for reasons of readability.

1.2 Identify and evaluate all ongoing peace initiatives in Ghana	What encompasses the peace initiatives ?
1.3 Institute a national platform for Peace Partnerships to initiate joint initiatives	What are the peace partnerships in the document? Are joint initiatives already detailed in the I4P?
1.4 Develop a coordination and operational framework for peace actors and initiatives	What are peace initiatives in the document? What are peace actors in the document?
1.5 Set up committees for planning, managing, implementing, and monitoring of harmonizing effects	Are harmonizing effects further specified in the I4P?
2.1 Collaborate with research and other institutions to undertake the research such as -A conflict baseline survey on Oil Zones and their surrounding communities -The role of youth in conflict -An integrated study on the economic social/anthropological, legal perspectives on the Bawku conflict	<i>Sufficiently detailed</i>
2.2 Develop and conduct nationwide formal and informal peace building educational campaigns specifically designed for each target group using all forms of media, social networks and mobile telephones	Are peacebuilding educational campaigns further specified in the I4P? Is each target group specified in the I4P?
2.3 Develop an informative website, facebook page and twitter account for ongoing peace education	Is peace education specified in the document? (same as in 2.5)
2.4 Collaborate with the University for Development Studies to institutionalize the Harmattan School ⁹⁷	Are the University of development studies and the Harmattan school detailed in the I4P?
2.5 Support the Government's efforts (as stated in the GSGDA) to mainstream peace education into school curricula	Are the contents of peace education specified in the I4P? (same as in 2.3)
3.1 Engage all political parties on strategies to ensure peaceful elections	Are peaceful elections defined/clarified in the document?
3.2 Collaborate with key stakeholders to undertake activities to reduce the likelihood of conflict	Who are the key stakeholders as mentioned in the I4P? Is it stated in the I4P how to reduce such likelihood of conflict ?
3.3 Engage the media on strategies for peace driven journalism	Is peace driven journalism defined?
3.4 Engage other governance institutions on the electoral processes and to develop strategies to ensure inclusiveness, fairness and transparency	<i>Sufficiently detailed</i>
3.5 Promote peace by supporting the creation of platforms for religious/traditional leaders, in conflict areas, and regional platforms for interaction between political parties and Chiefs, the media, security, women, youth leaders and CSOs	<i>Sufficiently detailed</i>
3.6 Strengthen the mediation platforms in conflict areas such as Bawku, Dagbon Alavanyo/Nkonya, and Hohoe	<i>Sufficiently detailed</i> <i>(even though the measure leaves open if other platforms in the I4P are meant for this mediation platforms or not. Therefore:</i>

⁹⁷ According to the I4P, the *Harmattan School* is a learning platform where peace and conflict issues affecting the conflict prone area will be deliberated and creative solutions developed (I4P, 2013, p.22).

	<i>Are all mediation platforms specified in the I4P?)</i>
3.7 Conduct a post-election experiences and lessons learned in all regions -An integrated study on the economic social/anthropological, legal perspectives on the Bawku conflict	Are these post-election experiences and lessons learned specified in the I4P?
4.1 Facilitate or develop an effective monitoring system of conflict indicators	<i>Sufficiently detailed</i>
4.2 Strengthen the national Early Warning System by developing a common framework to ensure information is fed into the system and it reaches responding agencies	Is the Early Warning System specified in the I4P?
4.3 Develop and conduct conflict analysis which should include a conflict mapping and an identification of underlying history, interests, specific root causes, actors, patterns of occurrence, status of the conflict, barriers to human security and opportunity for peace building	<i>Sufficiently detailed</i>
4.4 Promote research, learning and sharing of good practices within and outside the country	Are good practices defined in the I4P?
4.5 Facilitate or develop training programs using the most effective, cost efficient, and practical methods for peace partners and other stakeholders including but not limited to women, youth, representatives of security services and Chiefs on the following areas: Monitoring of Conflict Indicators; Contribution to and Use of Early Warning System; Conflict Analysis; Dialogue; Preventive Diplomacy; Confidence and Trust building.	Are training programs specified in the document? (same in 6.4 and 5.3)
5.1 Promote the peace process and foster efforts to advance cooperation and understanding of differing interests through ADR [Alternative Dispute Resolutions] mechanisms, including consensus building, Negotiation, and Mediation	Are ADR mechanisms further specified in the I4P?
5.2 Conduct peace education campaigns focused on managing behaviour and speech which will incite violence especially for the media and affected parties	What are the media and the affected parties ?
5.3 Facilitate or develop training programs, using the most effective, cost efficient, and practical training methods, for Peace Partners, and other stakeholders including but not limited to women, youth, representatives of security services and Chiefs on the following areas: Monitoring of Conflict indicators; Contribution to and use of Early Warning System; Conflict Analysis; Dialogue; Preventive Diplomacy; Negotiation; and Mediation	Are training programs specified in the document? (same in 6.4 and 4.5)
6.1 Conduct research on specific conflicts to identify underlying causes, needs and interests	Are the specific conflicts named and characterized in the I4P?
6.2 Advice and recommend to government policies and/or legislation that will address underlying root causes beyond the purview of the Council for example as social and economic causes of conflict	Does the I4P specify how it will advice the government on which areas?
6.3 Promote peace building, stabilization, reform, and reconciliation using mechanisms which may including,	Is reform/stabilisation given an address or description in

Conflict Analysis, Dialogue Consensus building, Negotiation, and Mediation	the I4P?
6.4 Facilitate or develop training programs, using the most effective, cost efficient, and practical training methods, for Peace Partners, and other stakeholders including but not limited to women youth, representatives of security services and Chiefs on the following areas: Monitoring of Conflict Indicators; Contribution to and use of Early Warning System; Conflict Analysis; Dialogue; Advanced Mediation; and Peace Agreements	Are training programs specified in the document? (same in 5.4 and 4.5)

Table 5: Questions to clarify and detail action-steps (red indicates that no answer is found)

Different relevance of I4P sections

The preliminary analysis and summary of the I4P in chapter 2 (cp. 2.4.2) already gave indications where relevant information regarding the *identifiable measures* can be located in the *additional information*. This is because some parts of the I4P do not clarify, explain and refer to the peace process and actions in Ghana directly. These parts focus more on the internal organisation of the I4P and the historical or political environment of Ghana and the I4P.⁹⁸ However, while those sections might not yield relevant information, they are still examined to identify possible clarifications of the *identifiable measures*.

Findings of the second analytical step (see Annex A)

This second analytical procedure, just like the first analytical procedure, shows findings which are helpful for the ongoing analysis. What stands out most clearly during this focused examination of the document, is the realisation how interconnected the measures in the I4P are (similar to the interrelatedness of PCSP, cp. chapter 3). The *additional information* demonstrates that much intents regarding one measure apply for or are generalized for other strategic objectives or general intents. For example, the sentence “*Gender, Youth, and collaboration with Security Services will be mainstreamed in all of the Council’s programming*” - while unspecific - indicates one more detail for some action-steps (gender, youth and collaboration with Security Services). The *identifiable measures* alone often fail in transmitting this information (such as the unspecified “*target groups*” in 2.2). For example, certain actors mentioned in the action-steps make it difficult to pinpoint who those actors are (e.g. measure 1.4 only states “*all peace actors*” without further indication). In summary, a

⁹⁸ There is even a 7th strategic objective, called *Programmatic Objective 0*, that solely focuses on the development of the National Peace Council’s institutional capacity with no apparent effect on the measures for the peace process *directly*.

better understanding of measures is given through the context information. Noteworthy is also that during the examination of the I4P section by section, some tendencies within the chapters were noticed. The *foreword* and *executive summary* of the I4P are articulated very generally and as such do not give detailed information to *expand* the *identifiable measures*. This is surprising insofar as the first superficial impression of both parts during the reading and summary process (cp. section 2.4.2) gave the impression of being detailed regarding the actions that are implemented. Both contain many statements regarding aims and proclaimed intentions of the I4P strategy. Especially the listed intentions of the I4P strategy are numerous. The foreword alone contains 14 intentions (such as “*identify root causes to resolve conflict*” or “*resolving Ghanas perennial conflicts*”), the executive summary even mentions 26 intentions of which most are defined very general and barely support a more detailed understanding of action-steps. Therefore, this first (personal) impression was a misjudgement that was based on an (intended or unintended) deception of the document.⁹⁹

However, action-steps are clarified whenever problems within the country are specified. Such as for action-step 6.3 which is getting more understandable when, for example, “*reform*” is addressed and clarifies to what a reform process refers in general. The same applies for part 3 of the I4P, the *Situational Analysis*. While not giving more details to clarify the action-steps itself, it does still shows where necessary reforms and/or stabilisation should aim at in policy, economy and social matters. Even though these informations are not detailed information, they still help to understand an action-step (in this case action-step 6.3) somewhat better.

Sections 2 and parts of section 3 and 4, on the other hand, are very focused on the internal strategy and organisation of the I4P and as such barely contain relevant information regarding the questions or action-steps. While section 7 *Monitoring & Evaluation* would be more interesting for an analysis for the *implementation of measures* (as opposed to the conceptualisation), the section was still surprisingly helpful by giving information via the indicators it stated for the particular strategic objectives and action-steps.

The *Financial Framework* in chapter 8, in contrast, did not give any additional information. This was surprising because an allocation of funds was assumed to give details as to what an action-steps refers. But instead of a detailed allocation and description of measures, only the total financial figures were listed without further clarification.

⁹⁹ This might reflect a discrepancy between intent and action in peacebuilding which was discussed in the digression in chapter 1. The discussion section picks this aspect up in section 5.1.

Finally, it is noteworthy that nearly all questions could at least partially be answered. The only question which is left unanswered is regarding post-election experiences and lessons learned for action-step 3.7. This should not be overstated, though, since other questions, such as the one regarding *peace-driven journalism* for action-step 3.3 barely contains information besides the intention that less violent behaviour and speech must address the media. This only reflects a general problematic tendency in this peace strategy that was already stated: It barely has details and is formulated relatively unspecific as a national strategy.

The answers and results for this second analytical procedure can be seen in Annex A (the details from the *additional information* are marked in blue color). This is the foundation for the next and central analytical procedure of this content analysis, a *structuring category system*.

4.3 Third analytical step: A deductively constructed *category system* to organise relevant data

The outcome of section 4.2 depict a synergy of action-steps, the strategic objectives as outlined in table 3 and all relevant additional information. It contains all information that is necessary to identify PCSP in the I4P strategy (at least all information the I4P document contains). Those detailed action-steps are simply labeled as *I4P measures* and are the foundation for the final analytical procedure to identify the presence of PCSP in the I4P. To avoid confusion, the *I4P measures* are still the action-steps and strategic objectives but now they are charged with details derived from the *additional information* (again, these details are marked in blue color in Annex A).

While these *I4P measures* obviously contain relevant and *new* knowledge compared to the *identifiable measures*, this is *not* a guarantee that such details eventually help to identify PCSP. However, the *I4P measures* now contain all the relevant information of the I4P document. Therefore, should the content analysis not result in the identification of a particular PCSP, it is evident that the respective PCSP does not manifest in the I4P document.

As seen in Annex A, there is an overabundance of concentrated information in addition to the particular action-steps. The aim of this section is to clarify step by step how this information is systematically organized into a coherent structure that enables the identification of PCSP to eventually map them on the PCSP model. In essence this procedure has the same purpose as in section 4.1, to put measures and PCSP next to each other and

identify if PCSP manifest in the I4P. But while the aim of this procedure might resemble the first analytical procedure in section 4.1, it differs in three fundamental aspects.

- (1) This analysis applies a theory-guided, rule-based and systematic category system. Such an analytical tool helps to trace the decision why a *measure-PCSP* connection is identified. This is an improvement to the direct interpretation of the author.
- (2) It analyses the material exhaustively because the *I4P measures* contain all relevant details in the I4P (as described in section 4.2 and depicted in Annex A).
- (3) Not every action-step is analyzed for compliance with all PCSP, rather each PCSP is analyzed regarding its compliance with all *I4P measures*. This analytical approach makes more sense, because action-steps and strategic objectives are considered as interrelated. After all, the aim in this thesis is to identify PCSP in the I4P and less so to map a measure of the I4P to a PCSP.

For this, a qualitative content analysis is conducted with a category system. This is insofar uncommon, as usually a category system is applied on continuous text passages or documents and not on specific segments of the document like the *I4P measures* (e.g. Bowen, 2009; Mayring, 2015). Still, this procedure is considered the most purposeful in this case as elaborated further down.

Category system

The theoretical and analytical process of the thesis until this point made clear that the identification of PCSP does not necessarily require all the information of the document (cp. sections 4.1 and 4.2). Such exclusion pertains to those parts which were hitherto identified as irrelevant (such as the *financial framework* of the I4P or repeating passages - such as parts of the *strategic model*). As such, a focused analysis solely puts effort on the *I4P measures*. Before the construction and the application of the category system is illustrated in detail, some explanations are provided on how document research and a qualitative content analysis in general aim to interpret data. Ultimately, a theory-guided, rule based and systematic category system is introduced.

How a category system identifies, extracts and interprets relevant information in a document

Lamnek (2005) describes documents as *aspects of communication*. For him the objective of content analysis takes form as a systematic appraising and interpretation of a document to draw information from it to explain human behaviour or social action (ibid., p.483). Hussy, Schreier and Echterhoff (2010) define a content analysis as a systematic, data reducing procedure for comparing analysis of meaningful material (ibid., p.245) while Bowen (2009) states “[c]ontent analysis is the process of organising information into categories related to the central questions of the research” (ibid., p.32).

This indicates that the common approach in content analysis is to create categories to reduce the document (e.g. I4P) to the relevant meanings corresponding to certain concepts (e.g. PCSP) and filter out the irrelevant information. In a second step, content analysis explains how to interpret the words and sentences extracted from the material. Referring to Mayring’s (2015) considerations this is usually done by an identification and assessment of relevant text segments and putting those segments in relation to others. According to him the *underlying structure*¹⁰⁰ should take form, in regards to language, elements and symbols that are relatable to the research interest. The aim for this thesis is to identify explicit segments contained in the I4P document that indicate compliance with the PCSP model.

These considerations appear more as a vague direction rather than an understandable instruction. However, it should be pointed out that a qualitative content analysis itself is not a clear-cut method (Mayring, 2015, p.52). While such a general *haziness* in direction (ibid.) prevails with this method, researchers agree that a category system is still the universal tool applied in every content analysis (Bortz & Döring, 2016; Hussy et al. 2010; Mayring, 2015). A *category system* follows certain ground rules and is as such a more tangible methodological tool.

Different forms of interpretation via the category system

Usually, a *category system* that identifies and assesses relevant text segments and puts them in relation to each other interprets the material in a way that Mayring (2015) defines as *summary*. This form of *summary* is one of the *three basic forms of interpretations* in content analysis (ibid., p.67). It has the goal to reduce the material in such a way that the contents of

¹⁰⁰ In the analysis at hand, the *underlying structure* has the equivalent meaning of relevant details regarding a better understanding of the *identifiable measures*.

interest are sustained and leave room for interpretation. Other forms of interpretation are *explication* - with the objective to draw on other materials for a better understanding of the material - and *structuring* - with the objective to filter certain aspects of the material by using certain classification criteria (ibid.).¹⁰¹

In the specific case of this analysis the necessary interpretation form is *structuring* because classification criteria are already established in the form of the PCSP. Therefore, the objective for this *maybe most essential content analytical technique* (ibid., p.97) is to filter a *underlying structure* (PCSP model) from the document by assigning relevant information to the PCSP (or classification criteria). More specifically this means, the 51 PCSP are the content-analysing categories applied on the *I4P measures*. This approach is a deductive approach as the categories are already exist in Coleman's theoretical model.¹⁰²

The direct use and application of Coleman's PCSP as categories, without any substantial preparation is an immense help in conducting a content analysis. However, this is still connected with disadvantages as will be seen in the analysis. Mayring states that the creation of a category system necessitates some basic rules how to filter relevant information from the document.

Creation of a content structuring category system

Another name for a category system is *an operational model to conduct analytical steps with corresponding content-analysing categories* (Bowen, 2009; Hussy et al., 2010; Mayring, 2015). This operational model is then used to assign relevant segments from the material to those categories. This process is called *coding* of content (Hussy et al., 2010, p.245). The category system proceeds systematically, rule-based and following a theoretical guideline (Mayring, 2015, p.13) to eventually identify the *underlying structure* (in this case PCSP) of the material. However, this is still formulated in a very general way. Mayring specifies along which criteria a *structuring content analysis* can be conducted, namely along *formal*, *content*, *typological* and *scaling* criteria. *Formal* structuring wants to filter the material along defined formal criteria. *Typological* structuring looks for certain types in a document to characterize and describe certain aspects of a document. *Scaling* structuring defines certain dimensions

¹⁰¹ Mayring (2015) further states that some scientific methods in content analysis even allow a mix of interpretations such as *frequency analysis* and *valency and intensity analysis* (ibid., p.65) which both allow interpretations in *structuring* and *summary*, using a category system.

¹⁰² This *top-down* approach differs from an inductive approach from *bottom-up*. The latter would be a viable option if the objective of the thesis would for example be to identify and categorize psychological processes that manifest in the I4P (without reference of a PCSP model).

and filters the material along certain scales regarding those dimensions. *Content* structuring wants to extract and summarize the material regarding certain topics and themes (ibid., p.99). PCSP (as relatively loose guidelines, cp. section 4.1) resemble topics and themes more than they resemble *dimensional* and *formal* criteria or even *types*. As such, the *content* structuring appears the most productive approach to *structure* our material. How this is conducted rule-based and systematically is explained in the creation of a category system.

Steps in creating a content structural category system

To create a *content structural category system*, Mayring lists eight basic sequential steps to eventually filter relevant segments from the material by use of categories. Steps 1 to 4 primarily describe the creation of a basic category system and are led by theoretical considerations of the PCSP model. Steps 5 to 8 describe the application of the category system onto the material, while step 7 refers to the adaptation of the category system depending on the findings of said application. As the categories of the category system are based on a theoretical model that already has conclusive and fixed categories with no desire to change them, there is no need for step 7. Steps 8, 9 and 10 are defined specifically for content structuring. As every category system is constructed in regard to the research interest and the material examined, the following category system also has unique characteristics and specified steps.

Step 1: Assignment of the analytical units (=definition of categories)

The nature of the research question allows that the categories can be deductively constructed, relatively straightforward. They will include the 51 PCSP as mentioned by Coleman (cp. section 3.3 or Coleman & Deutsch, 2012, p. 365).

Step 2: Theory-guided determination of content criteria (=characteristics of the categories)

PCSP are sufficiently detailed, as such the definition of the categories and the characteristics of the categories are identical. However, at this point the special properties of the PCSP model should be discussed. Technically, characteristics of the PCSP include the structural properties of the PCSP model as they have been detailed in chapter 3.1. This means the *level* of the PCSP, which are either micro-, meso- or macro level and if a PCSP aims at *prevention of violent conflict* or *promotion of sustainable peace*. Strictly speaking, only if an *I4P*

measure does indicate such characteristics it could be adequately compared to the PCSP model. But since the I4P is not structured along such characteristics this is not expected.¹⁰³

Therefore, a manifestation of the PCSP is determined only by the formulation of the *I4P measure* and if it complies with the definition of the PCSP. If such a compliance is identified, it is simultaneously possible to implicate from there to the *level* or the *aim* of the PCSP. As such, these characteristics are discerned inductively from the findings via this analytical process but they do not help in the analytical procedure itself (as in an easier assignment of segments to the categories).

Step 3: Assignment of characteristics (=construction of a raw category system).

A possible form of a category system with 51 PCSP as categories, is depicted in table 7 on the next page (for the complete category system see Annex B).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ A general “problem” of the I4P is that it does address individual behaviour (micro level) but it does so only in a very general way. For example should Ghanaians be more prone to informed behaviour and have increased respect for and tolerance for diversity. It does not say how this psychological processes are achieved. Similarly a clear differentiation is between prevention of new violent outbreaks in Ghana and the promotion of sustainable peace. This is not a problem per se as both processes should develop parallel (cp. chapter 1) but it does complicate a certain allocation of measures to either one of the two processes.

¹⁰⁴ Annex C groups the category system in six parts (Prevention: Micro, Prevention: Meso, Prevention: Macro, Promotion: Micro, Promotion: Meso, Promotion: Macro). This is not done for analytical reasons but simply for a better overview.

Coding-Rule	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	[...]	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P
PCSP	1-Awareness of the causes, consequences and escalatory tendencies of destructive conflict and violence	2-Moderately high levels of self-monitoring, restraint and regulation of internal impulses for destructive or violent acts	[...]	51-The establishment of peace parks: natural parks located at the borders between disputing nations where development and use of the parks are offered as superordinate goals
Extracted segment	4.3 Develop and conduct conflict analysis which should include specific root causes [...]	2.2 Formal and informal peace building educational campaigns for each target group to bring about change in behaviour and to identify conflict styles, indicators, enabling them to compromise, and choose thoughtful instead of instinctive behaviour. In addition to issues that inflame conflicts and Indicators that turn interactions in disagreements.	[...]	

Table 6: Example of a category system with deductively created categories (see Annex B for complete table)

Table 7 shows the abbreviated category system. The first row describes the coding-rule that is applied together with each PCSP (second row) on the *I4P measures* (as depicted in Annex A). The third row contains the extracted segment of the I4P. The extracted segment is kept as close to the original wording as possible. With only negligible changes conducted in regard to grammar rules and syntax.

Step 4: Formulation of definitions, anchor-examples and coding-rules for each categories (Coding-rules)

To adequately assign relevant information from the *I4P measures* to the categories, *coding-rules* will facilitate a rule-based analysis (ibid., p.97 f). Coding-rules can be transcribed as questions of the categories for the material. This procedure has to be as accurate as possible so it is clear which segments of the text are addressed by the categories. However, each PCSP is exhaustively defined *as it is*, since they are based on Coleman's definitions himself. This makes any additional formulation superfluous.

The problem is that, while detailed, they are not specific. This means that a certain interpretative margin is necessary in the application of the category system. To balance this loss in reliability, the assignment of a measure that complies with a measure is done very strictly. This means that if one word in the I4P-measure does not have an absolute certain relatable meaning in the PCSP/category it is not assigned to that PCSP/category. Such a case in doubt can, for example be seen with the PCSP, Pre-Mac-2.¹⁰⁵ Action-step 3.5 seems to comply with the PCSP (it states the intent to establish national councils for cooperation), but it does not imply the “*implementation and follow-through of negotiated settlements*” as demanded by the PCSP. Therefore, it was not assigned. The lack of precision of the PCSP/category here, is replaced with a principle of a rigorous abiding to the definition of a PCSP/category.¹⁰⁶ While it is true that the imprecision of a PCSP cannot be held against the I4P, it is still legit to fault the strategy if it does not specify its actions with enough detail that such relevant parts (in this case the purpose of councils between political leaders) is not mentioned at any point of the strategy.

The leading question for every PCSP/category is “*Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [the particular PCSP] in the I4P*”. As such, the segments indicating a manifestation of PCSP are expected to be exhaustively extracted. While criticisable regarding a rule-based approach and detailed coding rules, it should be noted that Mayring himself is relatively imprecise when it comes to the description of *content structuring*. In his instructions for content structuring he simply states that the theory-based categories *designate* which segments are extracted from the material (ibid., p.103). As such, the principal coding-rule for this category system is to extract segments from the I4P that are as close as possible to the formulation of the PCSP.

Step 5: Identification, marking, extracting and paraphrasing of the segments in the material

Mayring suggests the *identification, marking, extracting* and *paraphrasing* of the segments in three steps. For this category system they are conducted in one continuous process. This is

¹⁰⁵ The abbreviations of the PCSP as indicated in section 3.3 are used for better readability.

¹⁰⁶ “*Definition*” here, does not imply that the PCSP has to be the same word structure or even the same words like in the I4P. It means that if a word has no comparable word or significance in the I4P like in the PCSP it is not speculated to exist just because it is, for example, very likely.

done because the text is not immensely big (cp. Annex A) and already consists of condensed information which was achieved during the hitherto conducted analytical processes. This allows that *I4P measures* can be paraphrased directly in the category system without resulting in losses in traceability. In addition, the indication of the number of the action-step makes clear from where the segment was extracted.

The findings of section 4.1 were a leading and helpful indication for this analytical procedure. If there was no *measure-PCSP* connection identified during the analysis in 4.1, such a connection could be dismissed easier than the ones with a “*possible/partially*” connection. While every category is applied to all *I4P measures*, only those *measure-PCSP* connections detailed in table 4 are examined with special focus to either verify or dismiss the previously done assumption.

*Step 6: Summary per category*¹⁰⁷

Unlike the paraphrasing of the extracted segments, the summary per category refers to the organized listening of all the manifested categories and extracted segments that maintain the category. All the categories/PCSP with at least one (partial) measure-PCSP compliance are listed in table 8 on the next pages (red marks indicate those aspects of the PCSP which are not addressed).

Category/PCSP	Summary per category
	2.2 Formal and informal peace building educational campaigns for each target group In addition to issues that inflame conflicts and

¹⁰⁷ Mayring (2015) still differs between summary of the sub-categories in step 9 and the main categories in step 10. Since there is no differentiation of such categories with the 51 PCSP, there is no need for such an additional step (ibid., p.103 ff).

Pre-Mic-1 Awareness of the causes, consequences and escalatory tendencies of destructive conflict and violence	Indicators that turn interactions in disagreements. 4.3 Develop and conduct conflict analysis which should include specific root causes.
Pre-Mic-2 Moderately high levels of self-monitoring, restraint and regulation of internal impulses for destructive or violent acts	2.2 Formal and informal peace building educational campaigns for each target group to bring about change in behaviour and to identify conflict styles, indicators, enabling them to compromise, and choose thoughtful instead of instinctive behaviour. In addition to issues that inflame conflicts and Indicators that turn interactions in disagreements.
Pre-Mic-6 High levels of tolerance for and openness to difference	2.2 Formal and informal peace building educational campaigns for each target group to bring about change in behaviour by promoting respect and tolerance for diversity, the knowledge, skills, attitudes, common ethical values, and the shared sameness that underlies human diversity human values, ethics, morals.
Pre-Mes-2 Norms of gender equity and equality in the home, schools and the workplace	1.5 Set up committees for planning, managing implementing and monitoring of harmonizing effects in a gender perspective that is mainstreamed in programming and women are included at all levels. 3.4 Engage other governance institutions to develop strategies in gender equality. 6.4 Promote reform in gender equality.
Pre-Mes-5 Functional and accessible venues for constructive, non-violent action to seek recourse and and other harms -How the perceived injustices regarding distributive and procedural justice is achieved is not apparent. Neither is there a specification of a legal system.	3.5 Promote peace by supporting the creation of platforms for religious and traditional leaders, in conflict areas. Also regional platforms for interaction between political parties and Chiefs, the media, security, women, youth leaders and CSOs.
Pre-Mac-3 Well-coordinated early warning systems operating through local governments networked locally and regionally for efficient communication -Not apparent how NGOs are included -No global perspective included	4.2 Strengthen the national Early Warning System by developing a common framework to ensure information is fed into the system from district to national level and reaches responding agencies. 4.5 Facilitate or develop training programs for peace partners and other stakeholders including women, youth, representatives of security services and Chiefs in Monitoring of Conflict Indicators Contribution to and Use of Early Warning System and Conflict Analysis. 5.3 Facilitate or develop training programs for women, youth, representatives of security services and Chiefs on the following areas, Monitoring of Conflict Indicators, Conflict Analysis and Contribution to and Use of Early Warning Systems. 6.4 Facilitate or develop training programs in Monitoring of Conflict Indicators, Conflict Analysis as well as Contribution and use of Early Warning Systems and for Chiefs and head of security services.
Pre-Mac-5 Use of the internet and other social technologies to mobilize broad non-violent movements for social justice -Corporate responsibility is not specified in this PCSP	2.2 Peace educational campaigns shall be conducted by using all forms of media, social networks and mobile telephones. 2.3 The strategy states to develop an informative website, facebook page and twitter account for ongoing peace education to reach the public.
	1.3 Institute a national platform for Peace Partnerships with the Media, National Commission for Civic Education, Electoral Commission, Political Leaders, Parliamentarians, the Small Arms and Light Weapons Commission.

Pre-Mac-7 Coordination between local governments, civil society and international organisations to prevent violent conflict	3.2 Collaborate with political parties, the media, the Judiciary, the Electoral Commission to undertake activities to reduce the likelihood of conflict. 3.5 Promote peace by supporting the creation of platforms for religious and traditional leaders, in conflict areas and regional platforms for interaction between political parties and Chiefs, the media, security, women, youth leaders and CSOs. 4.5 Facilitate or develop training programs for peace partners and other stakeholders including women, youth, representatives of security services and Chiefs in Dialogue, Preventive Diplomacy, Confidence and Trust building. 6.2 Advice and recommend to government policies and government legislation that will address underlying root causes beyond the purview of the Council such as social and economic causes of conflict. 6.4 Facilitate or develop training programs including, women, youth, Chiefs, head of security services for Dialogue Advanced Mediation and peace agreements.
Pro-Mic-1 Recognition of the interdependence of all people, similar and different and local -The integration of a global perspective is not specified	1.3 Institute a national platform for Peace Partnerships with the Media, National Commission for Civic Education, Electoral Commission, Political Leaders, Parliamentarians, the Small Arms and Light Weapons Commission. 1.5 Set up committees for planning, managing implementing and monitoring of harmonizing effects in a gender perspective that is mainstreamed in programming and women are included at all levels. As well as the needs and interests of the socially excluded youth must be mainstreamed. Also people living with disabilities, especially those inflicted through conflict must be mainstreamed. 2.1 Collaborate with research and other institutions to undertake the research as Possible salient tensions being caused by the flurry of oil and natural gas explorations in western Ghana; The impact of the growing youth bulge on conflicts in Ghana; Documentation of women's experiences in conflict in Ghana; Documentation of people living with disabilities' experiences in conflict in Ghana.
Pro-Mic-4 Values attitudes, skills and behaviours promoting cooperation and trust	1.3 Institute a national platform for Peace Partnerships with the Media, National Commission for Civic Education, Electoral Commission, Political Leaders, Parliamentarians, the Small Arms and Light Weapons Commission. 2.2 Peace educational campaigns shall be developed and conducted to bring about change in behaviour by promoting respect and tolerance for diversity, the knowledge, skills, attitudes, common ethical values, and the shared sameness that underlies human diversity. 5.1 Promote the peace process and foster efforts to advance cooperation and understanding of differing interests through ADR [Alternative Dispute Resolutions] mechanisms, including.
Pro-Mic-5 Knowledge, attitudes and skills for CCR	4.4 Promote sharing, research and learning in regards to Knowledge creation, about conflict prevention and resolution consensus building, Negotiation and Mediation. 5.1 Promote the peace process and foster efforts to advance cooperation and understanding of differing

	interests through ADR [Alternative Dispute Resolutions] mechanisms, including consensus building, Negotiation and Mediation.
Pro-Mic-7 Capacities for tolerance, humanization, realistic empathy (understanding how a situation looks to someone else) and compassion for members of one's ingroups and outgroups	2.2 Peace educational campaigns shall be developed and conducted to bring about change in behaviour by promoting respect and tolerance for diversity, the knowledge, skills, attitudes, common ethical values, and the shared sameness that underlies human diversity
Pro-Mic-10 A strong sense of global identity with a concrete understanding of the steps that need to be taken locally to act as global citizen	2.2 Formal and informal peace building educational campaigns for each target group to bring about change in behaviour by promoting respect and tolerance for diversity, the knowledge, skills, attitudes, common ethical values, and the shared sameness that underlies human diversity human values, ethics, morals.
Pro-Mes-3 Cross-cutting structures fostering common interests, activities, and bonds across different ethnic and religious groups	3.5 Promote peace by supporting the creation of platforms for religious and traditional leaders, in conflict areas and Promote peace by supporting the creation of regional platforms for interaction between political parties and Chiefs, the media, security, women, youth leaders and CSOs.
Pro-Mes-5 Programs and workshops in constructive conflict resolution for children, adults, and politics Not included in the PCSP: -Creative problem-solving -Parents and leaders of schools, businesses	4.5 Facilitate or Develop training programs for women, youth, representatives of security services Chiefs in Dialogue, Advanced Mediation and Peace Agreements. 5.3 Facilitate or develop training programs for women, youth, representatives of security services and Chiefs in Dialogue, Preventive Diplomacy, Negotiation and Mediation. ¹⁰⁸
Pro-Mes-7 Common use of peaceful language in popular media -Normal daily discourse is not mentioned	5.2 Conduct peace education campaigns focused on managing speech which will incite violence in the media and affected parties.
Pro-Mac-4 National governance structures tending towards democracy -How egalitarianism is established by national governance structures is not mentioned	1.5 Set up committees for planning, managing implementing and monitoring of harmonizing effects in a gender perspective that is mainstreamed in programming and women are included at all levels. As well as the needs and interests of the socially excluded youth must be mainstreamed. Also people living with disabilities, especially those inflicted through conflict must be mainstreamed. 3.1 Engage all political parties on strategies to ensure peaceful elections as in a tolerant and respectful civil discourse.
Pro-Mac-7 Institutions which reflect and uphold self-transcendent values	1.3 Institute a national platform for Peace Partnerships with the Media, National Commission for Civic Education, Electoral Commission, Political Leaders, Parliamentarians, the Small Arms and Light Weapons Commission. 1.5 Set up committees for planning, managing implementing and monitoring of harmonizing effects in a gender perspective that is mainstreamed in programming and women are included at all levels. As well as the needs and interests of the socially excluded youth must be mainstreamed. Also people living with disabilities, especially those inflicted through conflict must be mainstreamed. 3.4 Other organisations are engaged to promote Fairness, Transparency and inclusiveness in electoral processes.
Pro-Mac-9 Use of the internet and other social technologies to mobilize broad social movements for humanitarian works and global peace	2.3 The strategy states to develop an informative website, facebook page and twitter account for ongoing peace education to reach the public and for peace education campaigns.

Table 7: Summary of the extracted segments and categories (see Annex B for complete table). Comments in red indicate partially identified PCSP. Different shades of grey signify the different levels of the PCSP.

¹⁰⁸ Dialogue - Peace Agreements and Mediation are procedures in CCR (Coleman, 2012, p.63).

4.4 Interpretation of results and reflection of the methodology

Altogether, 12 PCSP can be identified in the I4P and 7 PCSP can be partially identified. 32 PCSP cannot sufficiently or not at all be identified in the I4P. In total this is less than half of the total PCSP which can be drawn from the I4P for Ghana.

PCSP

8 PCSP are included to prevent violent conflict while 11 PCSP can be identified to promote sustainable peace. 6 PCSP match on the macro level (from a total of 20 possible macro level PCSP), 5 on the meso level (from a total of 14 possible meso level PCSP) and 8 on the micro level (from a total of 17 possible micro level PCSP). From the 8 PCSP that match on the micro level only 1 is identified as partially compliant. Surprisingly, this means that the I4P has the strongest compliance with the PCSP model on the micro level. This is notable for a national strategy.

Pre-Mac-7 “*Coordination between local governments, civil society and international organisations to prevent violent conflict*” is with 6 action-steps that match the strongest integrated PCSP. 8 PCSP just match with one action-step each. There is no apparent connections between the amount of matches between action-steps and PCSP and if the PCSP is partially complying.

Action-steps and strategic objectives

Every strategic objective has at least four matches. This means the overall measures are evenly integrated from a perspective of the PCSP model. Action-steps that manifest within PCSP are action-steps 1.3, 1.5, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 3.1, 3.2, 3.4, 3.5, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 6.2 and 6.4, in total 18. Those that did not are 1.1, 1.2, 1.4, 2.4, 2.5, 3.3, 3.6, 3.7, 4.1, 6.1 and 6.3, in total 11. This means more than 60 percent of action-steps are creating conditions that are similar to the PCSP model. Action-step 2.2 matches for most PCSP with a total of 7 PCSP of which 6 matches are on the micro level. Strategic objective 2 has with 10 matches the strongest compliance with the PCSP model. This is not surprising considering the degree in detail strategic objective 2 and action-step 2.2 contain. Especially keywords regarding psychological mechanisms such as *informed behaviour, increased respect, tolerance of*

diversity, increased knowledge, skills for and positive attitudes lead to higher matches with PCSP.¹⁰⁹

Comparison with previous results

As expected, the previous results from section 4.1 can be confirmed. Those PCSP that had no *measure-PCSP* connection at all, did also not show any compliance with the category system. Those PCSP connections that showed significantly many connections for “possible/partially” *measure-PCSP* were mostly confirmed as existing in the I4P. Interestingly, three PCSP did not withstand a rigorous analysis, these are:

-Pro-Mes-8: *“Strong emphasis on both local and superordinate identities at the ethnic, communal, national and global levels”*.

-Pre-Mac-2: *“Establishing national political and social institutions that ensure the implementation and follow-through of negotiated settlements”*.

-Pro-Mac-6: *“Political and business ethics that are in harmony with nature and environmental stewardship”*.

These three PCSP are insofar interesting as they were “close by”. This means, they seemed to exist at first in the I4P but after a closer analysis there were no statements detailed that could be traced to a certain action or measure. Unlike other PCSP who were indirectly (not in action-steps) mentioned (such as Pre-Mes-2: Regarding gender equality) or simply non-existent (such as Pre-Mac-8: Awareness regarding the *tragedy of the commons*) these PCSP gave the impression that they exist in the preliminary analysis in section 4.1 but could substantiate. This is again an indication that the I4P for Ghana (and peace strategies in general, cp. digression in chapter 1) do not reflect real action but might be a lot of “hot air”. This is further discussed in chapter 5.

¹⁰⁹ This finding points towards the possibility of an artefact in this analysis: There is more overall compliance between the PCSP model and the I4P, depending on whether there appear more similar phrases in the peace strategy. To preemptively react to this possible rebuke of this analysis’ findings it is repeated at this point that the identification of the overall compliance with the PCSP model is the aim of this thesis. A compliance (even if they are just words on a national strategy) would speak for the implementation of psychological aspects and the *first step* for an applied strategy that systematically integrates peace psychological knowledge.

These results are the basis for the recommendations for the I4P in chapter 5. This chapter concludes with a reflection on the methodological approach conducted to achieve these results.

Reflection of the methodological approach

In general, a document research describes the “*interrelated trinity*” between “*production, use/function [...] and content analysis*” (Prior, 2003, p.4) of documents in social science, and should be the departure point for every document analysis. The *production* and *function* of the document was amply discussed by locating peace infrastructure frameworks in an international peace strategy (cp. sections 2.1 and 2.2) and by introducing the purpose of the I4P for Ghana (cp. section 2.4).

The biggest difficulty during this thesis is the content analysis. This difficulty can be traced to the - in section 4.1 already elaborated - imprecision of both PCSP and I4P measures. The whole research design was targeted at one document that was detailed from an organisational perspective but barely referred to any psychological processes. Thereby, there was a lack of *contact points* between the two concepts. Chapter 1 helped by clarifying the foundations on which I4P and PCSP model *meet* (societal structures and behavioural change) but could not close the wide gap in comparability between the analytical units of the two concepts. This unfavourable starting point for an analysis demanded a form of exploratory research design as depicted in the iterative research design above.

The literature on document and content analysis (while established the most suited for the research question) was not specific in determining the best methodological approach for this research question (e.g. Bowen, 2009; Hussy et al. 2010). In this *search* for the best methodological approach, Mayring (2015) offered considerable advice by suggesting the possibility in a balanced approach of hermeneutical interpretation and a category system as mutually supporting methods in content analysis. However, he still did not refer to a case that even closely resembled the characteristics of the research question.

Therefore, the methodological approach to close this gap was conducted with an unconventional triangulation¹¹⁰ of methods involving basic accesses of document analysis (sections 2.4.2 and 4.1), hermeneutical exploration (4.2) and a deductively constructed and

¹¹⁰ Triangulation refers to the use of a combination in qualitative research (Bowen, 2009, p.28). Such an approach helps to corroborate findings because the material is approached from several methodological perspectives (ibid.).

structuring category system (4.3). Table 9 lists the different steps conducted in the analysis on the next page.

Sequential step of the analysis	Examined material of the I4P	Objective of the analysis	Methodological approach/Content Analysis	Use for the analytical process
Preliminary analysis ¹¹¹ → Section 2.4.2	I4P (whole document)	Overview of purpose and structure of I4P, summary and first impression of the document	Skimming, thorough reading and interpretation	Summary, overview and possibility to assign relevance to different parts of the I4P → Separation into identifiable measures and additional information
No 1 → Section 4.1	<i>Identifiable Measures</i>	Identify problems that hinder an understanding of meaning and an answer to the research question	A <i>thematic analysis</i> that recognizes patterns and a hermeneutical interpretation (<i>the measure-PCSP connections are based on pre-existing knowledge, this knowledge was applied to the material which resembles the first hermeneutical circle</i>).	Identification where details lack for a sufficient analysis → Generating questions <i>for the additional information</i>
No 2 → Section 4.2	<i>Additional information</i>	More detailed understanding of the identifiable measures	Second hermeneutical circle in which the whole of a text helps to understand the part of the text better and vice versa. Systematic questioning of the additional information	Which parts of the I4P carry relevant information to detail identifiable measures → Summary of I4P measures for further analysis with a category system
No 3 → Section 4.3	I4P measures (identifiable measures + additional information)	Identification of PCSP in the <i>I4P measures</i>	Deductively created and content structuring category system	Structuring: evaluating the structure of the measures to enable an extraction of segments to the PCSP → Identification of PCSP in the I4P

Table 8: Summary of the iterative and triangulated process for an understanding of meaning

¹¹¹ Bowen (2009) states "(d)ocument analysis involves skimming (superficial examination), reading (thorough examination), and interpretation" (ibid., p.32). Section 2.4.2 already summarized the individual chapters briefly and as such already conducted a first analysis or what Mayring (2015) calls a *preliminary interpretation* (ibid., p.30). This first sighting of the document fulfilled three necessary preconditions: (1) To make sure the document is authentic/real. (2) To make sure that I as the analyser clarify and be aware of my own perception of the material and content. (3) To determine the general meaning of the text and its core message (ibid.). This pre-knowledge together with familiarity with PCSP enabled to separate relevant from irrelevant information in the document as sections 4.1 and 4.2 showed (e.g. that *identifiable measures* are most relevant as PCSP can manifest within them). However, it does not enable to identify which parts of the *additional information* clarify *identifiable measures*.

The iterative and triangulated research design shows how an approach towards the material assumed a pattern that enabled a meaningful interpretation of the material. While the first part was carefully approaching the material to generate a research design, it was at the same time already part of an *understanding of meaning* how PCSP can manifest in I4P measures. A second part built up on this first analysis and finally gave rise to a deductively created structural category system to organise the text by content. To summarize the relational dimension in this procedure, Figure 6 visualises the analytical procedure.

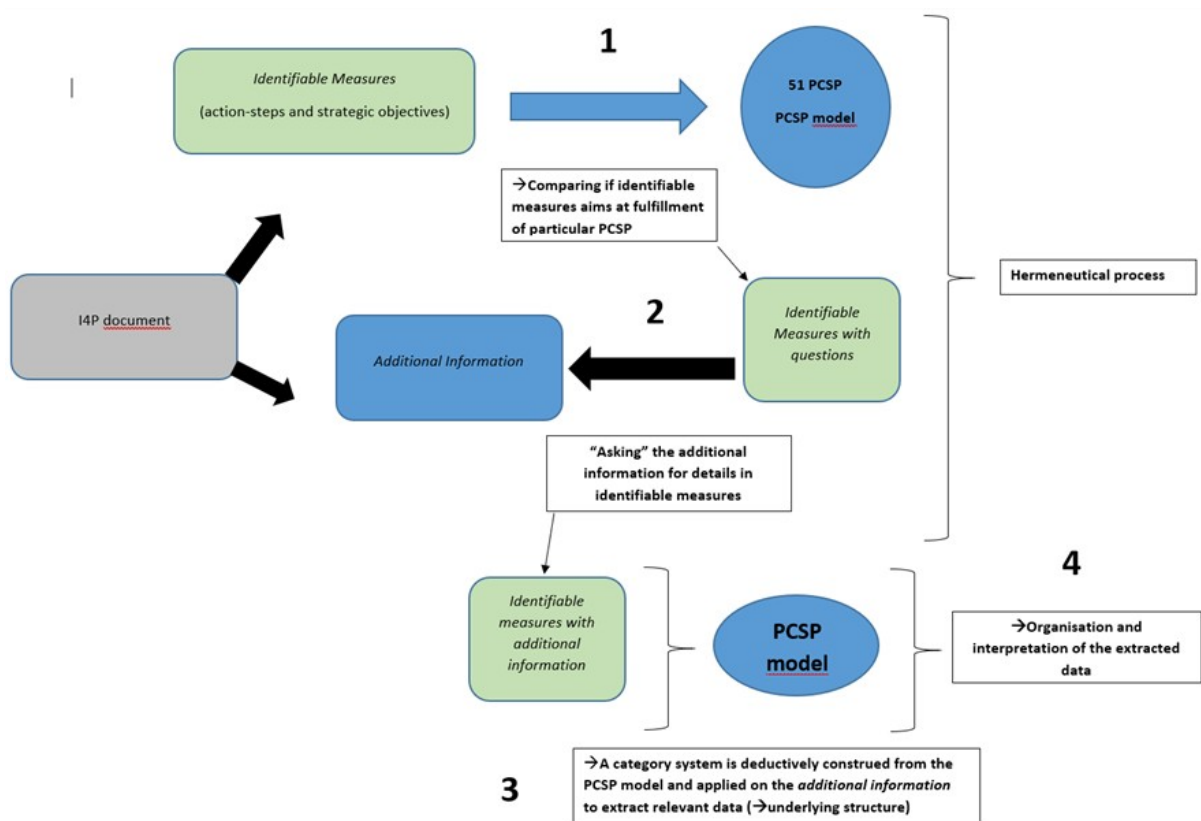


Figure 6: Visual depiction of the iterative research process

The methodological approach as described above doubtlessly reflects an explorative research procedure. This does not imply that another possibility to identify PCSP in the I4P Ghana does not exist, but it comprehensively transmits why the executed procedure did manifest as it did.

The reason why several possibilities in the analytical procedure would have been legitimate to answer the research question lie in the *difficult-to-capture* nature of the imprecise analytical units (PCSP and generalized measures). As already stated, this was the most difficult part of the analysis and at the same time a problem that is reflected by a

research interest to focus on a national strategy alone that claims to be a credible, legitimate, and available strategy for “*all citizens*” in Ghana (I4P, 2013, p.33). As such, it must be a sufficient strategy to guide a nation on a conceptual level that should contain conceptual PCSP. Based on these findings, all relevant implications and suggestion to improve the I4P for Ghana *with* PCSP can just be done for the conceptualisation and formulation of the document itself (as opposed to the actual implementation of measures in Ghanaian politics). As this was the formulated aim of this thesis (cp. introduction) the results are regarded as a success. The thesis managed to filter certain elements of the strategy that are compliant with conditions that resemble PCSP. Based on these findings recommendations can be drawn for future versions of the I4P for Ghana or in general for I4P conceptualisations.

Critique and boundaries of the methodological approach

In hindsight, there are methodological problems in the thesis which could have been prevented or could have led to more valid results. The biggest mistake was probably the principal assumption that the testing of the legitimacy of the I4P as the only relevant strategy could still have been conducted even with additional sources. Since the analytical process was exploratory, the second analytical procedure in section 4.2 would have resulted in more details if the *additional information* would not have been the only material examined. A clarification of measures through documents from the Ghanaian context (e.g. specification of reforms, joint initiatives and educational campaigns from policy papers) would have been helpful as well. The identifiable measures in the I4P would have still been of central interest to deduct PCSP in the I4P. In hindsight, to generate (possibly latent) knowledge not mentioned in the I4P itself would not have damaged the aim to answer the research question which was to identify where the I4P strategy itself lacks in (peace psychologically based) detail. Suggestions for a improvement could have still been made and would have resulted in more valid results and in more concrete suggestions to improve the strategy. Hereinafter, the assignment of categories to the PCSP could have been based on more information and possible existing or partially existing PCSP would have enabled a more expedient suggestion.

Furthermore, the creation of the 51 categories based on the PCSP model could have been refined. They could have been reflected with the theoretical foundations (outlined in section 3.2) to create certain keywords or procedures that could have been enabled a more thorough extraction of segments. This might would have meant a distancing from Coleman's original model but does not imply that more valid data could not have been extracted to help compliance with the PCSP model.

5. Discussion

The discussion section consists of two parts. 5.1 consists of recommendations for the I4P for Ghana based on the results of the analysis to generate suggestions for the conceptualisation for the I4P. Followed by that, is a general reflection of this thesis with a focus on future endeavours in this area in 5.2.

5.1 Recommendations for the *I4P for Ghana*

Based on the results in chapter 4 the recommendations for the I4P solely aim to expand it regarding to Coleman's PCSP model and not concerning other theories or possible improvements. Nonetheless, with 31 missing PCSP, there are specific aspects of the I4P that certainly need improvement for a wholesome integration of PCSP. The recommendations are organised in general recommendations for the I4P for Ghana, more specific recommendations for the partially matched PCSP and general recommendations for the missing PCSP. The latter recommendations are grouped along with level and purpose (prevention of violent conflict and promotion of sustainable peace)

The methodological reflection already stated carefulness with the results, this does not apply as much to the recommendations. This is because PCSP might be realised in Ghana in the peace process and do not manifest in the strategy. But this is independent of recommendations giving for the I4P strategy itself (see also footnote number 109). The suggestions are solely based on a conceptual perspective. For a better overview, this section starts with general examinations that were apparent during the analytical process after such a suggestion is formulated for every single missing PCSP as well as the partially fulfilled PCSP.

General recommendations

A recurring recommendation - that repeatedly became apparent during the whole analytical process concerning the I4P - is in regards to the degree in detail of the strategy. It was stated several times that the I4P is a national strategy. Consequently, it does not stipulate the requirement towards itself, to have profoundly detailed instructions, mentioning every operational step that is conducted in its nationwide peace process.

However, regarding psychological processes that manifest on an individual, organisational and institutional level, certain clarifications could still encourage all involved in a peace process towards the integration of peace psychological aspects that lead to better cooperation, constructive conflict resolution and more social justice in Ghana, among others. These clarifications are especially relevant regarding the comments in section 4.2 in footnote 99 regarding the discrepancy of intent and action of peace strategies. This hints towards ideas presented in the digression in chapter 1 and a tendency of, “shiny” political documents in peace work, using certain words, intents and objectives that are *empty* compared to the actual actions on the ground only to legitimate certain actions and political decisions that benefit an agenda that is not in the primary interest for the respective population. However, this must not imply that this comes along with a lack of detail in a strategy. Scheelhass and Seegers (2009) even state that a focus on operational detail can obscure the fact that “*interests, values and priorities of the interveners and not the victims*” shape peacebuilding (ibid., p.10). A focus on operational detail is, therefore, not necessarily *better* but depends on the detail, what is aimed at and if it is indeed executed on the ground. This thesis cannot make suggestions towards the latter but it *can* suggest how to integrate a psychological aspect into operational details.

Certainly, one aim of a national strategy is to lead and give vision to certain principles and ideas which can form actions on the ground through broad guidelines (such as the *Foreword* and *Executive Summary* of the I4P for Ghana), this does not contradict a more detailed and complex strategy that includes certain actors and interactions with those actors on the ground. An optimal strategy would, therefore, integrate both aspects: Imprecise guiding principles to give peace actors a specific political, visionary and ideological course of action and at the same time palpable instructions.

Specific recommendations

Following examples put a focus how the I4P for Ghana could specify some measures based on the PCSP that only manifest in part and gives general recommendations to the I4P.

Youth and Women NGOs:

Youth and women were often named in the I4P as recipients and addressees in the strategy. Thus, it was surprising that those vast and important sections of society did not get more specification regarding, for example, NGOs that have women and youth as interest groups. If the intention was aimed at certain NGOs this case does not become evident. To circumvent

this lack in specificity, concrete NGOs should be named as partners in the national strategy (even if the partners can change over time, the inclusion of such NGOs would still serve as a baseline for ongoing decisions within the peace strategy. For example was the PCSP Pre-Mes-5 matched because parents are included in the I4P but it is at no point stated if *youth and women* also refer to parents or parental upbringing.

Definition of purposes and numeration of political negotiation platforms:

While government institutions (for the most part unspecified in the I4P) are encouraged to develop strategies for inclusion, fairness, transparency and harmonisation (action-steps 1.5 and 3.4) they do not do so with a stated purpose to ensure a negotiated settlement. Like Pre-Mac-3 suggests, institutions and mechanisms for such a settlement must be stated directly. Otherwise, they run danger to become indecisive suggestions in an explicit conflict setting. The same applies for the location and mentioning of regions where those platforms could and should develop.

A more visible global integration of the strategy:

A *global* (as in supranational) component is missing in the strategy. For example is an integration and inclusion of well-functioning global organizations and institutions such as the United Nations, the International Criminal Courts, Interpol, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Pre-Mac-7) not included in the formulation of the strategy. Even PCSP that do manifest in the strategy such as Pre-Mac-3 only does so partially because a global integration of effective communication is not stated next to local and regional integration. This relevant level has to be better highlighted.

Development and integration of an *actor's map* for the peace process in Ghana:

Such as with women and youth, many partners in the peace process seem arbitrary without any given context. Partners are either generalized as *NGOs, other stakeholders, the public sector* (e.g. action step 1.4) or they are arbitrary mentioned without specifying their relevance such as the NCCE (National Commission of Civic Education) or the Small Arms and Light Weapons Commission. While all these partners surely have relevance for the peace process, clarification of different actors (e.g. with an *actor's map for the peace process in Ghana*) would be more helpful to allocate them in relevance for certain processes.

Definition of a more coherent and applied research strategy for Ghana:

Conducting of research as stated 2.1, 2.4 and 6.1 is a relevant aspect in the strategy. And even though the intentions of those research areas could be considered to manifest as PCSP in a society (e.g. underlying causes for conflict in action-step 6.1 could strengthen Pre-Mic-1), most of the research was either not specified or, when it was specified as research interest, did not imply how, where and to what eventual effect such research must be conducted. To combine research with concrete examples is a *good start* (such as action-step 2.1 did with *a conflict baseline survey on Oil Zones and their surrounding communities, the role of youth in conflict and an integrated study on the economic social/anthropological, legal perspectives on the Bawku conflict*). But the general instruction failed to show how this research is integrated into a wider national framework (e.g. KAIPTC is mentioned once without integrating it into a wider national and regional strategy for the education of peace workers). An instruction for research and academia in Ghana also should have given more examples of how knowledge produced in education centres, universities and *think tanks* is utilized and applied for *peacebuilding* in general. The same rule applies here as it did with the recommendations above: less general assumptions and statements and more feasible actions would improve the commitment of peace workers, researchers and politicians alike and would help them to coordinate efforts in those areas.

Further remarks to peace journalism, preschool development of children and clarification of post-election measures to raise the commitment to democracy and participation:

During the analysis, a lack of detail often hindered the direct manifestation of a PCSP in the peace strategy. Such as with Pro-Mic-30 when a more peaceful language for the media is insinuated for example in action-step 5.2 (preventing violent language), but still lacks detailing how such an intent could be realised in practice.

The same applies for Pro-Mes-1 and Pro-Mes-2, they might have been integrated in the strategy if the often mentioned inclusion of the youth (e.g. 2.1, 3.5, 4.5, 5.3 and 6.4) would have been detailed more specific and also differentiated between different development stages in education or nurture of children.

Other measures are simply too vague to be certain in identifying whether they generate conditions that comply with a PCSP. A prime example for this is action-step 3.7. While “*post-election experiences and lessons learned in all regions*” certainly goes in the direction of Pro-Mac-4 it does so without any specification if this can be interpreted to promote democracy (or egalitarianism).

Recommendations along the missing PCSP

As recommendation regarding the missing PCSP could fill up enough content for another thesis and should be focus of a more elaborate endeavour only be conducted with an extensive background knowledge regarding the current social, political and economic situation in Ghana, the section only provides loose guidelines how PCSP could be integrated better into the I4P. While this lack of specification seemingly contradicts the overall intention and findings of this thesis, the motivation to include recommendations for missing I4P is primarily based on the idea that drafters of peace strategies should focus more on those missing PCSP rather than giving them instructions how to implement them.

Prevention: Micro

Pre-Mic-3 Satisfaction of basic human needs including physiological needs, safety and dignity	Pre-Mic-4 Values, attitudes skills and behaviours supporting non-violence Pre-Mic-5 Moderate levels of tolerance for uncertainty Pre-Mic-7 A capacity for forgiveness
<i>“Many Ghanaians are still quite poor with a Gross National Income of \$1,584 in 2011”</i> (I4P, 2013, p.14). This is a relevant issue regarding a peace process as it hints to lacking access to basic needs. This is not specified any closer but action-steps could imbed a peace strategy aiming at an increase in economic prosperity. to fulfil basic human needs.	CCR measures and education campaigns are already integrated into the strategy. To expand similar workshops, dialogues and mediation training as mentioned in the strategy should be an objective for other institutions. How the I4P mainstreams them into the education system and into public media to educate citizens regarding those micro level PCSP could be a pillar of the strategy.

Prevention: Meso

Pre-Mes-1 Social taboos against corporal punishment and other forms of violence in the home, schools, workplace and public spaces Pre-Mes-6 Strong norms for procedural and distributive justice in schools, workplaces, marketplaces, and elsewhere in the community	Pre-Mes-3 Early access to peace education and multicultural tolerance programs in preschool, elementary and middle school Promotion: Pro-Mes-4-Structures of cooperative task, goal and reward interdependence in schools, workplaces, and politics	Pre-Mes-4 Opportunities for peaceful sublimation of aggression through competitive or extreme sports, occupations, creative arts, etc.
The legal system and how legal reforms can push a peace process and promote more sense of social justice is not followed up by concrete statements (besides the intention to create inclusive societies and similar loosely defined actions).	While peace education campaigns are an essential part of the I4P the education system as a whole is rarely referred to (only regarding another document, the GSGDA). The integration of exchange programs for schools between different ethnic groups in	Sports infrastructure is at no point mentioned in the I4P but has tremendous potential to supplement a peace strategy as a possibility for healthy competition.

	conflict areas would be an example to integrate this PCSP.	
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Prevention: Macro

Pre-Mac-1 Recognition and understanding of the inordinately strong salience of threat and tendencies towards inequality and competition in many societies across the globe	Pre-Mac-2 Establishing national political and social institutions that ensure the implementation and follow-through of negotiated settlement	Pre-Mac-7 Well-functioning global organizations and institutions such as the United Nations, the International Criminal Courts, Interpol, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
Again, it can be observed how global identity is not included besides the same remarks about the shared human identity. How relationships with certain foreign and ethnic minorities are defined in an education system could be integrated as one pillar of a peace strategy.	The lack of a specification of purpose for the political councils was already pointed out in chapter 4.	Some global institutions are mentioned when it comes to good case examples. But, as mentioned above a wider integration of the international system is not specified. Even a non-global but regional integration of the strategy within, for example, WANEP or in cooperation with KAIPTC could have been further elaborated (as both are mentioned briefly in the I4P, but not regarding actions)

Promotion: Micro

Pro-Mic-6 Higher levels of integrative, emotional, behavioral, and social identity complexity Pro-Mic-3 A healthy balance of openness to change and conservatism, responsive to changing times and circumstances Pro-Mic-2 A strong self transcendent value orientation committed to the welfare of others and society, with a sufficient self enhancement orientation to mitigate individual resentment	Pro-Mic-8 An appreciation of environmental stewardship and equitable sharing of the earth's resources among its members and with all human beings Prevention: Pre-Mac-8 Developing awareness and knowledge of the dilemma of the Commons and how to manage it effectively	Pro-Mic-9 Language for peace: a large lexicon for all aspects of cooperative and peaceful relations and sufficient use of such terms to foster automaticity
Admittedly it is difficult to establish such PCSP as Pro-Mic-6, Pro-Mic-3, Pro-Mic-2 into a national strategy while giving concrete examples. They manifest on a very individual level. The I4P mentioned though certain characteristics of peace mediators and what skills and behaviours they are supposed to possess due to their training. How certain measures can manifest these characteristics on a national scale for a whole population could be formulated after every action-step and as such indicate where change is supposed to happen on an individual psychological level.	Again a PCSP that was never even directly mentioned. Education about the problem and the <i>tragedy of the commons</i> would help to create a shared and interdependent identity and bolster a peace process.	That peaceful and non-violent speech is necessary for peace processes and even stated two times in the I4P. A next step would be to include a and give informative examples for media and politicians how speech influences the population.

Promotion: Meso

Pro-Mes-1-Strong norms valuing and nurturing children Pro-Mes-2 Early socialization of children oriented toward mutual care and nurturance	Pro-Mes-6 Shared, accurate and transparent collective memories of past events, conflicts and relationships between groups
As mentioned above: NGOs could be promoted that represent the rights of parents and children better to help develop norms in society. Those peace actors could be mentioned by name or via intentions to establish such movements.	While it is hinted that mediation platforms between political actors/chiefs exist, they do not define how past violence is addressed in reconciliation processes.

Promotion: Macro

Pro-Mac-1 -A societal idea of peace that includes an ethic of interethnic unity, care and nurturance of others, which is as strong (or stronger) as the view of peace as something that need be secured and defended Pro-Mac-5 A strong community of global citizens engaged locally in initiatives fostering global citizenry and addressing shared global concerns (climate change, poverty, etc.) Meso: Pro-Mes-8 Strong emphasis on both local and superordinate identities at the ethnic, communal, national and global levels	Pro-Mac-2 Societies that define themselves as internally and externally peaceful Pro-Mac-3 A transcultural elite with shared norms of tolerance, cooperation, and creative problem-solving, who model for all the efficacy and value of constructive, non-violent action Pro-Mac-10 Strong communications, trade, and cultural and civilian exchanges between nations Pro-Mac 6- Political and business ethics that are in harmony with nature and environmental stewardship	Pro-Mac-8 Gender parity with a proportional number of women in politics and the military, politics and the military	Pro-Mac-11 Peace-mapping: an open-source platform for collecting and plotting local cellphone accounts of the commissions of peaceful and humanitarian acts to inform and inspire other potential “third-siders” Pro-Mac12 The establishment of peace parks: natural parks located at the borders between disputing nations where development and use of the parks are offered as superordinate goals Prevention: Pre-Mac-4-Use of crisis-mapping: an open source platform for collecting and plotting local cell-phone accounts of the commission of violent atrocities to inform the international community of emerging crises in a timely manner
Refugees are stressed as a problematic issue in the situational analysis of the I4P but never addressed again by the measures or intent for the action-steps. It is, therefore, not clear if they too, are addressed as stakeholders in the peace process or if they are excluded. An inclusion of the relevance of what integration of refugees in society can accomplish for a mutual identity could should be specified in the strategy (e.g. integration into schools and workplaces).	Environmental degradation, climate change and ecological degradation were completely absent in the peace strategy. Still, a definition of problems on this level can encourage a shared global identity and considering other humans and nations sharing a common destiny. At the same time, environmental protection can become a shared national norm and define a characteristic of country and people.	While the mainstreaming of gender equality is stated more than once in the strategy, it did not combine such suggestions with action-steps or concrete suggestions about how such gender parity can be fostered in different governmental institutions.	The inclusion of the measures as stated in the PCSP could be directly adapted for a Ghanaian context. If such tools already exist the I4P does not include them in the strategy.

Table 9: Rudimentary suggestions regarding missing PCSP in the I4P.

These recommendations still need to be considered with care. Primarily because the conceptualization of the leading peace strategy in Ghana does not say anything about the implementation of the measure. As communicated by George Amoh (executive director of

the NPC, cp. section 2.4), there are annual plans of the regional and district councils that, while derived from the I4P, might have own interpretations of the plan and its implementation.

In summary, the whole of different actions and strategies in the I4P might transmit elements that resemble a PCSP which is not identified in the I4P. Also, it should be stressed again, this thesis is based on a written document and not on observations “on the ground”. How peace workers, decision makers and citizens adapt their behaviour as a cause of the strategy neither can nor was the intent of this analysis. Another reason why the results have to be considered with care is the analytical procedure meticulously detailed in chapter 4. The shortcomings of the methodological approach are not so much based on the research design itself as they are on the principal difficulty in a lack of detail in the strategy. Even though the categories used in the category system were detailed enough, they did not have enough “data material” to be applied to.

The strategy is considered and has been described as one of the more successful examples in I4Ps and infrastructure frameworks (cp. 2.4). However, while very detailed from the outside (including a functioning organizational framework of the NPC) the strategy lacks a variety of aspects regarding the PCSP model. While an analysis for PCSP in the peace process in Ghana could be extended to a variety of observational data such as the annual strategies of the (hundreds) of district councils and regional councils it is still a success as it shows how a peace psychological model can improve a national peace strategy.

5.2 Conclusion and outlook

The statement “[...] *Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed*” (UNESCO, 2018, p.8), written in the UNESCO Preamble, is since decades a guiding principle for peace scientists and peace workers (e.g. Imbusch & Zoll, 2010; Sommer & Fuchs, 2004). From a psychological perspective, the “*minds of men*”, as stated in the UNESCO preamble, de facto consist of the behaviours, values and attitudes of individuals. Today it is recognized that “*changing the ‘hearts and minds’ of conflict parties*” (Hopp-Nishanka, 2014; p.1) might not be enough without a supporting institutional framework. For these reasons, this thesis aimed at bringing institutional frameworks and peace psychological recommendations for behavioural change closer together.

It did so by examining a contemporary I4P through the lenses of a holistic model in peace psychology. Chapter 1 started this endeavour by illustrating the principal theories and concepts that are the foundation of contemporary peace and conflict studies. This first section exemplified not only the complexity a peace definition demands but also illuminated where common ground exists between contemporary attempts to establish peaceful societies. While a definition of the term peace is influenced by cultural context, the concepts of structural violence, positive and negative peace, conflict dynamics and conflict structures are foundations whereupon stated objectives of the international community (such as societal change towards a *culture of peace*) can be brought about. It also clarifies how peace manifests in behaviours and relationships between individuals in society.

That this can only be accomplished through multilevel and multisectoral approaches is further reflected with the help of political strategies like peace structure frameworks. For this, chapter 2 highlighted concepts and programmatic objectives like the nexus approach and the SDGs. These approaches show how much relevance is put on harmonisation between different sectors and programmes (not just for) peace to achieve behavioural transformation.

A very concrete exemplification for such a systematic endeavour was given with the concepts of I4P and especially the I4P for Ghana. Chapter 3 provided a connecting point for I4Ps and peace psychological research with the introduction of the PCSP model. Introduced as a concept that used a systems-thinking approach with psychological elements from a variety of research brands to suggest how sustainable peace can be implemented in society. The methodological approach posed special challenges (cp. section 4.4). These challenges mainly originated from the difficulty to analyse data from a national level with - while detailed still - imprecise guidelines that are PCSP. The iterative and exploratory research design still deducted concrete suggestions on how to improve the I4P strategy for Ghana.

Especially the latter is considered a success and was an important objective of this thesis as the focal point in this endeavour lied in practice-oriented research for holistic psychological frameworks. While such frameworks and especially I4Ps have become a common programmatic and strategic tool, the integration of peace psychological findings is still a blind spot in the international peace architecture and the evaluation of successful peacebuilding “*remains one of the weakest links in the growing body of knowledge in the field*” (Coleman & Deutsch, 2012, p.73). The motivation to deduct concrete suggestions for political, economic and social actors in this regard, is also in the spirit of the “*Third Mission*”.

This describes a stated guideline of the University of Vienna and elsewhere to “*use scientific knowledge to help shape societal development*” and to “*increase active communication between universities and the society*” (Universität Wien, 2016, p.4).

General problems which were encountered during the research process

A lot of effort in this thesis was put on elaborating the theoretical foundations. In part, this was because the analysis was traversing on a very theoretical and conceptual level. A national strategy like the I4P for Ghana is detached from the *living reality* of society. It abstracts society to a strategic and organisational level and is as such not the optimal object of analysis for a theoretical model that primarily describes psychological processes. Admittedly, the I4P was a good comparison for the macro level components (and even meso level components) but still might lack to grasp the complexity of individual processes in Ghana.¹¹²

In retrospect, this was possibly the biggest shortcoming of this thesis. The reason is that this lead to a focus on conceptual frameworks and a peace strategy that left out questions on what happens “on the ground”. Therefore, the objective of the thesis can be considered isolated from *real actions* originating from the strategy that indeed promote peaceful behaviour in individuals, organisations or on an institutional scope.

If this thesis would have the possibility to retroactively adapt its research design it would include more material to observe - especially such material that directly reflects actions happening in Ghana in context with the national peace strategy. This could be done via interviews or observation of media outputs. Possibly, a research design could be developed that includes different documents for the different levels of the PCSP model. In such a design a national strategy would still fit very well as an indicator for macro level components. Such a multi-faceted approach could deduct even better suggestions for future peace strategies.

However, the analysis of the national strategy, and how psychological conditions manifests within it, is a good starting point not only as recommendations for the drafters (cp. section 5.1) and future national strategies but also as a baseline for *top-down* approaches in peace work. If a national strategy would exhaustively include PCSP, a next step could be to see how much of such a conceptualisation would trickle down to the next level or would

¹¹² Even though, the biggest compliance of I4P and PCSP model could be identified with micro level components (cp. section 4.4).

eventually reach the people where behavioural change for peace is the aim. Another promising analysis would be the “other way around”, or in other words, to observe the implementation and effects of measures in villages, cities and districts in Ghana (or even schools, workplaces and NGOs) to identify if PCSP (such as values, skills and behaviour for CCR or a tolerance for uncertainty) manifest there and if there is a discrepancy with the PCSP documented in the I4P strategy. Howsoever,

How to change societies towards wishful behaviour is maybe one of the, if not *the*, most sought after question, not just in social sciences and politics, but especially regarding global challenges concerning environmental degradation, political conflicts and growing social disparities (cp. introduction). In a world with growing complexity, Coleman’s approach with 51 elements within a dynamical systems approach is an ambitious endeavour. It forms part of a growing awareness how complex and global problems require a systems-thinking approach to adapt human behaviour through coordinated action on a political level (e.g. UNSC, 2018). Peaceful behaviour of individuals is the basic foundation of peaceful societies. And like all of human behaviour, this behaviour is reflected by the culture and society the individual is embedded in and it cannot be understood outside this cultural environment (e.g. Slunecko et al., 2017). Welzer, for example, (2012) describes *mental infrastructures* as the psychological foundations that contain *wishes*, *hopes* and *values* of individuals which can only be changed by altering the foundations of society itself. To alter human behaviour is, therefore, to change society itself within multi-level, multi-sector and holistic strategies.

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List of Abbreviations*

ADR: Alternative dispute resolution
CCR: Constructive conflict resolution
DST: Dynamical Systems Theory
GSGDA: Ghana shared Growth and Development Agenda
HIIK: Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research
I4P: Infrastructure for Peace
IEP: Institute for Economics of Peace
KAIPTC: Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Centre
NCCE: National Commission of Civic Education
NGO: Non-governmental organisation
NPC: National Peace Council
ÖSFK: Österreichisches Studienzentrum für Frieden und Konfliktlösung
PBC: United Nations Peacebuilding Commission
PCSP: Psychological components of sustainable peace
PRIO: Peace Research institute Oslo
SDG: Sustainable Development Goal
SIPRI: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
UCDP: Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UN: United Nations
UNDP: United Nations Development Program
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNSC: United Nations General Assembly Security Council
WANEP: West Africa Network for Peacebuilding

*Not included are the abbreviations for the PCSP as those are listed in chapter 3, section 3.3.

Annex A: I4P measures

Synergy of identifiable measures with all the relevant information from the additional information (marked in blue). Segments that were extracted from the category system are marked green.

1: To Coordinate and Harmonize All Peace Initiatives within Ghana

Outcome (by 2014): National peace and stability is enhanced through a harmonized and coordinated peace mechanism

1.1 Establish a network of all peace actors in Ghana

→ Networking is specified as: *-Developing effective and productive partnerships to avoid excluding peace actors; (p.21)*

-Sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU).

To recognize the Council as the Coordinating body of peace initiatives in Ghana;

to agree to a harmonized, coordinated, and collaborative operational structure and processes for peace initiatives in Ghana;

agree to Joint Programming. (p.21)

-joint work plans, division of labor, shared physical, intellectual, financial, human, and infrastructural resources; shared accountability including planning, implementing, managing, monitoring, information, decision-making (p.21)

-to streamline resources and achieve peace together (p.21)

-Increase efficiency in the use of resources; shared sense of commitment and responsibility

-Utilization of existing expertise, creativity, experience, physical and intellectual capacity

Network is specified as:

-regional, district organizations, security services, civil society, and independent groups; (p.21)

-On the district, regional, and national levels (p.21)

1: To Coordinate and Harmonize All Peace Initiatives within Ghana

Outcome (by 2014): National peace and stability is enhanced through a harmonized and coordinated peace mechanism

1.2 Identify all ongoing peace initiatives in Ghana

-Evaluate all ongoing peace initiatives in Ghana

→ Initiatives: set common goals, collaborate on implementing activities, share resources and information, mutual support (p.21)

-bring together partners (p.20)

-Conflict Resolution Centers will be established in the districts to provide facilitators and mediators (p.24)

-Proactive intervention where disputants are not ready for direct communication (p.24)

-implement the agreements in good faith (p.25)

- public is aware of conflict indicators (p.25)

- public that has confidence in the national peace architecture (p.25)

1: To Coordinate and Harmonize All Peace Initiatives within Ghana

Outcome (by 2014): National peace and stability is enhanced through a harmonized and coordinated peace mechanism

1.3 Institute a national platform for Peace Partnerships

-Initiate joint initiatives

→ -implement the agreements in good faith (p.25)

- include a mechanisms to

reassemble parties if terms are not upheld or if there is a change in circumstance (p.25)

-Peace partner are specified as: Media, National Commission for Civic Education - a public think tank (authors note)- Electoral Commission, Political Leaders, Parliamentarians, the Small Arms and Light Weapons Commission (p.26)

1: To Coordinate and Harmonize All Peace Initiatives within Ghana

Outcome (by 2014): National peace and stability is enhanced through a harmonized and coordinated peace mechanism

1.4 Develop a coordination and operational framework for peace actors

-Develop a coordination and operational framework for initiatives

→ Initiatives includes: *bring together partners* (p.20)

-set common goals, collaborate on implementing activities, share resources and information, mutual support (p.21)

Peace partner are specified as: Media, NCCE, Electoral Commission, Political Leaders, Parliamentarians, the Small Arms and Light Weapons Commission (p.26)

-Peace actors are stakeholders working to promote peace and they range from religious leaders, CSOs, community groups, the private sector, to the governance institutions, the media, the Chiefs, women groups, political leaders, and to youth groups. (p.29)

1: To Coordinate and Harmonize All Peace Initiatives within Ghana

Outcome (by 2014): National peace and stability is enhanced through a harmonized and coordinated peace mechanism

1.5 Set up committees for...

- planning of harmonizing effects
- managing of harmonizing effects
- implementing of harmonizing effects
- monitoring of harmonizing effects

→ *Harmonizing effects insinuated to be for following areas:*

a gender perspective that is mainstreamed in its programming and women are included at all levels (p.29)

needs and interests of the socially excluded youth must be mainstreamed (p.29)

people living with disabilities, especially those inflicted through conflict must be mainstreamed (p.29)

2: To promote understanding of peace for behavioural change

Outcome (by 2017): Ghanaians are more prone to informed behaviour with an increased respect for and tolerance of diversity, and increased knowledge of, skills for and positive attitudes about sustainable peace

2.1 Collaborate with research and other institutions to undertake the research such as

- A conflict baseline survey on Oil Zones and their surrounding communities
- The role of youth in conflict
- An integrated study on the economic social/anthropological, legal perspectives on the Bawku conflict

→ *Research areas are specified on p.22 as:*

Possible salient tensions being caused by the flurry of oil and natural gas explorations in western Ghana;

The impact of the growing youth bulge on conflicts in Ghana;

2: To promote understanding of peace for behavioural change

Outcome (by 2017): Ghanaians are more prone to informed behaviour with an increased respect for and tolerance of diversity, and increased knowledge of, skills for and positive attitudes about sustainable peace

2.2 Develop nationwide **formal and informal peace building educational campaigns** specifically designed **for each target group** using all forms of media, social networks and mobile telephones

-Conduct nationwide formal and informal peace building educational campaigns specifically designed for each target group using all forms of media, social networks and mobile telephones

→ Same as in Peace education campaigns: *to bring about change in behaviour* **by promoting respect and tolerance for diversity, the knowledge, skills, attitudes, common ethical values, and the shared sameness that underlies human diversity** (p.22)

~~-to identify conflict styles, indicators, enabling them to compromise, and choose thoughtful instead of instinctive behaviour~~ (p.22)

~~-Promoting, informing and advertising the network (as mentioned in measure 1.1) and other peace initiatives~~ (p.22)

~~-proactive and reactive conflict mechanisms~~ (p.22)

~~-human values, ethics, morals, conflict indicators, and issues that inflame conflicts (via mobile phone reminders)~~ (p.22)

~~-The campaigns also include continuation of the (peace) dialogue~~

~~Indicators that turn interactions in disagreements~~ (p.22)

2: To promote understanding of peace for behavioural change

Outcome (by 2017): Ghanaians are more prone to informed behaviour with an increased respect for and tolerance of diversity, and increased knowledge of, skills for and positive attitudes about sustainable peace

2.3 **Develop an informative website, facebook page and twitter account for ongoing peace education**

-The public will be trained in how to access and contribute to the available structures and mechanisms (Participation) (p.22)

--publication of materials and reports (p.48)

2: To promote understanding of peace for behavioural change

Outcome (by 2017): Ghanaians are more prone to informed behaviour with an increased respect for and tolerance of diversity, and increased knowledge of, skills for and positive attitudes about sustainable peace

2.4 Collaborate with the University for Development Studies to institutionalize the Harmattan School

→ Harmattan school: is a learning platform where peace and conflict issues affecting the conflict prone area will be deliberated and creative solutions developed (p.22)

2: To promote understanding of peace for behavioural change

Outcome (by 2017): Ghanaians are more prone to informed behaviour with an increased respect for and tolerance of diversity, and increased knowledge of, skills for and positive attitudes about sustainable peace

2.5 Support the Government's efforts (as stated in the GSGDA) to mainstream peace education into school curricula

→ Same as in Peace education campaigns and 2.3: *to bring about change in behaviour by promoting respect and tolerance for diversity, the knowledge, skills, attitudes, common ethical values, and the shared sameness that underlies human diversity* (p.22)

-to identify conflict styles, indicators, enabling them to compromise, and choose thoughtful instead of instinctive behaviour (p.22)

-Promoting, informing and advertising the network (as mentioned in measure 1.1) and other peace initiatives (p.22)

-proactive and reactive conflict mechanisms (p.22)

-human values, ethics, morals, conflict indicators, and issues that inflame conflicts (via mobile phone reminders) (p.22)

-The campaigns also include continuation of the (peace) dialogue

-Indicators that turn interactions in disagreements (p.22)

-The public will be trained in how to access and contribute to the available structures and mechanisms (Participation) (p.22)

-publication of materials and reports (p.48)

3: To facilitate prevention and management of electoral violence

Outcome: Peaceful elections by December 2012 and 2016

3.1 Engage all political parties on strategies to ensure peaceful elections

→ They only common measure regarding what a common strategy encompasses is defined as: **a tolerant and respectful civil discourse** (p.22)

Furthermore, while not specifically stated for political actors it is insinuated: *that special emphasis*

will be on the media and disputants (possible political actors and parties) to restrict broadcasting or publishing of insensitive information, to limit speech that will incite violence.

3: To facilitate prevention and management of electoral violence

Outcome: Peaceful elections by December 2012 and 2016

3.2 Collaborate with key stakeholders to undertake activities to reduce the likelihood of conflict

→ Key stakeholders in the document are the: **political parties, the media, the Judiciary, the Electoral Commission** (and other relevant stakeholders) (p.23)

The likelihood of conflict will be reduced via: *Effective monitoring of conflict indicators and Early Warning Systems beginning from the district level through the regional to the national level. The primary goal is to ensure that information about potential security threats reaches peace actors who can mitigate tensions quickly* (p.23)

3: To facilitate prevention and management of electoral violence

Outcome: Peaceful elections by December 2012 and 2016

3.3 Engage the media on strategies for peace driven journalism

→ While not specified, throughout the document it is hinted that all political parties shall NOT incite in violent inducing speech (e.g. *a tolerant and respectful civil discourse*, p.22)

3: To facilitate prevention and management of electoral violence

Outcome: Peaceful elections by December 2012 and 2016

3.4 Engage other governance institutions on the electoral processes to ensure inclusiveness

-Engage other governance institutions on the electoral processes to ensure fairness

-Engage other governance institutions on the electoral processes to ensure transparency

-Engage other governance institutions to develop strategies

to ensure inclusiveness

-Engage other governance institutions to develop strategies

to ensure fairness

-Engage other governance institutions to develop strategies

to ensure transparency

→ As conflict-prone problems in Ghana, the I4P specifies administrative and legal problems regarding chieftaincy unequal economic distribution, gender equality and land disputes. It is hinted that reform pertains to those issues:

-Chieftaincy is another major source of conflict caused by issues such as succession, destoolment, political interference, and corruption in management and use of stool property. Especially land disputes (p.13)

-most of the improvements generated by Ghana's GDP and GNI do not flow back to the masses, and there remains considerable inequality in the distribution of wealth especially among regions, the youth, and gender (p.14)

-Developing a stronger and more efficient effort to bring about peace requires using all of Ghana's capacity and potential, meaning women must be included in peace negotiations (p.16)

-Necessary reforms are (while not directly mentioned) insinuated in policy, economy and social factors (p.14/15)

- a gender perspective that is mainstreamed in its programming and women are included at all levels. (p.29)

- needs and interests of the socially excluded youth must be mainstreamed (p.29)

- people living with disabilities, especially those inflicted through conflict must be mainstreamed (p.29)

3: To facilitate prevention and management of electoral violence

Outcome: Peaceful elections by December 2012 and 2016

3.5 Promote peace by supporting the creation of platforms for religious/traditional leaders, in conflict areas

Promote peace by supporting the creation of platforms for regional platforms for interaction between political parties and Chiefs, the media, security, women, youth leaders and CSOs (Pre-Mes-5)

3: To facilitate prevention and management of electoral violence

Outcome: Peaceful elections by December 2012 and 2016

3.6 Strengthen the mediation platforms in conflict areas such as Bawku, Dagbon Alavanyo/Nkonya, and Hohoe

→ Only mention of additional places hint to conflict prone areas: *Possible salient tensions being caused by the flurry of oil and natural gas explorations in western Ghana (p.22)*

3: To facilitate prevention and management of electoral violence

Outcome: Peaceful elections by December 2012 and 2016

3.7 Conduct a post-election experiences and lessons learned in all regions

4: To Prevent Tensions From Erupting into Conflict

Outcome: By 2017, improved national capacity to prevent conflict through strengthened conflict prevention mechanisms

4.1 Facilitate or develop an effective monitoring system of conflict indicators

4: To Prevent Tensions From Erupting into Conflict

Outcome: By 2017, improved national capacity to prevent conflict through strengthened conflict prevention mechanisms

4.2 Strengthen the national **Early Warning System** by developing a common framework to ensure information is fed into the system

-Strengthen the national **Early Warning System** by developing a common framework to ensure it reaches responding agencies

→ Early Warning system is specified as: *Effective monitoring of conflict indicators and Early Warning Systems beginning from the district level through the regional to the national level. The primary goal is to ensure that information about potential security threats reaches peace actors who can mitigate tensions quickly (p.23)*

The capacity of both peace actors and the general public will be strengthened to efficiently feed into the system. (p.23)

4: To Prevent Tensions From Erupting into Conflict

Outcome: By 2017, improved national capacity to prevent conflict through strengthened conflict prevention mechanisms

4.3 **Develop conflict analysis** which should include....

- conflict mapping
- an identification of underlying history,
- interests,
- specific root causes (Pre-Mic-1)
- actors,
- patterns of occurrence,
- status of the conflict,
- barriers to human security
- opportunity for peace building

Conduct conflict analysis which should include...

- conflict mapping
- an identification of underlying history,
- interests,
- specific root causes,
- actors,
- patterns of occurrence,
- status of the conflict,
- barriers to human security
- opportunity for peace building

4: To Prevent Tensions From Erupting into Conflict

Outcome: By 2017, improved national capacity to prevent conflict through strengthened conflict prevention mechanisms

4.4 Promote research of good practices within the country

-Promote learning of good practices within the country

-Promote sharing of good practices within the country

-Promote research of good practices outside the country

-Promote learning of good practices outside the country

-Promote sharing of good practices outside the country

→ Generally defined as: *Knowledge creation, management, learning and sharing about conflict prevention and resolution (p.22)*

-Council will actualize the Harmattan School, which is a learning platform; creative solutions developed. (p.22)

-Measures that seek to ensure predictability and create an enabling context (p.23)

-to find synergies for shared solutions and to collaborate to share resources (p.23)

-Only mentioned by name are United Nations and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (p,23)

4: To Prevent Tensions From Erupting into Conflict

Outcome: By 2017, improved national capacity to prevent conflict through strengthened conflict prevention mechanisms

4.5 Facilitate or develop training programs using the most effective, cost efficient, and practical methods for peace partners and other stakeholders including but not limited to

- women
- youth
- representatives of security services
- Chiefs

on the following areas:

- Monitoring of Conflict Indicators
- Contribution to and Use of Early
- Warning System
- Conflict Analysis
- Dialogue
- Preventive Diplomacy
- Confidence
- Trust building

→ It further specifies those Knowledge to be developed includes but not limited to:

Conflict analysis (Conflict cycles, Conflict styles)

ADR mechanisms especially Consensus Building, Negotiations, and Mediation (basic to advanced) Cross-cultural conflict interests

Power analysis

Psycho physiological and behavioural aspects of conflict

Local History

Skills to be developed includes but not limited to:

Active Listening

Understand the different types of questions (open/closed) and their use Ability to identify available options and their consequences

Identify elements of sustainable peace agreements

Attitudes to be developed includes but not limited to:

Patience

Tolerance for diversity in people and perspectives Respect for parties and confidentiality

Fairness

Accountable, trustworthy and honest

Non Personalization of issues

(p.31)

5: To Manage Conflicts So As To Contain and Limit Further Escalation

Outcome (By 2017): Improved national capacity to manage conflict through strengthened conflict management mechanisms

5.1 Promote the peace process and foster efforts to advance cooperation and understanding of differing interests through ADR [Alternative Dispute Resolutions] mechanisms, including: (Pro-Mic-5)

- consensus building

- Negotiation

- Mediation

→ More details are: *sending neutral prominent mediators to engage in dialogue in an attempt to build trust and increase predictability among the conflicting parties in an attempt to solve the problem. (p.23)*

act early and timely to stop violent conflict (p.23)

-a collective term for a broad spectrum of conflict management mechanisms without resorting to trial or violence (p.23)

-asking the right questions about the disputants, the process, and the problem for a deeper understanding of the conflict (p.24)

-get the disputants to disclose the underlying needs or reasons for their position: Their interests not demands or positions (p.24)

-educating each other on their interests and using the understanding gained to review options and settle on an overwhelming agreement to which all stakeholders address their interest as best as possible (p.24)

-to create genuine accountability (p.24)

-foster active listening amongst disputants and peace actors (p.24)

-understanding of conflict styles (p.24)

-Consensus building without unanimity but with possibilities of animity (p.24)

-communicating and bargaining to reach an agreement (p.24)

-against blatant unfairness (p.24)

-the disputants first define the conflict, analyze the causes, explore options to manage or resolve the conflict, and select the mutually preferred option. (p.24)

-The Collaborative Problem Solving Process: an effective tool to use in diffusing competition and encourage cooperation among disputants to focus disputants on finding creative, collaborative solutions (p.24)

-Consensus Building, Negotiations, and Mediation (basic to advanced) (p.31)

5: To Manage Conflicts So As To Contain and Limit Further Escalation

Outcome (By 2017): Improved national capacity to manage conflict through strengthened conflict management mechanisms

5.2 Conduct peace education campaigns focused on managing behaviour which will incite violence (Pro-Mes-7)

especially for:

- the media
- affected parties

Conduct peace education campaigns focused on managing speech which will incite violence

especially for:

- the media
- affected parties

→ *Media: Print, TV, radio media, the internet with its social networking and mobile telephones (p.16)*

The how refers to: restrict broadcasting or publishing of insensitive information of conflict actors/disputants

5: To Manage Conflicts So As To Contain and Limit Further Escalation

Outcome (By 2017): Improved national capacity to manage conflict through strengthened conflict management mechanisms

5.3 **Facilitate or develop training programs** using the most effective, cost efficient, and practical methods for peace partners and other stakeholders including but not limited to **(Pre-Mac-3/Pre-Mac-6)**

- women
- youth
- representatives of security services
- Chiefs

on the following areas:

- Monitoring of Conflict Indicators
- Contribution to and Use of Early
- Warning System
- Conflict Analysis
- Dialogue
- Preventive Diplomacy
- Negotiation
- Mediation

→ *It further specifies those Knowledge to be developed includes but not limited to:*

- Conflict analysis (Conflict cycles, Conflict styles)
- ADR mechanisms especially Consensus Building, Negotiations, and Mediation (basic to advanced) Cross-cultural conflict interests
- Power analysis
- Psycho physiological and behavioural aspects of conflict
- Local History
- Skills to be developed includes but not limited to:
 - Active Listening
 - Understand the different types of questions (open/closed) and their use Ability to identify available options and their consequences
 - Identify elements of sustainable peace agreements
- Attitudes to be developed includes but not limited to:
 - Patience
 - Tolerance for diversity in people and perspectives Respect for parties and confidentiality
 - Fairness
 - Accountable, trustworthy and honest
 - Non Personalization of issues

6: To Identify Root Causes and Resolve Conflict

Outcome (by 2017): improved national capacity to identify root causes and resolve conflict through strengthened conflict resolution mechanisms

6.1 Conduct research on specific conflicts to identify underlying causes

-Conduct research on specific conflicts to identify needs

-Conduct research on specific conflicts to identify interests

→ Conflicts are generally phrased as: *specific and not generic* (p.23)

-ongoing efforts to codify customary laws have a significant impact on Chieftaincy conflicts caused by succession, paramountcy, and destoolment

6: To Identify Root Causes and Resolve Conflict

Outcome (by 2017): improved national capacity to identify root causes and resolve conflict through strengthened conflict resolution mechanisms

6.2 Advice and recommend to government policies and/or legislation that will address underlying root causes beyond the purview of the Council

for example:

- social causes of conflict
- economic causes of conflict

→ *Advices are in regards to Socio-economic inequity, poverty, lack of access to lucrative economic activity, and lack of opportunities for change (p.20)*

6: To Identify Root Causes and Resolve Conflict

Outcome (by 2017): improved national capacity to identify root causes and resolve conflict through strengthened conflict resolution mechanisms

6.3 Promote peace building

using mechanisms which may including:

- Conflict Analysis
- Dialogue
- Consensus building
- Negotiation
- Mediation

Promote reform using **mechanisms** which may including:

- Conflict Analysis
- Dialogue
- Consensus building
- Negotiation
- Mediation

Promote **reconciliation** using mechanisms which may including:

- Conflict Analysis
- Dialogue
- Consensus building
- Negotiation
- Mediation

Promote **stabilization** using mechanisms which may including:

- Conflict Analysis
- Dialogue
- Consensus building
- Negotiation
- Mediation

Promote reform using mechanisms which may including:

- Conflict Analysis
- Dialogue
- Consensus building
- Negotiation
- Mediation

→ As conflict-prone problems in Ghana, the I4P specifies administrative and legal problems regarding chieftaincy unequal economic distribution, **gender equality** and land disputes. It is hinted that reform pertains to those issues:

-Chieftaincy is another major source of conflict caused by issues such as succession, destoolment, political interference, and corruption in management and use of stool property. Especially land disputes (p.13)

-most of the improvements generated by Ghana's GDP and GNI do not flow back to the masses, and there remains considerable inequality in the distribution of wealth especially among regions, the youth, and gender (p.14)

-Developing a stronger and more efficient effort to bring about peace requires using all of Ghana's capacity and potential, meaning women must be included in peace negotiations (p.16)

a gender perspective that is mainstreamed in its programming and women are included at all levels (p.29)

- needs and interests of the socially excluded youth must be mainstreamed (p.29)

- people living with disabilities, especially those inflicted through conflict must be mainstreamed (p.29)

-Necessary reforms are (while not directly mentioned) insinuated in policy, economy and social factors (p.14/15)

6: To Identify Root Causes and Resolve Conflict

Outcome (by 2017): improved national capacity to identify root causes and resolve conflict through strengthened conflict resolution mechanisms

Coordination between local governments, civil society and international organisations to prevent violent conflict

6.4 Facilitate or develop training programs using the most effective, cost efficient, and practical methods for peace partners and other stakeholders including but not limited to (Pre-Mac 3/Pre-Mac-6)

- women
- youth
- representatives of security services
- Chiefs

on the following areas:

- Monitoring of Conflict Indicators
- Contribution to and Use of Early Warning System
- Conflict Analysis
- Dialogue
- Advanced Mediation
- Peace Agreements

→ It further specifies those Knowledge to be developed includes but not limited to:

- Conflict analysis (Conflict cycles, Conflict styles)
- ADR mechanisms especially Consensus Building, Negotiations, and Mediation (basic to advanced) Cross-cultural conflict interests
- Power analysis
- Psycho physiological and behavioural aspects of conflict
- Local History
- Skills to be developed includes but not limited to (for trainers):
- Active Listening
- Understand the different types of questions (open/closed) and their use Ability to identify available options and their consequences
- Identify elements of sustainable peace agreements

-Attitudes to be developed includes but not limited to:

- Patience
 - Tolerance for diversity in people and perspectives Respect for parties and confidentiality
 - Fairness
 - Accountable, trustworthy and honest
 - Non Personalization of issues
- (p.31)

Annex B: Content structuring category system

(red marked PCSP had no extraction/green did extract)

Prevention: Micro

Coding- Rule	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P
PCSP	1-Awareness of the causes, consequences and escalatory tendencies of destructive conflict and violence	2-Moderately high levels of self-monitoring, restraint and regulation of internal impulses for destructive or violent acts	3-Satisfaction of basic human needs including physiological needs, safety and dignity	4 -Values, attitudes skills and behaviours supporting non-violence	5 - Moderate levels of tolerance for uncertainty	6 -High levels of tolerance for and openness to difference	7 -A capacity for forgiveness

Prevention: Meso

Coding- Rule	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P
PCSP	8-Social taboos against corporal punishment and other forms of violence in the home, schools, workplace and public spaces	9-Norms of gender equity and equality in the home, schools and the workplace	10-Early access to peace education and multicultural tolerance programs in preschool, elementary and middle school	11- Opportunities for peaceful sublimation of aggression through competitive or extreme sports, occupations, creative arts, etc.	12-Functional and accessible venues for constructive, non-violent action to seek recourse and address perceived injustices and other harms	13-Strong norms for procedural and distributive justice in schools, workplaces, marketplaces, and elsewhere in the community

Prevention: Macro

Coding- Rule	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P
PCSP	14- Recognition and understanding of the inordinately strong salience of threat and tendencies towards inequality and competition in many societies across the globe	15- Establishing national political and social institutions that ensure the implementation and follow-through of negotiated settlements	16- Well-coordinated early warning systems operating through local governments and NGOs networked locally, regionally and globally for efficient communication	17- Use of crisis-mapping: an open source platform for collecting and plotting local cell-phone accounts of the commission of violent atrocities to inform the international community of emerging crises in a timely manner	18- Use of the internet and other social technologies to mobilize broad non-violent movements for social justice and corporate responsibility	19- Coordination between local governments, civil society and international organisations to prevent violent conflict	20- Well-functioning global organizations and institutions such as the United Nations, the International Criminal Courts, Interpol, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights	21- Developing awareness and knowledge of the dilemma of the Commons and how to manage it effectively

Promotion: Micro

Coding- Rule	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P
PCSP	22- Recognition of the interdependence of all people, similar and different, local and global	23-A strong self transcendent value orientation committed to the welfare of others and society, with a sufficient self enhancement orientation to mitigate individual resentment	24-A healthy balance of openness to change and conservatism, responsive to changing times and circumstances	25-Values attitudes, skills and behaviours promoting cooperation and trust	26- Knowledge, attitudes and skills for CCR	27- Higher levels of integrative, emotional, behavioral, and social identity complexity	28- Capacities for tolerance, humanization, realistic empathy (understanding how a situation looks to someone else) and compassion for members of one's ingroups and outgroups	29-An appreciation of environmental stewardship and equitable sharing of the earth's resources among its members and with all human beings	30- Language for peace: a large lexicon for all aspects of cooperative and peaceful relations and sufficient use of such terms to foster automaticity	31-A strong sense of global identity with a concrete understanding of the steps that need to be taken locally to act as global citizen

Promotion: Meso

Coding- Rule	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P
PCSP	32- Strong norms valuing and nurturing children	33-Early socialization of children oriented toward mutual care and nurturance	34- Cross-cutting structures fostering common interests, activities, and bonds across different ethnic and religious groups	35-Structures of cooperative task, goal and reward interdependence in schools, workplaces, and politics	36-Programs and workshops in constructive conflict resolution and creative problem-solving for children, adults, parents and leaders of schools, businesses and politics	37-Shared, accurate and transparent collective memories of past events, conflicts and relationships between groups	38- Common use of peaceful language in popular media and normal daily discourse	39-Strong emphasis on both local and superordinate identities at the ethnic, communal, national and global levels

Promotion: Macro

Coding Rule	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P
PCSP	40-A societal idea of peace that includes an ethic of interethnic unity, care and nurturance of others, which is as strong (or stronger) as the view of peace as something that need be secured and defended	41-Societies that define themselves as internally and externally peaceful	42-A transcultural elite with shared norms of tolerance, cooperation, and creative problem-solving, who model for all the efficacy and value of constructive, non-violent action	43-National governance structures tending towards egalitarianism and democracy	44-A strong community of global citizens engaged locally in initiatives fostering global citizenry and addressing shared global concerns (climate change, poverty, etc.)	45-Political and business ethics that are in harmony with nature and environmental stewardship

Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P	Which words, sentences and segments, indicate the inclusion of [PCSP] in the I4P
46-Institutions which reflect and uphold self-transcendent values	47-Gender parity with a proportional number of women in politics and the military, politics and the military	48-Use of the internet and other social technologies to mobilize broad social movements for humanitarian works and global peace	49-Strong communications, trade, and cultural and civilian exchanges between nations	50-Peace-mapping: an open-source platform for collecting and plotting local cellphone accounts of the commissions of peaceful and humanitarian acts to inform and inspire other potential “third-siders”	51-The establishment of peace parks: natural parks located at the borders between disputing nations where development and use of the parks are offered as superordinate goals