

## REVIEW OF ADAM MOOR'S PEACEBUILDING IN PRACTICE: LOCAL EXPERIENCE IN TWO BOSNIAN TOWNS

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Armed conflict in Yugoslavia gave birth to six nations with different identities and economic outlooks. It is now divided along ethnic lines and includes six republics – Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia – and Kosovo with supervised independence. The conflicts that arose through this division of nations still exist in different forms; one religious, and the other, nationalism. There have been many attempts to analyse peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts and practices in different conflict-hit countries. Studies of peacebuilding have received particular attention in security and peace studies around the world. The emergence of Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the unique case studies for peace and security researchers and many scholars have highlighted the country's dangerous conflict. Adam Moore's book was published in 2013 by Cornell University Press, Ithaca, US. The book was funded in project form by several international organisations and institutes of peace such as the Council of European Union Studies, International Research and Exchanges Board and The United States Institute of Peace. The book contains an interesting case study of two Bosnian towns, Brčko and Mostar. The examples of these towns have been used in a comparative analysis to improve understanding of the differences in peacebuilding practices between local political parties and institutions, and local and international ones.

The basic question that Adam Moore seeks an answer to is what has accounted for the striking divergence in the peacebuilding process in these two Bosnian Towns since the end of the war? There are few ethnically heterogeneous municipalities in Bosnia, and in both Mostar and Brčko

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clashes between Croat and Bosnian youths frequently occur, whether at sports events or other official ceremonies in the towns. The strategic location of the communities in the town of Mostar, according to the author, is a result of the failure of international peacebuilding efforts that hamper the overcoming of the deep divisions that continue to affect the post war peace process in Bosnia. In addition, international and local observers have identified both towns as trouble spots with a high level of ethnic tension and the potential for renewed conflict; a fact the author emphasises. Moore further mentions that both places have been singled out for intensive and lengthy international peacebuilding intervention in the post-war period. In other words, Moore highlights the major challenges which these towns are potentially facing in terms of the diverse existence of different ethnic groups and their intolerance of each other, which, according to the author, may result in the outbreak of large scale conflict due to which it would be difficult to achieve the objectives of peacebuilding. These clashes are directly or indirectly affecting the current peacebuilding efforts, and may worsen the situation. In addition, Moore's analysis rejects the argument that progress in Brčko is a product of the quantity of international resources (both aid and personnel) expended in the area. The 'capacity' explanation is often cited by international officials in Bosnia and was also forwarded by Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis in their influential analysis of international peacekeeping missions which, according to the authors, applies to the district of Brčko. Authors such as Nicolas Sambanis have studied conflicts with the help of numbers. However, Moore rejects their arguments on the basis of a comparison between the financial aid received by Mostar and that received by Brčko; the proportions clearly identify the difference, which according to Moore highlights weaknesses in the arguments of Nicolas Sambanis and Michael Doyle about the success of the peacekeeping missions.

The research design and the structure of the book play an important role in highlighting the major content of the book and the methods applied to address the main research questions and develop the main arguments. Moore has divided the book into suitable parts, including an introduction and conclusion and seven chapters; namely, Research into Peacebuilding, the Collapse of Yugoslavia and the Balkan Wars, Institutions, Wartime Legacies, Sequencing, Peacebuilding Practices and Institutions and Patron-clientelism in Brčko District. The structure of the chapters captures the main ideas contained in the book and the author also touches on the history of the conflict and stresses the need to study peacebuilding efforts regarding this special issue. Moore then tries to develop and explain his extensive fieldwork to improve understanding of the practices and the conflicts in the towns. In relation to

the structure of the book, the general impression is that it provides a rich introduction to contemporary literature about peacebuilding, followed by a section on peacebuilding practices and their application in Mostar and Brčko. The author develops arguments about four main factors: political institutions, wartime legacies, sequencing and peacebuilding practices, and institutions.

The author presents his arguments in relation to his selection of methodology; the book's analyses are grounded in detailed fieldwork and primary source material that offers a nuanced understanding of the ways in which local, national and regional factors shape peacebuilding processes. The other part of the analysis in the book may be considered distinct from most 'within-country' analyses in that it is explicitly structured as a paired analysis of two similar, medium-sized cities in a single country with clear variation in the degree of peacebuilding progress which allows the author to better understand spatially and temporally uneven processes of peacebuilding within states following war. Another distinct feature of this book is that it is based on multiple methods of data collection and data analysis. As mentioned, this research is based on eighteen months of fieldwork, spanning eight years (2004-2012) during which time the author utilized three methodological approaches: formal interviews, archival research and ethnography. Adapting this distinctive approach to generating the data for analysis generated challenges as well as opportunities for the author, in particular with the 'metadata' analysis about which Moore quotes Lee Ann Fujii who highlights the fact that metadata analyses are crucial for developing a fuller understanding of political and social conditions in communities that have experienced wide-scale violence. In addition to this method, the author also worked with representatives of international organisation such as OHR and EUFOR. This gave the author a clearer perspective with which to analyse the practices of peacebuilding in the two towns and to understand the major differences in organisational preferences when it comes to maintaining peace. The author also highlights his extensive personal observations regarding the peacebuilding practices in both towns.

Over the years the study of peacebuilding has received much attention and has become the central point for researchers who wish to discuss post-war regions in the world. The author mentions that no reliable formula yet exists for transforming a fragile ceasefire into a stable and lasting peace. This means the term peacebuilding is contested and that transformation may well be complex, depending the intensity and structure of a conflict. Moore states that there is a greater appreciation for just how little we still know about the transition from war to peace. This analysis of localized peacebuilding in Brčko and Mostar does not offer any general formula for creating a stable

and lasting peace, but it does aim to inform the reader and highlight certain key issues and topics of interest in contemporary peacebuilding research. The author has focused on providing an analysis of the relevant literature that exists on the topic of peacebuilding in different war-torn regions and has also taken into account different variables such as the role of institutions (i.e. local or international, economic or social) and their influence on achieving the goals of peacebuilding. Power and its role in understanding ethnic conflicts and the concept of power in relation to ethno-territorial autonomy are also briefly highlighted. The author has analysed consociational and integrative approaches to understanding the role of institutions. He mentions that Mostar and Brčko offer an interesting test of the relative merits of consociational and integrative approaches to institutional design. This is interesting, because given the different assumptions that exist concerning ethnic identity and interaction, there has been a surprising lack of research into the results of these two political arrangements in local communities and into the scale at which everyday interactions and practices take place and are mediated by political institutions.

In relation to other factors, the author highlights wartime legacies, which is one of the vitally important factors to consider in post-war zones if one would achieve the goals of peacebuilding. The author states that this is one of the important factors but also that, unfortunately, the ways in which wartime social processes shape post-war peace outcomes is one of the least understood or highlighted elements of post-war peacebuilding. It is well known that countries that have experienced civil war are more likely to experience further outbreaks of violence. The literature on political economy, according to the author, highlights the negative legacies of war, such as economic hardships and the destruction of social capital and the emergence of weak governing institutions, and this analysis is undertaken using national level data. On the other hand, the author identifies the rich literature (in the form of case studies) that has highlighted the various social and political legacies of civil war such as the sharpening and polarization of ethnic identities, the militarization of society, the rise of authoritarian governments, new forms of political mobilization and the growth of criminal shadow economies and political networks. In other words, these case studies justify the author's claim to the importance of post-war legacies in a conflict region. The author emphasizes that the more recent literature has clearly identified the important social and political legacies of war; this has directed attention towards subnational differences in wartime processes and the effect such variations have on post-war peacebuilding. In other words, micro-level analysis provides better understanding of these social and political post-war legacies and their effects

on peacebuilding efforts in different settings.

In addition to the peacebuilding factors, the author mentions the importance of the sequencing of political, economic and institutional reforms. Moore believes that the early peacebuilding missions of the 1990s were guided by the belief that rapid political and economic liberalization was a key element in transforming war-torn states into stable societies. It has been proven by research that market-based democracies are less likely to engage in wars or experience interstate violence. This idea of market-based democracies is reflected in the document 'An Agenda for Democratization'; an ambitious policy statement published by UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The author further mentions that, in the political sphere, support for liberal market democracies means that peacebuilders have emphasised the importance of democratization and have typically endeavoured to organize elections shortly after the termination of war. In terms of the economy, this has led to the promotion of market-oriented reforms designed to reduce government involvement in the economy. In contrast to favouring this approach, some research that the author identifies mentions that democratizing states are more likely to experience civil war and that early elections following conflicts often spark renewed fighting. Regarding economic liberalization, the author states that it also has consequences and there are many studies based on developing countries which have highlighted the fact that factors such as low per capita income and slow economic growth are potential drivers of civil war, but also the fact that market-based economies are more likely to be peaceful in the long run than the short.

The situations of Bosnian Mostar and Brčko, because of the different ethnicities involved, raise interesting questions about the transition from conflict into peace and prospects for stability. Adam Moore admits that this is an incredibly difficult and complex process involving social, political, and economic transformations of not only institutions but also the actors who directly or indirectly affect the peacebuilding process. There is no single mechanism for attaining peace and creating a smooth transition without losing credibility. There exist many missions that are still producing reports about the effectiveness of measures for peacebuilding, but conflicts can be similar in nature but have quite different consequences so not every conflict can be treated using a standardized formula or tactics. Similarly, the conflict situation in the Bosnian towns is quite complex in that the different ethnic groups and both sides are of a different religion, thus it is not easy to understand the interests of the actors involved in the peacebuilding process. Adam Moore with this book offers the reader an inside view and has tried to identify the real-time challenges which peacebuilding missions face, and at

the same specify what locals typically expect from peacebuilding missions. Moore has analysed the two sides of the conflict and shared his own field observations. Ultimately, he highlights the fact that successful peacebuilding is not just a matter of devising correct policies. Theoretically impressive laws and institutions are worthless if they are not appropriate for local conditions or are improperly implemented. Moreover, assuring their implementation depends on the existence of a productive and meaningful relationship between international and local actors on the ground, and, most importantly, successful coordination between resources and policy makers.