CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE IN THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA

By

OBI, NDIFON NEJI
Matric No. 129599
BSc. Political Science (Calabar),
M.A. Peace and Conflict Studies (Ibadan)

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ABSTRACT

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) are critical actors in the transition to and sustainability of democracy, especially in the Republic of Guinea which has been threatened by armed conflict in neighbouring countries. Although existing studies have focused on CSOs as important actors for peacebuilding in fragile states, their capacity for supporting national stability and security has received little attention. This study, examined the role and capacity of CSOs in the consolidation of peace in Republic of Guinea.

Structural-functionalist and democratic peace theories were used as framework, while exploratory and case study research designs were utilised. Ten copies of a semi-structured questionnaire were administered on ten CSOs selected through purposive sampling. Some of these include; West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (Stability/Peacebuilding); Mano River Women Peace Network (Peacebuilding); Equal Rights for All (Human Rights); National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action (NIRPA)-(Education) and Association of African Professionals of Communication (Media). Eleven key informant interviews were conducted with chief executives of the CSOs; seven in-depth interviews were conducted with key officials in the security sector; while 10 focus group discussions were conducted in the selected CSOs. Annual reports of CSOs in Guinea and other publications constituted the secondary data. Data were subjected to content analysis.

Peace consolidation in Guinea was linked to the activities of CSOs. Prior to the outbreak of wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Guinean CSOs were active in civic education and campaigns against military rule. After the outbreak of armed violence in neighbouring countries, they shifted from advocacy for good governance to refugee management by offering psycho-social support, counselling for victims of physical and emotional violence, community reconciliation discussions as well as healing and cleansing ceremonies. Through their peacebuilding efforts, the presidents of Liberia (Charles Taylor), Sierra Leone (Ahmad Tejan Kabbah) and Guinea (Lansana Conté) were brought together in a peace summit in Morocco in March 2002 to discuss the security and stability of the region. The NIRPA *Civic Education and Culture of Peace* program was embedded in school curricula for the teaching of peace education at all levels. Tension arising from the 2009 Conakry stadium massacre was stemmed when CSOs established rights abuses against the government. The success of CSOs in persuading Dadis Camara, former military leader to leave Guinea after a failed assassination attempt on his life de-escalated internal tensions and paved way for transition to democratic rule. In spite of this level of activism, the capacity of CSOs to fully support peace consolidation was hampered by challenges relating to inadequate funding, low capacity and staffing, which depended largely on external donors.

Civil society organisations played important roles in initiating, sustaining and consolidating peace in Guinea in spite of limitations imposed by funding. State actors and other stakeholders need to develop local capacity for supporting national stability, security and peace consolidation.

Keywords: Civil Society Organisations, Consolidation of peace, Republic of Guinea **Word count:** 497

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out under my supervision by **OBI, NDIFON NEJI (Matric. Number 129599)** of the Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies, University of Ibadan.

SUPERVISOR　　　　　　　　**Date**

Prof. (Mrs) A. T. Simbine

B.A. (Zaria), M. Sc., Ph.D. (Ibadan)

Professor of Political Science & International Relations

Public Sector Group

Social & Governance Policy Research Department

Nigeria Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER),

Ibadan, Nigeria.

And

NATIONAL COMMISSIONER

Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)

Federal Capital Territory

Abuja, Nigeria.

DEDICATION

To the many unnamed civil society actors who suffered various degrees of assaults in the course of initiating, sustaining and consolidating peacebuilding efforts in the Republic of Guinea.

To Blessing, Emerald, Ruby and Diamond who endured my long journey to Ph.D.

To my Dad, who is not available to sight this work.

To God, who made it ALL possible!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAPC	Association of African Professionals of Communication
ABC-DEV.	Association pour le Bien être Communautaire et le Développement
ACWD	Association for Communities Wellbeing and Development
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AISCHA	Support to civil society initiatives for increased human capacity
APAC	Association des Professionnelles Africaines de la Communication
APC	All People's Congress
AGBEF	Guinea Association for Family Welfare
AU	African Union
BSCBU	Border Security and Confidence Building Unit
CBOs	community Based Organisation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CSITF	Civil Society Intervention Trust Fund
CEE	Civil and Environmental Engineering
CNOSCG	National Council for Guinea Civil Society Organisations
CONAG-DCF	Coalition Nationale pour le Droit et la Citoyenneté des Femmes
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CSI	Civil Society Index
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CSP	Country Strategy Paper
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ERA	Equal Rights for All
EU	European Union
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FP	Foreign Policy
FOI	Freedom of Information
GMF	Femmes Musulmanes de Guinée

GOHR	Guinean Organization for Human Rights
GRR	Radio Rurale de Guinee
GST	General Systems Theory
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICSPA	Integrated Core Survey for Poverty Assessment
IDI	In-depth Interview
IEP	Institute for Economics and Peace
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
INRAP	Institut National de recherché et d'Action Pédagogique
IPSS	Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies
JSC	Joint Security Committee
KII	Key Informant Interview
KM	Kilometres
MARWOPNET	Mano River Women Peace Network
MDGs	Millenium Development Goals
MDT	Les Mêmes Droits pour Tous
MI	Mitres
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MRU	Mano River Union
MWG	Muslim Women of Guinea
NCGRW	National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women
N.D.	No Date
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIRPA	National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPUCD	National Platform of United Citizens for development
NRPB	National Reconciliation and Peace Building

NSP	National Strategic Plan
NTC	National Transition Council of Guinea
OGDH	Organisation Guinéenne des Droits de l'Homme
OSIWA	Open Society Initiative for West Africa
PCUD	Plateforme Nationale des citoyens unis pour le développement
PCR	Provisional Commission of Reflection
PoP	Pillars of Peace
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
REFMAP	Réseau des Fleuve du fleuve Mano pour la paix
RRG	Rural Radio of Guinea
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SALWs	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SQ	Square
TC	Technical Committee
UDFG	Union Democratic Forces in Guinea
UN	United Nations
UNAID	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children Emergency Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US	United States
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding
WGI	Worldwide Governance Indicators

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This chapter sets the background to the study. It examines Guinea (the study area) in the context of its history, economy, relationship with neighbouring states and the domino effect of the wars in neighbouring states on Guinea. It traces the origin of civil society organisations (CSOs) in Guinea and highlights the strength of CSOs in initiating, sustaining and consolidating peace building efforts. The chapter also establishes the research problem, objectives and questions, significance of study, scope and clarification of some terms.

1.2. Background to the Study

Guinea, formerly known as People's Revolutionary Republic, is an independent nation in West Africa. It is bounded on the north by Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, and Mali; on the east and southeast by Côte d'Ivoire; on the south by Liberia and Sierra Leone and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean (Appendix I). According to Encarta (2009:1), the total area of the country, including the Los Islands of Conakry, is 245 857 sq. kms (94 926 sq mi). The population of the country as at July 2012 estimate was 10 884 958, while its largest city is Conakry with population strength of 1 597 000 (CIA World Fact Book, 2013:2). Guinea, a country characterised by *coups*, repression and gross abuse of rights, has had a history of authoritarian governance right from independence from France in 1958. Sékou Touré, the first president of Guinea was only succeeded after his death in 1984. Lansana Conté came to power in 1984 when the military toppled the government after the death of the first president. Guinea did not hold democratic elections until 1993 when Gen. Lansana Conté (Head of the military government) was elected president of the civilian government. He was re-elected in 1998 and again in 2003, though all the polls were marred by irregularities.

The Republic of Guinea as it is now known has a very unique transition history. Since it gained independence from France in 1958, the country has had four basic

administrations: Sékou Touré (1958-1984), Lansana Conté (1984-2008), Captain Moussa Dadis Camara/ Sekouba Konate (December 2008-December 2010) and Alpha Condé (December 2010-date). This uniqueness is further demonstrated by the nature of the transition in Guinean leadership. When the first president of Guinea, Ahmed Sékou Touré died in office in 1984, he was succeeded by Louis Lansana Beavogui as acting president who was deposed in a *coup d'état* on 3rd April 1984. Similarly, when Lansana Conté, the second president also died in office in 2008, he was equally succeeded by Aboubacar Sompare as acting president who himself was equally deposed in a *coup d'état* on December 23, 2008. The leader of the *coup*, Moussa Dadis Camara left office after he became incapacitated as a result of an assassination attempt and was succeeded by Sekouba Konate as acting president from December 2009 to December 2010 when Alpha Condé was sworn in as the democratically elected president.

This trend clearly suggests a predictably unstable polity. According to the CIA World Fact Book (2013:2), 85.0% of the population of Guinea is Muslims, 8.0% are Christians and 7.0% adhere to traditional beliefs. The country is made up of four major ethnic groups (Peuhl 40.0%; Malinke 30%; Sousson 20.0%; others 10%) with eight national native languages namely, *Mandinka* (also known as *Mandingo and Malinke*), *Susu, Fulfulde, Kissi, Basari, Loma, Koniagi,* and *Kpelle* but French is used as the official language. The chief economic activity of Guinea is agriculture; about 87.0% of the people are dependent on subsistence farming, forestry, and fishing. Mining is also at the heart of the economy. Mining operations in 2004 for instance yielded 16 million metric tons of bauxite, 468 400 carats of high-quality diamonds, and 16 000 kg (35 300 lbs.) of gold. About one-third of the known World reserves of high-grade bauxite ore are found in Guinea and the country can also boast of sizable deposits of iron ore**.** Other known mineral resources include diamond, gold, petroleum, uranium, cobalt, nickel, and platinum (Encarta, 2009:4). The unit of currency is the Guinean franc, which is divided into 100 centimes (3 644 francs equal U.S. $1; 2005 average).

According to IFAD (2012:1), despite its great mineral wealth, Guinea is one of the poorest countries in the world. The country ranked 178th of 187 countries classified by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index in 2011. Between 1999 and 2000, it was ranked 161st and 162nd out of the 174 countries

covered by the Human Development Report (HDR) and 174th out of 174 countries covered by HDR between 1992 and 1994. More than half the population of Guinea lives below the poverty line and about 20 per cent live in extreme poverty (IFAD, 2012:1). Ironically, while people in the sub region languish in poverty and despair, Suifon (2006:144-145), aptly noted that conflict entrepreneurs have made fortunes from the recurrent conflicts in the sub region sitting in their armchairs in air conditioned offices in Europe and North America.

In addition to the internal politico-economic situation of Guinea, its peace and stability was further threatened by the wars in neighbouring Liberia and Sierra Leone. It is necessary in light of this fact, to attempt a review of these wars in order to situate them in the context of the study. The bedrock of the threat to Guinea's stability could be traced to the 12th April 1980 coup against the government of President William Tolbert led by Master-Sergeant Samuel Doe in Liberia. The coup resulted in the killing of President Tolbert, several of his ministers and the Chief Justice of Liberia. The reasons given by the coup plotters included the neglect of the military, corruption and squandering of public funds (Oche, 2003:166). The dismissal of Charles Taylor in 1989 on allegations of corruption further aggravated the already bad situation in the sub region and therefore formally set the stage for a sub-regional war with its attendant consequences. This war had domino effect on Sierra Leone as the country was unable to manage its internal governance challenges which were further weakened by the cross border attacks by rebels from Liberia. These wars resulted in mass displacements of people. Guinea was at the receiving end of the spills as refugees' influx into it threatened not only the economy but the already fragile peace (Sesay, 2003:29). Sierra Leone's civil war could be traced to March 1991 when the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) launched a rebellion from Liberian territory to overthrow the corrupt and repressive one-party rule of the All People's Congress (APC). The RUF comprised an admixture of middle class students, unemployed and alienated youths as well as some fighters from Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) (Oche, 2003:172). Though both wars were external to Guinea, Guinea however bore the brunt as the country was subjected to political, economic and humanitarian crises for obvious reasons. For instance, it was easy for conflict and warlords in the sub region to crisscross from one country to another specifically due to porous borders and generally because the geographical and ethnic

ties, social fabric, traditional customs and economic structures of these countries are inextricably linked. According to Suma (2005:7), over 50.0% of the population of these countries are ethnic cousins sharing the same languages and traditional customs on different sides of the artificial borders that cut across ethnic groups and families, traditional water points, grazing lands and farms.

Again, Liberia and Sierra Leone which border Guinea on the south have both had protracted conflicts and no stable governments for more than 15 years and both combined, saw a death toll of a quarter of a million people and 1.5million more fleeing as refugees (Sesay, 2003:29). Both countries are still recovering from the impact of war. Fighters in the sub region although demobilized, are still poor, unemployed and prone to being lured to a job that pays them to fight. On the east/southeast is Ivory Coast which is in limbo as an uneasy peace looms over the country. To the north rests Guinea Bissau, a country that most in the world agree to its shamefully accepted label, 'a failed state held hostage by international drug barons' with a weak and undisciplined military (Greg-Johnson 1-3, 2011; Vulliamy, 2008:1; Failed States List, 2005; Failed States Index, 2012). Also, Senegal which is the most politically stable of Guinea's neighbours is quietly grappling with the menace posed by (Casamance) a quarter of a century old low intensity insurgency in the north. Based on the foregoing, Guinea has been frequently referred to as " the last man standing" (Appendix II) as it has been able to maintain its equilibrium despite the turmoil of its neighbours (Nelson, 2003:5). Following the above, Guinea seems to have inadvertently become a stabilizing force that needs to be protected, and should instability be allowed to grow in Guinea, it would end up destroying a whole neighbourhood that is still recovering from the horrors of war and brutality. This background is indicative of a sub-region that is predictably unstable due largely to the spiral effects of the conflicts in the region. Due to its porous borders, it is easy for conflict elements within the region to freely interact thereby heightening tension and instability.

Despite the instability that engulfed the Mano River region (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire), Guinea remains the only member state that has not experienced a civil war but suffered from the spills of the wars in other member states. During the war years, Guinea accommodated refugees from member states to an extent that her internal security and economy were threatened. For instance, Civil

wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the early 1990s led to the exodus of more than one million refugees to Cote d'Ivoire and Guinea over the course of the decade (MRU countries, 2003). Sesay (2003:29), also noted that by the end of 1996, over 2 000 000 Sierra Leoneans were either internally displaced or refugees, most of them to Guinea. These refugees' influx challenged available resources of Guinea as well as mounted pressure on its economy. The structural conditions that triggered the wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone and its concomitant effect on the sub region and indeed Guinea set the background for civil society consciousness, its emergence and relevance in Guinea in particular and the MRU in general.

Notwithstanding the negative impacts of these conflicts on the economy and people of Guinea, community leaders, women groups, religious/faith-based groups, the media, the academia, democracy, humanitarian/human rights groups have demonstrated that their influence could sometimes extend beyond that of soldiers, politicians and diplomats in bringing succour to the people, reviving the economy and ensuring peace through good governance. Civil society has the potential to play an important and effective role in bringing about democracy and have often contributed effectively to the reduction of violence, the negotiation of settlements, and the facilitation of peace in Guinea. Civil society's role in conflict-affected countries is now widely acknowledged including at the global level. An indication of this acknowledgement is captured in the United Nations (UN) Security Council Statement (World Summit Outcome, 2005) which highlighted the comparative advantage of civil society in facilitating dialogue and providing community leadership.

According to Civil Society Index Analytical Country Report for Guinea, (CIVICUS, 2011:17), the first CSOs seen in Guinea were the international offices of NGOs and local organizations started by well-connected people who had previously worked for religious offices or in public service. These organizations, included, for example the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Guinean Association for Family Welfare (AGBEF). From 1990, an urge for democracy manifested itself in Guinea and Guinean civil society gained momentum and belief. According to CIVICUS (2011:17), several CSOs arose although they were not marked by strategic thinking about identities, vision and mission, and instead tended to be diverse in the forms they followed. Some became political parties, others actors for the defence of

marginalized groups or human rights organizations. Rising pluralism enabled people to create associations in order to take part in political discussions. The great majority of these associations however informal in their origins turned into local NGOs. Simultaneously, press groups and associations of press workers were created.

The legal framework for associations and NGOs in Guinea is regulated by the L/2005/013/AN Act, passed into law on July 4, 2005. This Act sets the rules and regulations for civil associations in the Republic of Guinea. The Act made the registration of CSOs earsier by simplifying procedures and decentralizing levels of treatment and approvals which can now be given at the level of Prefectures. Several CSOs have since sprang up, prominent amongst which are the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET), religious groups, human rights organizations and the umbrella body-the National Council for Guinean Civil Society Organizations (CNOSCG) amongst others.

The contributions of civil society organizations in putting an end to the conflicts in the Mano River Union (MRU) and maintaining Guinea's stability notwithstanding, the conflicts created one of the worst humanitarian crises in recent African history. Women and children in particular suffered disproportionately throughout the period of the conflict. Now that the country has witnessed its first real democratic transition, it is expedient to examine how the much sought after stability and peace can be consolidated through the instrumentality of CSOs to avoid democratic erosion and breakdown. It is instructive to recognize at this point that the deepening of democracy and the consolidation of peace in Guinea as anywhere else cannot be achieved by a single organ or component unit of the system but by a multiplicity of interventions by government, multinationals, private, corporate and civil society organizations. In other words, many groups must necessarily contribute to the peace process but the roles of civil society organizations have been increasingly recognized especially by the United Nations. This study therefore, examines the role(s) and capacity of civil society organisations in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.

This, is because civil society organisations are made up of people from different backgrounds and could be seen as a microcosm of the Guinean society. Again, because the sector has been in the forefront of struggles to end the conflicts in the

MRU and entrench democratic governance in the respective member states. The sector has been described in the words of Sriskandarajah (2013:7) "as a more trusted partner than governments or business and that civil society groups big and small are finding innovative ways of improving societies across the world". This, according to Ashton (2013:4), explains why a vibrant and independent civil society is an essential ingredient of effective and stable democracy and why also the United Nations (UN) and European Union (EU) have for many years, sought to incorporate the inputs and views of civil society in their policy documents. Civil society has also been seen as the vital link in the transition to, and sustainability of post-war democracy (Putnam, 2000:76; Kukah, 1999:43; Ekeh, 1998:9; Merkel and Lauth, 1998:3-12; Hall, 1995).

This study therefore, focuses on civil society organisations and the consolidation of peace in Guinea; not because CSOs are the only mechanisms through which the objective of peace consolidation can be achieved but for the reason that civil society organizations are on ground; are familiar with the interaction of conflict elements and threats posed by them to the stability of Guinea; have fair knowledge of the operational environment; are more acceptable and can partner government and external actors in strengthening the objective of peace consolidation in the region. From past and best practices therefore, CSOs have demonstrated that the sector has the wherewithal to meaningfully and constructively contribute towards the entrenchment of democracy and peace in Guinea. Although the background, historical and contextual factors, that put pressure on Guinea remain principally unaltered, there have been some positive strides toward the quest for peace, stability and security in the country.

1.3.   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Since independence, African countries one after another have been engulfed in political turmoil which has not only derailed the hastily launched pre-independence democratic process but has brought about strife, violence and civil war in many countries in the course of competition for political power and control of resources. Though Guinea has not really had a civil war, the conflicts in the Mano River sub region of West Africa, which have become pervasive and civil strife a tragic and persistent plight of the population, have affected it (Adedeji, 2005: vii). Simbine (2008:52) in her categorization of countries by nature of political violence identified Guinea as 'a violence-prone country'. It was specifically noted (p.53) that Guinea may not have imploded into war, but it remains conflict prone and as a result, it is merely tottering along. The Mano River Union made up of the tragic quadruplets-Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire has been the most volatile region in West Africa. Local bushfires have raged in the last two decades from Liberia to Sierra Leone, Guinea and *Cote d'Ivoire* in an inter-connected web of instability (Adedeji, 2005: vii emphasis added). The inter-connected web of instability is evident in the sub region. The civil war in Liberia gave impetus to the war in Sierra Leone. The return to democratic rule in Liberia and Sierra Leone witnessed a military *coup d'état* in Guinea. The quest to reconstruct the region witnessed the uprising in Cote d'Ivoire. The graffiti left behind as a result of the various wars in the sub region perhaps, accounts for this instability. Despite the fact that democracy has been restored in Guinea, a sustainable process of peace and good governance is yet to become a reality.

Today, the security and political situation in Guinea is stable but fragile as a result of the impact of the wars in the MRU with social structures, the economy, infrastructures, public services and state institutions devastated. This is aside the ripple effects of the unmanageable influx of refugees from the war ravaged countries into Guinea. The pressure on basic facilities, education, health, the environment and even the cultural fabric reached its elastic limits during this period and the seed of suspicion became ingrained in the mentality of the people. Distrust and suspicion have been resuscitated in post transition Guinea as everybody is a suspected element of destabilization. Further, the civilian administration has been severally accused of

gross acts of insensitivity to the plight of Guineans as abuse of human rights, unemployment, insecurity; destitution, lack of, and access to affordable health services and education amongst others remain beyond the reach of the people of Guinea. These problems therefore underscore the importance and the difficulties associated with sustaining peace in the region.

Derived from the above, scholars have investigated the process of governance and conflict management in Guinea with the intent of suggesting workable solutions. The role of civil society organizations in Guinea has equally been studied and the thoughts of scholars seem to converge around the fact that CSOs played very instructive role(s) in facilitating the cessation of hostilities in the sub region, aided peace talks and supported the transition to democracy. The processes of scholarly investigations have also generated huge literature on the linkages between CSOs and the campaign against bad governance. Overall, civil society is widely assumed to be an important actor for peace building and as a result, substantive focus has been directed towards building and strengthening such organizations. The works of Obi (2011); Skocpol (2003); Lewis (2002); Kukah (1999); Diamond, Juan and Seymour (eds) (1998); Ekeh (1998); Salamon and Anheier (1997); Hall (1995); Judge (1994); Seligman (1992); Bayart (1986); Lipnack and Jeffrey (1982) for instance, tended to see civil society as the vital link in the transition to, and sustainability of post-war democracy.

In such environment, civil society is understood as playing an important role in reducing violence and facilitating the conditions necessary for building sustainable peace (Paffenholz, 2009:2). In the same vein, some scholars such as, Obi (2003); Oche (2003); Aiyede (2001); Linz and Stepan (1996); Linz and Stepan (1996a) and Diamond (1994) have argued that democracy is a necessary precondition for peace. Although existing studies have focused on CSOs as important actors for peacebuilding in fragile states, their capacity for supporting national stability and security has received little attention. As a result, we have known little about the specific role(s) and capacity of civil society organisations in peacebuilding including its potential contributions to reducing violence, ending armed conflict and building a sustainable peace thereafter. This study, therefore, examined the role and capacity of CSOs in the consolidation of peace in Republic of Guinea.

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the above background, the study specifically examined the following questions:

1. What factors threaten the consolidation of peace in Guinea?
2. What is the linkage(s) between civil society organisations and the consolidation of peace?
3. What role can civil society organisations play in supporting the consolidation of peace in Guinea?
4. What is the capacity of civil society organisations in peace consolidation in Guinea?
5. How can civil society organisations partner government and external actors in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea?
6. What are the prospects and challenges for civil society organizations' role in peace consolidation in Guinea?

1.5. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Derived from the above, the general objective of the study was to suggest measures on how civil society organizations can more effectively support the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. Much more specifically, the study sought:

1. To identify threats to the consolidation of peace in Guinea
2. To establish the linkage(s) between civil society organizations and the consolidation of peace.
3. To identify specific and general roles CSOs can play to support the consolidation of peace in Guinea.
4. To examine the capacity of civil society organisations in peace consolidation in Guinea.
5. To identify ways through which CSOs can partner government and external actors in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.
6. To identify the prospects and challenges for civil society organizations in Guinea.

1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Civil society actors represent a critical pillar for sustaining peace building efforts in fragile post-conflict/transition countries. Oftentimes, even prior to the establishment of a peacekeeping mission and the institutionalization of some transitional mechanisms to monitor the conduct of elections, some local civil society actors would be at the forefront of efforts to find peaceful resolution of conflicts and strengthen the electoral process. Despite this, the question about how the civil society sector can more effectively support the process of peace consolidation has not received sufficient attention till date. This has seemingly limited the extent of knowledge available to development partners, government and other external actors about the capacity and role of the civil society sector in the process of peace consolidation as well as the opportunities presented for strengthening and harnessing their capacities to support the peace process. This gap therefore underscored the significance of the study.

On a more general note, the significance of the study is anchored on its ability to have established the role(s) and capacity of the civil society sector in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. Such knowledge has informed evidence-based recommendations on specific areas the sector needs capacity strengthening. It has also identified useful measures upon which government and external actors can more strategically partner local civil society organizations in the consolidation of peace in the region. This is very important because the crusade for peace is obviously beyond the government and any single institution to handle. It must therefore be multi-sectorial. Measures identified by this study have provided the needed background for collaboration. Again, the study is further justified on grounds that it has identified some of the factors that threaten the consolidation of peace in Guinea. This is necessary because diagnosis of identified threats to peace is perhaps the first step toward the consolidation of peace in Guinea.

The significance of this study is further highlighted and placed in perspective since it is a research project in the Peace and Conflict Studies Programme of the Institute for Peace and Strategic Studies whose partial mandate is to examine the continent's security challenges and make evidence-based recommendations. Overall, the study has laid a foundation for a deeper research endeavor and hopefully provided the background for a much broader future exploration and analysis pertaining to the

role(s) and capacity of the civil society sector in supporting the consolidation of peace in fragile post-transition countries.

1.7. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of civil society organizations considered for this study was limited to 6 key sectors. Each of these sectors produced 2 organizations as a representative sample making a total of 12 civil society organizations. These sectors included:

- Human Rights organizations;
- Women's organizations;
- Local media establishments;
- International civil society organizations operating in Guinea
- Religious/Faith-based organizations;
- Educational/Research establishments

Overall, the specific civil society organizations considered in the course of the study included the following:

Table 1: Distribution of CSOs based on sector

S/N	SECTOR	SPECIFIC ORGANIZATIONS	
		In English	In French
01.	**Women organizations**	Mano River Women Peace Network **(MARWOPNET)**	Réseau des Fleuve du fleuve Mano pour la paix **(REFMAP)**
02.		The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women **(NCGRW)**	Coalition Nationale pour le Droit et la Citoyenneté des Femmes **(CONAG-DCF)**
03.	**Human Rights Organizations**	Equal Rights for All **(ERA)**	Les Mêmes Droits pour Tous **(MDT)**
04.		Guinean Organization for Human Rights **(GOHR)**	Organisation Guinéenne des Droits de l'Homme **(OGDH)**
05.	**Religious/Faith-based**	Muslim Women of	Femmes Musulmanes de Guinée **(GMF)**

	Organization	Guinea **(MWG)**	
06.	**Educational/Research establishments**	National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action **(NIRPA)**	Institut National de recherché et d'Action Pédagogique **(INRAP)**
07.	**Local media establishments**	Association of African Professionals of Communication **(AAPC)**	Association des Professionnelles Africaines de la Communication **(APAC)**
08.		Rural Radio of Guinea **(RRG)**	Radio Rurale de Guinee **(GRR)**
09.	****Civil Education**	National Platform of United Citizens for development **(NPUCD)**	Plateforme Nationale des citoyens unis pour le développement **(PCUD)**
10.	****Rural Organization**	Association For Communities Wellbeing and Development **(ACWD)**	Association pour le Bien être Communautaire et le Développement **(ABC-DEV)**
11.	**International civil society organizations operating in Guinea**	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding **(WANEP)**	Le Réseau Ouest Africain pour l'édification de la Paix
12.		Open Society Initiative for West Africa **(OSIWA)**	-

Source: Field work, 2013

** These organizations were not initially included in the proposal but the reality on ground in the field, especially in terms of their activities in the rural areas informed their inclusion. Also, the fact that some of the civil society sectors selected for study could not boast of two functional organizations on ground at the time of the field exercise further necessitated the inclusion of these new ones.

1.8. CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

This section is devoted to the clarification of key concepts. The essence is to place relevant concepts in the context of the study. The following key concepts are briefly explained below with the intent of offering more details in the literature review section. This includes: Mano River Union (MRU), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Peace and Consolidation of peace.

1.8.1. The Mano River Union (MRU)

The governments of Liberia and Sierra Leone signed the Mano River Union Treaty on 3 October 1973. The Treaty at this stage formed primarily a customs union designed to allow the free movement of people and products (MRU Treaty, 1973:2). The Republic of Guinea became a signatory and joined the Union in 1980 and Cote d'Ivoire in 2008. The Union derives its name from the Mano River which begins in the Guinea highlands and forms a border between Liberia and Sierra Leone.

1.8.2. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

Civil society organization is used here to refer to all the modern or traditional, non-political and non-governmental organizations, registered or informal, which aim at promoting sustainable peace and democracy through socio-economic and cultural development, and which act as an intermediary between the state, political parties and the masses (CIVICUS 2011:17). This conceptualisation as adapted from CIVICUS is used interchangeably with the civil society sector. Wherever the civil society sector is used in this study, it is simply referring to civil society organisations.

1.8.3. Peace

Peace according to Ibeanu (2006:10) and as used here refers to a dynamic socio-economic process rather than a condition. It is used here to refer to a process involving activities that are directly or indirectly linked to increasing development and reducing conflict both within specific societies and in the wider international community.

1.8.4. Consolidation of Peace

Consolidation of peace as used in the study refers to the entrenchment, sustenance and survival of the structures and processes of democracy so that they are not subverted

(Diamond 1994). This is based on the argument that peace cannot be consolidated without first entrenching democracy

1.9. CHAPTER LAYOUT

The study is divided into five chapters with chapter one covering background to the study, research problem, research questions and objective of the study, significance of the study, scope, conceptual clarification and chapter layout. Following chapter one is chapter two which specifically reviewed literature around the concept of civil society organisations, peace and the notion of consolidation of peace. The chapter also identified and discussed theoretical frameworks that provided guidance to the study. Chapter three essentially discussed the methodology of research. It spelt out the research design and sampling methods, data instruments and how data was collected. Chapter four narrowed in on result findings and analysis. Results were analysed based on objective of the study. The study rounded off with summary, recommendations and conclusions in chapter five.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews literature relevant to the study and describes theoretical framework that provides guidance in explaining the issues under investigation. The review is within the purview of civil society organizations, the concept of peace and the notion of consolidation of peace and Mano River Union (MRU). This purview captures key concepts critical to the study. The chapter also reviews literature around theoretical framework including structural functionalist and democratic peace theories.

2.2. Literature Review

2.2.1. The concept of civil society

The role of CSOs in peacebuilding has gained increased recognition. Today, the main question is no longer whether CSOs have a role to play in peacebuilding, but how it can best realise its potential. Civil society has been in the forefront of conflict resolution (Ibeanu, 2006:12) yet; the concept remains elusive, complex and contested. There are different meanings and interpretations and overtime, different schools of thoughts have influenced theoretical debates and structured the philosophical roots of the concept of civil society. It is instructive to review some of these philosophical foundations as suggested by scholars with the hope of creating the necessary background. According to Merkel and Lauth (1998:3-12), John Locke was the first in modern times to stress that civil society is a body in its own right, separate from the state. The first task of civil society according to Locke is to *protect* the individual, his rights and property against the state and its arbitrary interventions. Charles Montesquieu in his model of separation of powers (*De l'esprit des Lois,* 1748) quoted in Merkel and Lauth (1998:114) distinguishes as Locke between political society (regulating the relations between citizens and its government) and civil society (regulating the relations between citizens); he however lent credence to Locke's position by arguing that the central authority must be monitored by independent organizations to avoid abuse of power. This coheres with the position of Ibeanu (n.d:3) where it was noted that civil society organisations are raising issues and

championing causes that challenge political authoritarianism, economic deprivation and social exclusion.

Putnam (2000:76) noted that Alexander de Tocqueville stressed even more the role of these independent associations as civil society. He sees these associations as *schools of democracy* in which democratic thinking, attitudes and behaviors are learned with the aim to protect and defend individual rights against potentially authoritarian regimes and tyrannical majorities in society. On the other hand, Habermas (1992:399-467) focuses his idea of civil society on its role within the public sphere. He argued that the political system needs the articulation of interests in the public space to put different concerns on the political agenda. This function he noted cannot be left to established institutions alone. Overall, the works of Habermas (1992); Merkel and Lauth (1998); Putnam (2000) and Molutsi (2000) give a background to the relevance of the civil society sector in democratic governance and peace consolidation. These scholars make the point that the civil society sector is a component of the political system, separate from the state and driven by the desire to protect the individual, his rights and property against the state and its arbitrary interventions. This desire coheres with the moral background and reinforces the strategic relevance of the civil society sector in supporting the process of peace consolidation.

It is apparent from the above philosophical foundations that civil society is role-driven as the scholars have emphasized one form of civil society's role or the other. For instance, Locke suggests the role of *protection* when it was noted that 'civil society exists to protect the individual, his rights and property against the state and its arbitrary interventions'. Montesquieu emphasized the need to *monitor* the process of governance. He stressed the need to monitor the government to avoid abuse of power. To entrench democratic values, Tocqueville suggests the function of *socialization* and Habermas suggested *advocacy and facilitation* as the central function of civil society organizations. According to Locke, all natural rights are inferences from one primary right: *the right to self-preservation*. The French Revolution expanded it to the right to life, to liberty and to property and the American constitution embellished it with the "right to the pursuit of happiness" (Merkel and Lauth 1998:3-12). It is these deductions that strengthened civil society where there is no state machinery to achieve some of these personal and group rights. The existence of civil society organisations

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is therefore tied to its roles. This point is aptly captured when Paffenholz (2009:5) observed that in building peace, civil society organisations play seven basic functions which include *protection* of citizens against violence from all parties; *monitoring* of human rights violations and monitoring the implementation of peace agreements; *advocacy* for peace and human rights; *socialization* to values of peace and democracy as well as to develop the in-group identity of marginalized groups; *inter-group social cohesion* by bringing people together from adversarial groups; *facilitation* of dialogue on the local and national level between all sorts of actors; *service delivery* to create entry points for peace building, i.e. for the six functions above. Using these roles categorisation as key indicators, it would be easy to infer that CSOs in Guinea played strategic roles in achieving almost all of these indicators but not on equal basis as the relevance of the seven functions identified above differs depending on the context - *war, window of opportunity for peace negotiation and post-conflict/transition phase.*

As noted in the background to the study, the conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone had very severe impact on the security and economy of the Mano River Union in general and Guinea particularly suffered from the spills. During this period, the space for civil society to act was drastically reduced yet it was not constrained by it. The main goal of civil society intervention at the period was to lessen violence. Civil society therefore monitored human rights, supported and facilitated dialogues for the protection of civilians. It can be gauged that the functions of *protection, monitoring, advocacy* and *facilitation* were the major drivers of civil society interventions at this point. Following a window of opportunity for peace negotiations, CSOs adopted targeted advocacy campaigns for the inclusion of relevant issues in peace agreements. It is important to note here that *advocacy* and *facilitation* were quite relevant during this period. Following the cessation of hostilities, the need for protection generally declined though still important because high levels of violence continued past the formal termination of hostilities albeit often in other forms (such as increases in crime or household violence). The role of civil society in *monitoring* continued to be relevant as does *facilitation* and *service delivery*. Now that the Republic of Guinea has attained democracy, *social cohesion* and *socialization* increases in relevance as people are able to focus on issues other than their immediate survival. At this point, it is most useful to begin initiatives that aim at rebuilding relationships with critical

stakeholders in Guinea and enhance mutually beneficial national engagements with her neighbours as a means of preventing future conflicts.

The philosophical foundation of civil society appears to have converged on the role of civil society organisations rather than its capacity. A critical gap in the 'role approach' is that the capacity of CSOs is given little attention yet without adequate capacity, CSOs cannot meaningfully play the roles identified by these scholars. Civil society organisation's operations in Guinea were influenced by an array of external and internal factors. In addition to the conflict in the MRU, Guinea's civil society sector was shaped by the immediate post-independence events. Guinea is also a product of twenty years of socialism and dictatorial repression especially under its first president Sékou Touré. This repressive scenario created a background for civil society consciousness. Civil society interventions at the time were centred on fighting repression and abuse of rights with the intent of creating an enabling environment for broader political participation.

In its current usage, civil society is generally understood to constitute the realm and range of voluntary and autonomous associations in the public sphere between the family and the state, which exist in relation to, but are independent of the state. Another important definition which points to perhaps its chief attribute is civil society`s norm-setting role which is concerned with the nature and limits of state power and the rules that govern its functioning. The public realm in which these associations exist is populated by organizations such as ethnic, religious, professional, trade/labor unions, gender, environmental, human rights and pro-democracy groups, student and youth groups and media organizations but exclude political parties and the private sector (Molutsi, 2000).

There is a general agreement among scholars on the centrality of civil society in enhancing good governance and democracy. Because of its crucial role in transitions from war to peace; civil society has come to be seen by many scholars as the vital link in the transition to, and sustainability of post-war democracy (Diamond *et al* 1998). The link between civil society and the consolidation of peace has also been reflected in such other works like Obi, (2011); Skocpol, (2003); Kukah, (1999); Ekeh, (1998); Salamon and Anheier, (1997); Hall, (1995); Judge, (1994); Seligman, (1992); Bayart,

(1986); and Lipnack and Stamps, (1982).   However, what is contested among scholars is how effective and durable the actions of civil society can be, and which actions are most likely to contribute to democratic consolidation.

In his classic study of civil society in Kenya, Ndegwa (1996:1-11) raised four important issues pertinent to this study. First, Ndegwa challenged the notion that civil society is uniformly progressive in opposing the excesses of the African State and in advancing the process of democratization. Second, the Kenyan scholar questioned whether the popular drive toward democratization in Africa is founded on inherently democratic values within civil society and genuine grassroots representation, or rather on civil society`s reactions to external pressures. Third, Ndegwa questioned the notion of "grassroots empowerment" which he felt is lacking in the activities of Africa's civil society sector. Finally, the author attributed this flaw to the singular focus on organizational or institutional actions by civil society elements and wondered how citizens could be empowered to own the process of democracy.

It could be gleaned from Ndegwa's disquisition that civil society organisations are not uniformly progressive. However, while the civil society sector is seen as the vital link in the transition to, and sustainability of post-war democracy, Antonio Gramsci cited in Lewis, (2002: 569-86) and Ndegwa (1996:4), tend to hold a position that is slightly different from the above school of thoughts. They both see civil society from a Marxist theoretical angle which stresses the potentially oppositional role of civil society as a 'public room' separate from state and market, in which ideological hegemony is contested. Gramsci's position aptly fits into what Ndegwa referred to as "two faces of civil society", a situation whereby civil society organisations can be both actors for peace and violence. This argument is corroborated by Social Development Department-Sustainable Development Network (2006: v) which notes that although civil society organisations are frequently actors for peace, they can also be actors of violence. According to this line of argument, civil society contains a wide range of organizations and ideologies which can both challenge and at the same time uphold the existing order. Ndegwa reference to "two faces of civil society" is to show how CSOs involved in similar work can hold opposing views and pursue different sets of actions in relation to the same goals. As he notes, "one opposes the state and seems to further democratization movement and the other seeks accommodation with the repressive state" (Ndegwa 1996:4). Ibeanu (n.d:3) declared that not only have

some sections of civil society played patently reactionary roles in the struggle for democracy, but also in many cases the impetus for democratisation has genuinely and independently come from within the state.

In a similar study, Nyang`oro (1999:5), recognized this fact when it was observed that civil society is a diverse space, which includes "the good, the bad and the ugly". Nyang`oro further notes that the struggle for democratic development involves conflict not only between the state and the civil society sector, but also within civil society itself for its own further democratization. Supporting this point Brysk (2000, 145-147), asserts that civil society can only impact the democratization process when it is itself democratized. To be democratic, the scholar mentioned that civil society must be representative, accountable, and pluralistic and must respect human rights. This suggests that civil society's democratizing role is diminished when it is undemocratic and fails to observe democratic norms. Brysk further remarks that as normal politics replaces crisis, civic groups that are unrepresentative or unaccountable will often lose legitimacy, split up into factions or simply fail to adapt to changing political circumstances. Ndegwa (1996:1-11) concludes his study on Kenya with the warning that, in focusing on the role of civil society in democratic transitions in Africa, it is imperative that one looks to organizations that best express the dynamics of social movement i.e. groups that are conscious of the need to establish, practice and preserve democratic values and institutions. Nyang`oro (1999:5) lent credence to this position by arguing that the "key to identifying CSOs as agents for democratization would be to first identify those groups which have open and clearly identified agenda pushing for political inclusiveness and a broader social space for views that enhance political participation."

Civil society has a long history in Guinea as significant civil society forces such as trade unions, women and youths' organizations existed before the creation of the Guinean state and played major role in the struggle for independence. The notion of modern civil society arose in the 1990s as a direct response to the challenges of conflicts and democratization. CSOs in Guinea therefore tend to exist to defend common interests, or represent the interests of marginalized social strata. According to CIVICUS (2011:18), the process of civil society registration in Guinea is well defined as approval must be secured from the Ministry of Territory Administration

and Political Affairs or by one of its departments as this status does entail some benefits, such as certain tax exemptions.

For the purpose of this study, the Guinean society as a whole can therefore be divided into five basic stakeholders: the state, the private sector, civil society, development partners and the masses. The Guinean state is the most powerful force in this categorisation. It maintains close connections with certain key private businesses. The private sector is the second most important sector after the state. It is the main taxpayer, and the secondary provider of jobs after the state especially job opportunities for young people. The Civil society sector is represented by several NGOs and development associations, including women and youth organizations, human rights associations, religious groups, trade unions and the independent media. They occupy the intermediate sphere between the state, the private sector and the family. Even if development partners are not local structures, they are perceived as a social force in Guinea not least as a lobbying force but a major provider of funding and an arena where major decisions are taken regarding socio-economic policies. The overall objective of peace consolidation cannot be achieved without mapping their relationship and influence. The masses are the final recipients of the various interventions of government, private sector, civil society sector, development partners etc. Together, these groups form critical stakeholders of the Guinean society.

In a National study on the state of civil society in Guinea commissioned by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the National Council for Civil Society Organizations in Guinea (CNOSCG) and CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation, the state of civil society was examined along four key dimensions-their structure, environment, values and impact. The *structure* dimension was used to examine for instance, civil society membership, extent of international linkages, human resources, extent of cooperation and civil society infrastructure in Guinea. The *environment* dimension was to gauge the environment in which civil society exists and functions (e.g. legislative, political, cultural and economic context and the relationship between civil society and the state as well as the private sector). The *values* dimension was to determine key values practiced and promoted within the civil society arena (e.g. democracy, tolerance and protection); and the *impact* dimension was to probe the activities pursued by civil society actors and determine the extent to

which such activities impacted the lives of the people (e.g. public policy impact, impact on human rights, good governance and accountability). Based on these dimensions, the survey made the following findings:

The findings reported that the *Structure Dimension* which explored the diversity of civil society, its institutionalization and the extent of its engagement was poor. This suggests that overall, Guinean citizens have a fairly weak level of engagement in civil society actions and that level of citizen participation in civil society and the associational life of Guinea remains relatively low. This is due either to a lack of capacity and knowledge about the notion of civil society and its role, or a lack of technical and financial resources to enable citizens to actively meet societal needs.

The *Environment Dimension* is strongly linked to the country's political and legal context. This dimension was rated the lowest. This suggests that the Guinean state, although relying on its political, constitutional and economic power, does not create a favourable environment for the development of civil society.

The *Values Dimension* is derived from research on democracy, gender equality and environmental initiatives. Although this was rated high, it is worrying to note that the Civil Society Index (CSI) report suggests that both tolerance and non-violence seem to be rare within much of Guinean society. Moreover, poverty in Guinea continues to worsen, with more than half the population continuing to live under the poverty line. This diminishes and constrains the potentials for society to practice its values.

The *Impact Dimension* assessed the impact that Guinean civil society's actions have on the country's development. This was rated the highest suggesting that the impact is relevant but limited with respect to CSO's efforts to influence social policies in favor of marginalized people. Simultaneously, civil society actions aimed at holding government and the private sector accountable seem to be almost non-existent. However, CSOs seem to be well grounded in the concerns of the population and their proximity to everyday concerns can help them to master the most pressing issues in Guinea. As a result of this closeness, CSOs manage to use limited resources to strengthen the ability of communities to mobilize and collectively organize to solve problems.

Other sub dimensions considered in the CIVICUS country survey on civil society reveals and include the following:

International linkages

International linkages as used here refer to those organizations which are members of international networks or involved in global processes. The survey noted that the number of CSOs with international linkages is very limited. The findings further suggest a real information deficit within civil society in Guinea and a lack of sharing of experiences. This finding by the CIVICUS survey resonates with the difficulties often associated with the consolidation of peace and learning of lessons by the civil society sector. While this is very instructive in the context of this study, the survey did not offer suggestions on how relevant linkages with international organizations can be established and sustained. One of the objectives of this study is to identify such linkages. For the purpose of the consolidation of peace therefore, this gap must be filled as viable international collaboration is essential.

Human resources

According to feasibility study of the programme "Support to civil society initiatives for increased human capacity" (AISCHA) in the Republic of Guinea (2003), a sufficient quality and quantity of human resources are rare in civil society in Guinea. It is important to note that human capital is very central and perhaps the most important driver of the process of peace consolidation. It is important in the context to build the human capital if the objective of the consolidation of peace is to be realized.

Political rights

According to Freedom House (2008:7), cited in World Press Freedom Index (2009), there are still restrictions on citizens' political rights and on participation in the political process. Since the beginning of the democratization process in 1991, political parties were tolerated but have experienced many restrictions. For instance, public contests have been prohibited. In its 2008 *Freedom in the World* report, Freedom House ranks Guinea 158th out of 167 countries and classifies it as an authoritarian country but in its 2011 report, Guinea had moved from "a not free to a free country"

showing improvements in the respect for basic rights (Freedom House 2011). This window of opportunity presents a soft landing for the civil society sector to build on.

Rule of law

The survey also noted that Acts are well written but are difficult to enforce. As a result, people do not trust the application of the law in Guinea. Separation of the legislative, executive and judicial power is very approximate. The average Guinean citizen does not trust the national jurisdiction. In a Foreign Policy (FP) publication of 10 May 2006, Guinea was classified in the "screwed up countries" list. By using 12 socio-economic, political and military indicators, Foreign Policy classified 146 countries according to their vulnerability to internal violent conflict. Guinea was ranked 11th on this list and the 10 countries ahead of it are all already involved in civil war or violent internal conflict. These gory details hold very instructive signals for those interested in using the window of opportunity provided by democracy to enhance the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.

Corruption

Corruption is extensive in Guinea. Transparency International's 2008 Corruption Perception Index (CPI) puts Guinea in 173rd place out of 180 countries. The CPI for 2012 ranked Guinea 154 out of 176, its ability to control corruption was pegged at 8% as at 2010, on Human Development Index (HDI) the country ranked 178 out of 187 for 2011, 86 out of 179 on Press Freedom for 2011-2012, 3% for rule of law in 2010 and 23% for voice and accountability for 2010 (Transparency International 2012). The Transparency International report adds, "In poor countries, corruption compromises the fight against poverty and threatens the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Endemic and extensive corruption, if not adequately managed, could exacerbate the already fragile peace in Guinea

Civil liberties

This shows the limitations of civil liberties guaranteed by the law. According to World Press Freedom Index (2009), Guinea is credited with the status of a state in which rights and civil liberties are not always respected. The weekly Guinean newspaper *Le Lynx* (2003:12) published an article entitled *Seized Freedom*. This article was a statement by the political party, 'The Union Democratic Forces in

Guinea (UDFG),' written after the arrest and imprisonment of political opponents of the government. The party points to what it calls the "serious breach of human rights and the violation of the principles governing the state of rights." According to *Le Lynx* (2004:4), another article written by the Commission on Human and Peoples rights titled *Complaint against Guinea*, expressed similar violations of rights.

Freedom of the press

The Freedom House 2009 (Freedom of the Press), report noted that violations of freedom of the press in Guinea are frequent. Journalists and private publishing companies have been attacked quite often including broken into and vandalized. The report ranked Guinea 158th out of 167 countries. Using this measure, Guinea is considered as one of 51 authoritarian countries in the world. Press freedom is central to the actualization of the objective of peace consolidation in Guinea.

Poverty and social imbalance

There is wide spread poverty in Guinea as more than 40% of the population survives on US$2 or less a day. The most recent report on the Integrated Core Survey for Poverty Assessment (ICSPA) made in 2002-2003 by the National Directorate of Statistics and as cited in the Poverty Reduction Paper (2001) shows that in 2002, 49.2% of the Guinean population were living under the poverty line estimated at 387.692 GF per person per year and 19.2% of the population were below the extreme poverty line and in 2005, the poverty rate of Guinea was 53.6%. The Poverty *Reduction Strategy* Paper (PRSP) of Guinea (2001, 2002, 2007, & 2008:11) all reported on the poverty level of Guinea.

Armed conflict

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) published in Guinea in 2004, indicates that "since 2000 the development context in Guinea has been marked by several exogenous shocks" (armed conflicts in the sub-region, rebel attacks against the national territory) etc. Guinea was the victim of rebel attacks from September 2000 to June 2001. It could be garnered from the PRSP's submission on the state of conflict in Guinea that the defining threat to the consolidation of peace in Guinea is conflict in neighboring states. Submissions of this nature while very apt in analyzing stability from a sub-regional perspective, gives one little insight to what constitutes internal

threats to the consolidation of peace in Guinea. Derived from the above, a perspective that would enable one analyse threats to peace consolidation from a sub-regional, international and national perspective becomes a plausible paradigm. Again, another objective of this study was to identify threats to the consolidation of peace in Guinea with the intent of suggesting workable solutions since peace is a *sine qua non* to all round development. The urgent need to put measures in place to support the consolidation of the attended peace becomes even more compelling in the circumstance that no worthy development can take place without peace.

Civil society actions to promote democracy

The Civil society sector sees itself as a space where there is a culture of expressing and tolerating different viewpoints, where democracy is modelled and intolerant attitudes are challenged. CSO members played a key democratic role through participation in internal elections. CSO activities in this field are felt to be a true support to democracy and a promoter of its ideals.

Civil society actions to promote tolerance

Report of the National Forum of Guinean Civil Society Organizations (2006), noted that majority of CSOs in Guinea focused their work on promoting tolerance. After protests in January and February 2007, several religious groups and associations co-ordinated their media presence and attended places of worship to call on the population to exercise self-control and tolerance.

Civil society's impact on social policy issues

The survey reported that civil society's ability to influence the policy process is very evident.

Civil society's impact on human rights issues

CIVICUS Civil Society Index Toolkit (2009), reported that CSO has had limited success in influencing policies in human rights. Faced with a challenging environment and political situation, it will be critical for civil society in Guinea to understand better what works, and what does not work so well in trying to improve human rights, good governance and support the consolidation of peace.

Civil Society's impact on good governance issues

The CIVICUS CSOs Toolkit also noted that civil society is very active in promoting public policies in addressing good governance.

Holding the state accountable

The Report of the training workshop on CSO internal and external communications in Guinea (2002), reported that while civil society is active in monitoring the transparency of the government and holding it to account, its impact is limited. Again, the task of CSOs to promote transparency of the state focuses on strengthening citizens' education with the aim of nurturing the notion of the state reporting to citizens and citizens holding the state to account in the longer term.

Public trust in the civil society sector

A high level of trust is reported to be bestowed on civil society sector by the Guinea people. This suggests that Guinean CSOs have managed to develop their legitimacy through the relevance of their interventions and by being seen to deliver value in areas often neglected by public authorities. Some scholars, especially Carroll (1992) and Fowler (1988), corroborate the above line of argument by noting that the civil society sector has comparative advantage over government in grass root development but lacks the capacity to compete with government in service delivery. This comparative advantage highlights the significance of the civil society sector in supporting the process of peace consolidation. In a recent example, CSOs were notably seen to have been involved in the process of negotiating a suspension of the strike of January to February 2007 in Guinea. The Report of the Roundtable on the Stakeholders of Guinean Development (2006) reported that there are significant social gaps caused by lack of trust in other sectors into which civil society steps in to fill.

It could be deduced from the above review of CIVICUS report that the civil society sector in Guinea has failed on a lot of indicators but the peace of the country would have been more critically threatened without its contributions. A country with a history of repressive regimes makes civil society participation in governance even more daunting. Judging from this background, civil society is achieving a strong impact in several areas and is actively trying to take part in a process of change. The trust in civil society and the track record it has begun to demonstrate over the last few

years prove that civil society is capable of acting more as a two-way interface between the government and the masses. Nonetheless, civil society is showing that it is making a difference in filling social gaps that government does not meet and helping to address people's needs. Civil society organisations enjoy high public trust and have demonstrated that it can act with responsibility and maturity. As a mutually valued and trusted partner in expanding democratization and improving development, the civil society sector has even become more relevant. This is more so because civil society is seen as an intermediary between a government which is beginning to acknowledge that it is not the sole owner of solutions and a populace who still have pressing and unsatisfied needs and aspirations such as needs for security, access to affordable health services, education and safe environment.

The role of CSOs as seen from the foregoing suggests that the civil society sector is very important especially in creating and enhancing social capital that contributes to sustaining democracy and fostering economic growth and general wellbeing which Salamon and Anheier (1997:1-9), argue is possible only with a mutually-supportive relationship among the civil society, the state, and the business community. According to Guthrie (1994), the civil society sector attempts to protect the rights of individuals and the common good by adapting approaches beyond politics. However, the civil society sector can also be used against excessive centralization and abuse of power, but power is not of primary concern here. As Judge (1994:34) points out, what the civil society sector does is provide the means to address the complex needs of society, motivate people to act independent of the political power, promote social diversity and identity, and enhance the relationship between the government and the governed. Neither the political/legal frameworks of governments nor economic systems themselves can contribute sufficiently to society to fulfil these aspects. For this, organised groups of people or entities are necessary.

It is important to note that a constellation of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) make up the civil society sector. There is however a general debate on the various adjectives used in qualifying the civil society sector e.g. the *voluntary sector, third sector, non-profit sector, informal sector and independent sector.* As used by Brown and Korten (1989:67) and others, the *voluntary sector* is an alternative to motivate people for resource utilization with shared values rather than with shared

politics or economics. With this notion, the sector would tend to include volunteers and their activities. In practice though, it is not confined to voluntary work for in the extreme, it involves all paid works. This clarification is essential in dispersing the cobwebs that often accompanys' the principle of volunteerism in CSOs. The notion of *third sector* which is used in literature by Nielson (1979), does not give a complete sense unless there is proper knowledge that the first and second sectors are government and private business, only then can civil society be the third sector. Among others, Salamon (1992:107) prefers the term *non-profit sector* which is popular mainly in the developed societies. Based on the reality of the environment of the study, this term hardly captures the study's idea of a technical qualifier for civil society. In fact, it is unable to represent the context of developing societies. This is because even with the presence of non-profit objectives some institutional forms for example, Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET) benefit their members and promote economic development in the communities.

According to Fisher (1993:34-48), the term *informal sector* has overlapping characteristics to the independent sector but tends to include the whole range of informal activities which for example include household activities. Again, the term *independent sector* tends to be wider, encompassing two fundamental elements, i.e. autonomy and shared values (Fisher, 1993:34-48). Anheier (1990:371-91), argues that what the independent sector includes depends on circumstances. The scholar further notes that the conceptualisation of *independent sector* can be based for instance on legal status, national accounts, residual from government and the business sector or any other boundaries. According to Weaver, Rock, and Kusterer (1997), cited in Wagle (1999:528), the independent sector can be defined as a domain that emerged in an attempt to promote informal resources and institutionalize efforts of good governance and human wellbeing. In this respect, CSOs are a part of the independent sector that embodies voluntary, member serving, or public serving activities in a less formal way.

Another term frequently used throughout this study is the *civil society sector*. As CIVICUS (1997) notes, the civil society sector is formed by expanding the traditional charitable activities to the areas of citizen participation and the delivery of social, economic, cultural and educational services. The civil society sector therefore

includes all of the non-profit sector institutions for example: human rights, gender, religious groups including charities and civil organizations. The word itself is more representative than others-*third sector, voluntary sector, independent sector and informal sector*. As a result, the term civil society sector will be used interchangeably with civil society organizations in this study. The civil society sector has a broad spectrum of activities as its technical form is extended from charitable or community development organizations to professional associations. Weaver *et al* (1997) cited in Wagle (1999:528-29), restated the relevance of CSOs when they noted that the civil society sector is a major contributor in democratizing politics and in lobbying and pressuring governments for policy changes. In this sense, they argued that the civil society sector is a prerequisite to a democratic political system. Again, they observed that civil society sector is more active in those societies where interest groups that lobby and mobilize people do not actively participate in politics.

Fowler, (1988) and OECD, (1988) are both of the opinion that the civil society sector has potential comparative advantage over governments and other official donors in grassroots development. However, there are also arguments that they will not be able to compete with governments in service delivery (Carroll, 1992). In fact, the civil society sector does not have any political support from the public; neither do they have bureaucratic power that governments are entitled to use. Their representatives are not elected with the votes of the general public. What does the civil society sector do or what do they have that makes them loved by people and governments? Don't they have any weakness that harms their beneficiaries rather than benefit them? Some strengths and weaknesses are considered below.

Lipnack and Stamps (1982:76-82), have mentioned that CSOs have been working as networking tools to connect people with the reality of their environment and provide a platform upon which diverse and dispersed capacities express their commitments to improving society. Whether emerged from the grassroots level or having understanding of real problems at different levels, it is argued that their diversity and independence help bring diversified perspectives in analyzing problems and identifying possible solutions. Overall, civil society can play roles critical to the survival of the system.

First, civil society organizations provide an independent means of monitoring the activities of government and ensuring the accountability of elected officials. This is a very important role for the civil society sector in Guinea as elsewhere especially considering the fact that the sub region where these CSOs operate is just emerging from the ravages of war. Moreover, in the post-transition phase, reconciliation, development and confidence building should be on the front burner and the activities of politicians should be directed toward enhanced service delivery. Side by side with the media, CSOs can play the role of impartial and independent watch-dogs of the activities of government and help forestall corrupt tendencies. Secondly, the activities of CSOs help to stimulate the interests of the citizenry at large in politics and also to promote their involvement. To this end, they supplement the functions of political parties. Their activities in this regard can only help to sustain democracy and consolidate peace if the proper messages are communicated to the public. Messages that promote the rule of law and help to build attributes that are supportive of good governance and democracy are very important. Thirdly, vigorous and active civil society groups are especially well placed to help in the long-term cultivation of democratic political culture that will in turn set the foundation for the consolidation of peace. The importance of such a culture toward the consolidation of peace cannot be overemphasized. Fourthly, the civil society sector is adequately suited for carrying out research into problem areas of the sub region`s nascent democracy. Such research and findings could be documented and disseminated to members of the public as well as government. Lastly, the civil society sector could help to enhance the representative function of democracy by providing outlets for the expression of diverse interests.

Civil society organizations can also play a more pro-active role in propagating what Ekeh (1998:9) refers to as "the Republican Principle" which simply means that the state belongs to its citizens. This is necessary because of the arrogant perception widely held by elected officials that powers and institutions of the state are now theirs to use for purposes of primitive accumulation rather than seeing themselves as holding the mandate of the people in public trust. This misconception should be the focus of unrelenting attack. Civil society groups can communicate and cultivate values and attitudes that can help to support democracy and consolidate peace in Guinea. A major strategy according to Liebenberg (1997:48-52), in this regard should

be upholding the rule of law. This will facilitate a movement towards a strong sub region with a strong civil society with less parochial focus.

There is no doubt that a strong link exists between a vibrant civil society sector and a vibrant democracy and there are advantages in harnessing the strength of the civil society sector. CSOs are basically more focused on their targets, especially in monitoring government's activities for accountability, human rights and good governance while government or other official aids agencies set a wide range of objectives. Also, from a geographical viewpoint, they often work in remote areas where government officials due to bureaucratic reasons are hardly present. Unlike government and other official aids agencies, CSOs are flexible to experiment and adapt new approaches for many reasons. This is because the numbers of decision makers in CSOs are smaller, their decisions are not subject to political or public scrutiny, consequences of failure are less, and it is believed that volunteerism creates an environment which generates new ideas. In many cases where CSOs are not innovative, it has been proved that they are adaptive to new approaches. Because CSOs staffs share their values and beliefs in social change, they are highly committed to their work. Rather than focusing on organizational effectiveness, it is argued that CSOs staffs focus on their mission and activities. There is also likelihood that the committed staffs possess their own original ideas regarding CSO operation that help yield proper decisions.

An obvious weakness of the civil society sector according to Wagle (1999:534-88), is in the arguments held by some scholars that there are no specific rules regarding human resource management and that all it is based on is leadership styles. Wagle argued that under charismatic leadership, staff will feel weaker and dictated to because their own ideas will be superseded by that of their leaders. In a collegial style of leadership, a lack of a well-defined mission and personal views and motivation can lead staff to divergent and poorly coordinated directions. Likewise, Clark (1991) argues that career advancement opportunities are seldom available to civil society sector's staff because of their smaller organizational scale. However, many civil society sectors' projects are not managerially and technically viable nor are they really focused on driving the system in the direction of positive change. Many studies have shown that CSO projects in some instances are not designed to help the public

but the civil society sector itself (Broadhead and Herrbert-Coopley 1988; Brown 1988; Fowler 1988; Elliot 1987; Garilao 1987; Sheldon 1987; Tendler 1982). Such studies have found that imported project approaches are not appropriate to local environments in developing countries as projects lack strategic planning; sustainability aspect of projects is overlooked and project staff lack technical expertise.

More specifically, a major weakness of the civil society sector is the urban-rural dichotomy to the extent that the vast majority of civil society groups in Guinea are based in the urban areas. The argument here is that for purposes of peace consolidation in a sub region with a predominantly rural population, the spread of the activities of CSOs would be circumscribed and limited to the urban areas while conflict elements like ex-combatants and armaments are allowed to freely interact in the rural areas which serve as safe havens. Consequently, urban areas tend to have their own conditions and dynamics which are usually not similar to, nor representative of those that people face in rural areas. The impact and effectiveness of institutions of governance at the local level in the view of Oche (2003:200), is not an issue that should be ignored. A second weakness relates to the undemocratic organizational structures which are common features of some civil society groups. Also, many civil society organizations are seen as simply 'one man show' with authoritarian decision-making processes revolving around one individual and expenditure of funds also restricted to individual dictates. These factors restrict the growth and structural differentiation of such groups and their ability to effectively contribute to the sustenance of democracy and the consolidation of peace in the sub region. A third problem is the inadequacy of funding for most civil society groups. With the possible exception of groups with religious affiliation, most organizations have serious financial problems. Many CSOs operate from residential abodes and do not even have basic office equipment and accessories which are imperatives for the effective functioning of any organization. MwMakumbe (1998:310-316), notes that the philanthropic community in a sub region like the MRU that is ravaged by wars is quite small and efforts by members of civil society groups to raise funds locally have been met with limited success. The result has been an ever increasing dependence on foreign donor agencies by CSOs, leaving them vulnerable and restricted to the implementation of agenda established by foreign donors. The problem of dependence

on foreign donors is itself tied to the broader and more fundamental problem of slow economic development if any at all and weak private sector that is still ultimately dependent upon government for contracts and business. If the civil society sector is to remain autonomous of government, then their resource base within Guinea which is premised upon a weak private sector that compels them to continue depending on foreign donors must be expanded.

Again, there is no clear agreement as to whom the civil society sector should be accountable to. There are many constituencies that CSOs are expected to deal with and report to. Some of these include; the government, people, board, and project financier(s). One can argue that they are accountable to all, while also to nobody because every party has interest in the civil society sector's activities but no one has the locus to ask specific questions regarding their programs and performance. It is also because board members often get uninvolved in their programs. It is important to note that performance measurement is often difficult in CSOs. Efforts have been made to measure performance of CSOs in different social, cultural, and economic settings. But at the same time, there is a dearth of documentation because most assessments are done as an internal process where no documentation is deemed necessary. Even in cases where they have come out in the literature, it is always obvious, that there is a lack of congruence among the cases and criteria used. Wagle (2009:536) mentioned that even Cotter (1988), who has worked long in development offices and evaluation pursuits, is unable to provide a set of standardized measurement criteria. Neither Fowler's (1990), observation in Africa nor Smith's (1990), work in Columbia has found significant impact audits and their documentations. This gap has however been filled as certain criteria have been put in place by CIVICUS to measure the performance of CSOs (CIVICUS, 2011).

In recent development discourse, civil society sector is often presented as a complementary pillar to the work of government at the national level (Civil Society Engagement, 2005). Given that many civil society organizations in developing and post-conflict countries are engaged at the community level, they are often considered an effective vehicle for translating national level policies into practical programmes and activities for the benefit of wide sections of the population. In communities where the impact of national policies may not have taken sufficient root at the local level,

traditional leaders and religious/faith-based groups often wield strong influence in the governance of the day-to-day lives of the population. Civil society groups can also provide an independent voice to monitor the implementation of Government policies and to advocate and negotiate for socially just policies and programmes.

Although this study is informed by the above positive role of civil society, it also incorporates an awareness of the fact that the civil society sector like any other strand of society contains elements that may fail to act in the interest of the common good. Thus, certain civil society organizations may employ undemocratic and unprofessional approaches to their work, be motivated by purely financial interests and show little accountability to the interests of the constituency they claim to represent. Any effort to build an effective partnership strategy with civil society must therefore be preceded by an assessment of the motivations driving the work of individual civil society organizations and must also incorporate a mechanism to ascertain the institutional and technical strength of the organizations as well as their internal governance mechanisms. In theory, the institutional forms of the civil society sector are distinct from those of the state, family and market though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil society groups are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups etc.

The activities of CSOs shape and are shaped by the sector's interaction with the State. State-civil society relation is examined from two perspectives. The first according to Ibeanu, (n.d:3) sees the state as reactionary and resistant to progressive change, while civil society represents progress and development. This suggests that state-civil society relation can hardly be collaborative. He further quipped that this viewpoint has a lot to do with experiences associated with authoritarian regimes in the Third World, where the tasks of democratisation and protection of human rights have become the central preoccupation of civil society. The second perspective sees state-

civil society relation as cooperative and complementary. This viewpoint in the perception of Ibeanu (n.d:3) portrays the state as an extension of civil society.

Overall, a common denominator in the literature on civil society is the fact that it is different and independent of the state and fundamentally exists to keep the state on track. Kukah (1999:43) declares that the imprecision associated with the definition of civil society notwithstanding; the interest the concept generates is what we should build on since it offers us the best potential for mobilizing our people to popular participation. Sharing this understanding is Hall (1995:1), who defined civil society as an opposite of despotism, a space in which social groups could exist and create for themselves more tolerable conditions of existence. According to Bayart (1986:111), civil society is a medium through which society seeks to breach and counteract the simultaneous totalisation unleashed by the state. Seligman (1992:10), on the other hand, defined civil society as an ethical ideal of the social order that harmonizes the conflicting demands of individual interests and social good.

It is obvious from the forgoing, that there are as many definitions of the concept of civil society as there are scholars who have attempted treatment of the concept. Despite this motley of definitions, a common thread seems to run through. The opinions of scholars seem to converge on the position that CSOs exist as an intermediate sphere between the State, private sector and the family. Derived from this unanimity of opinions, this study employs a definition of civil society that is not confined to registered non-governmental organizations, but also includes other organized social networks and associations outside the governmental sector whose activities and programmes influence and inform the lives of wide sectors of the community. They include voluntary associations, non-governmental organizations, social movements, traditional organizations and community-based associations, including faith-based organizations (Kaldor, 2002:7). These organizations are involved in such activities as: the protection of citizens' rights; monitoring implementation of national government policies according to established national and international standards; undertaking advocacy for, and working to promote social justice and equality; facilitation, inter-group social cohesion, service delivery and providing moral and/or cultural leadership at the community level. More specifically, the study adopts CIVICUS conceptualization of civil society as its working

definition. According to CIVICUS (2011:17), civil society refers to "all the modern or traditional, non-political and non-governmental organizations, registered or informal, which aim at promoting sustainable peace and true democracy through socio-economic and cultural development, and which act as an intermediary between the state, political parties and the masses".

In order to appreciate the relevance of civil society organizations, it is important to tinker with the following questions: what happens where there is no civil society? Obviously anarchy will reign supreme, people's rights would be trampled upon with impunity; accountability will be thrown to the wind and ultimately, the Hobbesian state of nature where life was nasty, solitary, brutish and short and where might was right will be reinvented. It is pertinent to also ask: what would have been the situation in Guinea if MARWOPNET, religious groups, the media, academia and human rights groups did not exist and certainly did not play the role of calling the attention of the World to the excruciating pains and the material and psychological injuries that were the hallmarks of the wars and the attendant influx of refugee from the war ravaged neighbouring countries to Guinea?. According to Obi (2011:113), in all, civil society groups have demonstrated that they are always at the forefront of efforts to ensure democratic governance.

According to whose version one prefers, "civil society" in the words of Edward (2005:1), means "fundamentally reducing the role of politics in society by expanding free markets and individual liberty". Ibeanu (n.d:2-3), declared that civil society has emerged as a central force in reframing political, economic and social relations both within and between states and is contributing immensely to the reshaping of thinking and discourse about the nation-state and citizenship. Seligman (1992:10-12), describes civil society as the "new analytic key that will unlock the mysteries of the social order", Jeremy Rifkin cited in Edward (2005:1), calls it "our last best hope"; the UN and the World Bank see it as the key to 'good governance' and poverty-reducing growth; a report from the Washington-based Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis admonished that "the US should emphasize civil society development in order to ensure regional stability in central Asia" (Skocpol, 2003). Thus, the civil society sector is seen as the key to good governance, the lifeline and conscience of the society as well as a veritable tool for peace consolidation.

It is apparent drawing from the above review that scholars of diverging persuasions have studied the evolution of civil society organisations including its challenges and context. A common thread that runs through literature shows that the civil society sector is critical to the entrenchment and sustenance of democracy and peace hence the confluence of opinion around the paradigm of a 'role driven' civil society sector. Effective engagement with the political system is more a function of capacity than role. This critical gap therefore, forms part of the objective of the study to examine the capacity of the civil society sector in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.

2.2.2 The Concept of Peace

According to Francis (2006:16), peace is the prime value in Guinea, the MRU and indeed the World. It is the most valuable 'public good,' yet the most elusive. Ibaba (2008:264) observed that a common objective of all societies is the enthronement of peace given its centrality to human existence and development. The centrality of peace to human existence therefore throws up a logical question- what is peace? Peace has been defined to mean different things to differing people depending on the era and context. Peace according to Albert and Otite (2001:1-5) has been described as a relative condition of tranquilized conflicts. As justice and development, respect and tolerance between people, harmony with the ecosystem and tranquillity (Miall, 2000:14). While some scholars see peace as the absence of war others conceive peace differently: Miall (2000:14); Francis (2006:17); Ibeanu (2006:3). According to Ibeanu (2006: 3), conceptualizing peace as the absence of war and war as the absence of peace though attractive, is inadequate for understanding the nature of peace. This assumption though appealing at least at the surface, is totally misleading because evidence in history shows that there can be peace even in the presence of war. The difference however, is in the gradation. Ibeanu for instance mentioned that the Palestinians and Israelis have been able to establish peaceful use of water resources even as the war between them has raged (Ibeanu, 2006:3). However, Galtung (1990) argues that the conception of peace as the absence of war is inapplicable in situations of structural violence. War according to him, is only one form of violence which is physical, open and direct. Other forms of social conditions such as poverty, exclusion, intimidation, oppression, unemployment, destitution, want, fear and lack of access to

health and educational services does not fit into the peace-war converse definition. To this, Lama (2009) persuasively declared that:

> …peace, in the sense of the absence of war is of little value to someone who is dying of hunger or cold, it will not remove the pains of torture inflicted on a prisoner of conscience. It does not comfort those who have lost their loved ones... Peace can only last where human rights are respected, where the people are fed and where individuals and Nations are free.

Galtung concluded his argument by stating that a country experiencing these conditions cannot be seen as peaceful. What kind of peace is the civil society sector therefore expected to consolidate in Guinea?

To answer this question following this seeming confusion, a review of Ibeanu's conceptualisation of peace would help place issues in perspective. Ibeanu offers conceptual clarity of peace from a quadrupedal perspective including; philosophical, sociological and political and peace as a process. It is hoped that this conceptual clarity would help clear the cobwebs surrounding the concept of peace and situate it in the context of this study.

2.2.3. Philosophical Conception of Peace

Among philosophers, the definition of peace is premised on the 'state of nature' and this definition is influenced by the understanding of the state of nature by each of these philosophers. Many of these philosophers therefore, see peace as a natural, original, God-given state of human existence. Peace from this philosophical standpoint is the pre-corruption state of man in society as God established it. From this standpoint, peace is a state of perfection, an earthly expression of God`s Kingdom that is yet uncorrupted (Ibeanu, 2006:5). In line with the above position, St. Augustine of Hippo distinguished between "two cities" namely, the city of God, which is founded on perfect heavenly peace and spiritual salvation controlled by the love of God, even to the contempt of self and the earthly city of man, which is founded on appetitive and possessive impulses and the love of self, even to the contempt of God. The earthly city he noted is corrupt and torn by strife (St. Augustine, 413: bookxiv, chap, 28). Rousseau cited in Ibeanu (2006:3) and Sabine and Thorson (1993:533-537), conceptualizes a peaceful original state of existence of man in which there are no desires. In this state, man existed as a free, gentle salvage. In this state of nature,

men were naturally good. They were born free and had few desires. However, this tranquil state subsequently became corrupted by human desire and greed thus undermining the peaceful pristine state of nature. According to this school, the primitive desire for the accumulation of wealth and private property is responsible for the degeneracy of man. Unlike Rousseau, Thomas Hobbes argues that the 'state of nature' was rampant with conflict and violence. In this original state, life was solitary, nasty, poor, brutish and short. Ibeanu (2006:5) maintains that in order to escape the harsh conditions in the 'state of nature' men resolved to create a social contract in which each person gave up his/her right to self-defense to a *Leviathan*, a powerful force above all and to which all were subject, thus creating a more peaceful and orderly life (Sabine and Thorson,1993:422-434).

It is easy to gauge from the foregoing that these philosophical traditions fundamentally relate peace to the original inclinations and desires of human beings but they do not address the social context of peace beyond the state of nature. This is because a lot of conflict elements exist and interact in the society that can, and have often threatened peace. An interaction between social, political and economic factors has often undermined peace and predisposed society to violent tendencies. Perhaps, one of the earliest normative political philosophers to explore these issues in the social context is Plato. In his treatise on government, Plato (1968) identified justice as the most fundamental basis of ordered social existence. Peace according to him can only be made possible where there is justice. He defines justice as giving to each his/her due and for society to attain peace, three broad functions are necessary: *production, security and political rule*. These according to him in turn necessitate three aptitudes in the populace namely: *appetite, courage and knowledge* and three roles namely: *workers, soldiers and rulers*. Justice according to Plato entails that society systematically determines the endowments of each member and ensure that these are placed in each of the three functions according to their endowments. Persons of appetite work and produce society`s means of material existence, those with courage defend society, while the knowledgeable rule. The person that is fit to rule by this perspective is the 'the most knowledgeable'– *the Philosopher King*. Injustice by Plato's deductions occurs where this functional system is distorted. For instance, peace and social harmony would hardly exist where the knowledgeable allow persons of appetite to rule (Ibeanu, 2006:6). The philosophical school appears to be utopian

and far from the reality of our environment. The society and indeed the Republic of Guinea, is not structured in a manner that conforms to the prescriptions given by apostles of this school. It will be difficult in the context of this school, for civil society to support the consolidation of peace which is seen as a natural, original, God-given state of human existence. This is because the interactions of social, cultural, economic and political factors have introduced new dynamics and dimensions into the 'natural, original, God-given state of human existence'.

2.2.4. Sociological Conception of Peace

Unlike the philosophical conception of peace, the sociological conception addresses what is and not what ought to be. Sociologically, peace refers to a condition of social harmony in which there are no social antagonisms. In other words, peace is a condition in which there is no social conflict and individuals and groups are able to meet their needs and expectations. These needs and expectations are made possible through structural-functionalist and dialectical materialist responses (Ibeanu, 2006:6).

Ibeanu notes that *Structural–functionalism* is a tradition of social analysis that sees society as a mosaic of functions and structures that perform them. Based on this approach, for the society to survive, certain structures must be put in place to perform certain functions that will give strength and credibility to the system. For instance, in order for a system to survive, Ibeanu maintains that it needs to educate its children, produce goods, govern its affairs and provide security for its citizens. These are functions and they necessitate a number of structures such as schools, industries, parliaments, courts, armed forces etc. Structure therefore means a set of interrelated roles necessary for performing a specific function. According to Ibeanu (2006:7), when structures perform their functions properly, there is order in society and in fact, society inherently moves in the direction of order and stability. Consequently, from a structural–functionalist perspective, peace is achieved where existing social structures perform their functions adequately, supported by the requisite culture, norms and values. For instance, if the school structure, which consists of the roles of principal, teacher, administrator and students, performs its function of educating children properly by inculcating the right values and norms such as tolerance, patience and love, then peace would prevail in society in the long run and the institutionalization of this process would strengthen the consolidation of peace. This perspective provides

some insights to the civil society-peace consolidation nexus. For the society to survive, to stay focused and faithful to the task of delivering good governance and offering the greatest happiness to the greatest number, civil society must exist and be capacitated to stimulate the consciousness of government in line with the principles of the social contract, carry out advocacy, sensitization, partnership and monitoring, functions to inform and mobilise the governed for mass action while creating a background that makes the government responsive and responsible to the governed.

Ibeanu (2006:7) in his disquisition further declared that dialectical materialism on the other hand is a tradition of social analysis associated with the German philosopher Karl Marx. He maintains that an understanding of the society can only be enhanced by looking at the processes through which society produces and distributes the means of its material existence and the struggles usually among social classes that are integral to the process. In other words, it is about how human society produce and how they distribute work and reward. In societies divided into classes, the dominant classes do less work but appropriate most of the rewards. The scholar argues that this exploitative relation gives rise to the class struggle which sometimes entails open/objective violence such as violence by state agencies like the armed forces against underprivileged groups but most times entails covert/structural violence. It could however, be gauged from this line of argument that this perspective assumes that peace is not feasible insofar as society is divided into antagonistic classes and there is a persistence of objective structural and revolutionary violence. Ibeanu concluded his argument that peace according to this paradigm is only feasible in societies in which classes are non-existent because society produces enough to give to each according to his/her needs. In reality therefore, such a society remains utopian. This explanatory framework cannot aid the understanding of the kind of peace that the civil society sector would need to consolidate.

2.2.5. Political Conception of Peace

Peace, based on the perception of the examiner, has been differently characterized. Miller (2005:55-56), interprets peace as a political condition that makes justice possible. Politically, peace according to Huntington (1968) entails political order that is, the institutionalization of political structures. Institutionalization from this perspective means that political structures acquire value and stability. In that

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condition, every group uses its unique endowments to pursue and enforce its interests. For instance, mobs riot, students demonstrate, the civil society sector become the conscience of the society and help keep the government on track, workers strike and soldiers organize *coups.* On the flip side, the deployment of the 'unique endowments' of groups can lead to civil disorder thereby threatening the political order. This is aptly captured in Huntington's institutional functionalist perspective which according to (Dudley, 1973) sees civil disorder as a "necessary and inescapable condition in the creation of political order and is thus intimately bound up with the process of modernization and political development". This standpoint attributes civil disorder to "rapid mobilization of new groups into politics coupled with the slow development of political institutions". This perspective means that peace can hardly be attained as long as new groups are mobilized into politics.

In the words of Ibeanu (2006:9), portraying peace simply as order could also be a way of perpetrating and perpetuating oppression of the underprivileged by the privileged classes. Ibeanu maintains that this is so because behind the appearances of a seemingly neutral order which ostensibly is desired by everyone is the domination of the weak by the powerful. Consequently, all privileged groups perceived their privileges, comfort and dominance as order and any challenge to that status quo is deemed as an act geared toward undermining peace. Yet, sometimes it may be necessary for an existing order to be challenged so that lasting peace can be established. The process of challenging an existing order leads to civil disorder with the tendency of threating the peace of the society. Again, this perspective is unable to spell out the kind of peace that civil society organisations in the Republic of Guinea can work towards consolidating.

2.2.6. Peace as a Process

Deducible from the foregoing analysis especially from the philosophical conception of peace is the fact that there is a state of affairs or condition in thought, nature and society that is characterized as peace. This condition in the characterization of Ibeanu (2006:9) is pristine, perfect, ordered and tranquil. It is a condition in which according to Rousseau, "all men are born free" and exist as "gentle savages," but subsequently, social conditions put them "everywhere in chains" (p.9). Ibeanu (2006:9) declares that while the foregoing conceptions of peace are not necessarily wrong, they are

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inadequate in explaining or conceptualizing the kind of peace that the civil society sector needs to consolidate in Guinea. He argues that one problem many of them share for instance is that there is no recorded human society corresponding to such an ideal state of tranquil existence. Another problem associated with the above conceptions of peace is that it creates the impression that one can find peace as an absolute, once-and-for all condition. He concludes that although many have come to see conflict as inherent in society, meaning that conflict is always present in different gradations, they fail to also see that peace exists in all societies in different gradations too.

The philosophical, sociological and political conceptualization of peace have not been able to remove the ambiguity associated with the concept of peace in order to give a better understanding of the kind of peace that civil society organisations can work toward consolidating in the Republic of Guinea. The concept of peace can better be explained within the contest of 'peace as a process'. Peace is therefore, seen in this context not as a condition but a process. Borrowing the words of Ibeanu, peace is a dynamic socio-economic process rather than a condition. In line with the above, the study therefore adapts Ibeanu's (2006:10) conceptualization which conceives peace as a "process involving activities that are directly or indirectly linked to increasing development and reducing conflict both within specific societies and in the wider international community". Peace according to this perspective relates to existing social conditions, rather than an ideal state or condition. It is a dynamic process (rather than a static condition) and it is possible to precisely identify and study the factors that drive it. He further declares that peace is not a finished condition but always a "work in progress". It is never finished because human societies continue to aspire to higher levels of development and less conflict and it increases and decreases depending on objective socio-economic and political conditions. It is reversible, that is, it is possible to move from higher levels of peace to lower levels and vice visa. It is not a linear, unidirectional process instead it is complex and multifaceted. The peace process in the context of this study has four basic phases namely: *peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peacemaking and peacebuilding.* Each of these phases has specific role(s) the civil society sector can play to strengthen the peace consolidation process in Guinea.

Following the above, Ibeanu (2006:12-13) maintains that a situation in which conflict processes are low and the conditions for development are limited, the peace process takes the form of peacekeeping. This entails the use of peacekeepers to keep conflicting parties apart and keep conflict at current low level. However, where conflict is high and conditions for peace remain limited, peace enforcement is needed to create the space for increasing development and reducing conflict. Peacemaking arises in situations where conflict is high but there are variable conditions for pursuing development while peacebuilding applies to situations of low conflict and high prospects for development. Of particular interest to this study is the last phase (peacebuilding). This study will therefore narrow in on examining the capacity and role(s) that the civil society sector can play in supporting the sustenance of the attended peace in Guinea. That is, those activities, projects and programmes that the civil society sector can execute to enhance development, build trust and confidence, entrench respect of basic rights and at the same time reduce conflict.

2.3.   The notion of peace consolidation

Peace in the context of this study is seen as a process involving activities that are directly or indirectly linked to increasing development and reducing conflict both within specific societies, the wider international community and in the context of Guinea specifcally. With regards to the Republic of Guinea, this process include institutions, initiatives and policies which when strengthened, will enable accountability, job creation, and respect for human rights, minimize corruption and impunity as well as create an enabling environment for private sector participation in governance. In West Africa, the MRU and indeed Guinea, democratic transitions have often taken the form of demilitarization of politics and the building up of democratic structures and processes. The word consolidation has a Latin origin *Consoidatus or Consolidare* meaning to put together, to strengthen or reinforce. Consolidation therefore means to make solid, firm, or coherent; to organize and strengthen as a newly captured position (Standard College Dictionary, 1963:289). Put together, peace consolidation means the entrenchment, sustenance and survival of the structures, institutions, initiatives, policies and processes of democracy so that these are not subverted The above conceptualization of 'peace consolidation' fits into this study. This is because the study is premised on the understanding that in the Republic of Guinea, there is a formal transition from authoritarianism to democracy where the

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newly captured position of democracy and peace is still fragile and weak. Within this context, the study examines the role and capacity of the civil society sector in strengthening and sustaining the attended democracy and peace.

As a process, there is no consensus on what constitutes 'a consolidated peace' as the point where peace can be said to be consolidated varies from one context to another. According to the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission (2008), the term peace consolidation has been used synonymously with "peacebuilding" to describe the processes and actions undertaken in order to build a lasting peace, understood minimally as the absence of armed conflict. The flaw in this conceptualization is not difficult to identify. The absence of armed conflict does not preclude the existence and interaction of conflict elements like drugs, ethnicity, and corruption, circulation of illicit arms, unemployment, poverty and impunity which together can threaten existing peace. Peace can therefore become sustainable when conflicts that arise within a state can be resolved peacefully through the use of national norms, institutions, and practices (both established and ad hoc). A consolidated peace in the context of this study is marked by more than just the absence of armed conflict in a state; it is also characterized by the absence of major threats to public security as well, such as political repression and discrimination against vulnerable groups (women, ethnic and other minorities), torture, and widespread serious crime. External assistance may contribute to the maintenance of peace but a consolidated peace must be able to sustain itself. The Republic of Guinea is currently free from armed conflict but it is not free from threats to public security. According to Daniel and Aart (2017) of the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) Project, peace consolidation can be measured based on the level of voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law and control of corruption.

The WGI benchmarks for peace consolidation are supported by the Pillars of Peace (PoP) conceptualization of what constitutes a peaceful society. The Pillars of Peace is a conceptual framework for understanding and describing the factors that create peaceful societies. The PoP project identified the following eight critical indicators of a peaceful society. The PoP taxonomy according to the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) include; a well-functioning government; sound business environment;

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equitable distribution of resources; acceptance of the rights of others; good relations with neighbours; free flow of information; high level of human capital and Low levels of corruption (IEP Report 22, n.d.) These eight pillars were found to be associated with peaceful environments and are both inter-dependent and mutually reinforcing, such that improvements in one factor would tend to strengthen others and vice versa. Therefore the relative strength of any one pillar has the potential to positively or negatively influence the others, thereby influencing peace. To demonstrate the link between how factors have an impact on others, consider the example of increases in corruption. This will undoubtedly have an effect on *well-functioning government*, business and the *free-flow of information*. Alternatively, consider restrictions on the *free flow of information*; its impact on financial transparency thereby affecting business, the functioning of government and the ability for individuals to engage in corruption. Due to the interdependent nature of these factors, the weakening or strengthening of any one pillar will also weaken or strengthen the other pillars. A peaceful environment is therefore dependent on the strength of all pillars (IEP Report 22, n.d.)

The indicators for measuring peace consolidation according to WGI and the IEP presuppose that the activities of CSOs must necessarily be designed to revolve around ensuring good governance through effectiveness of institutions of government, voice and accountability and rule of law. This is because, unlike peacebuilding, peace consolidation tends to be associated with the culminating phase of a process of national and international attempts to establish and sustain peace (Charles and Elizabeth, 2007). These attempts also include the activities of civil society organizations in ensuring national stability through supporting reforms, rule of law and accountability. Charles and Elizabeth (2007) argue that peacebuilding in the context of peace consolidation refers to "actions undertaken by international or national actors to institutionalize peace" while statebuilding refers to actions undertaken to "establish, reform, or strengthen the institutions of the state. The realm of peacebuilding and statebuilding is populated by the activities of civil society organizations. Consolidated peace thus implies a degree of stability and sustainability. Narrower interpretations of peace consolidation would refer to the absence of armed conflicts and the absence of immediate or medium-term threats to peace; broader interpretations could also include the sustainability of institutional reforms, progress

on developmental goals, and other criteria typically associated with peacebuilding or statebuilding.

The consolidation of peace in this regard means the entrenchment, sustenance and survival of the structures and processes of democracy so that these are not subverted. The consolidation of peace can best be understood within the context of democracy. To this end, Diamond (1994), contends that peace cannot be consolidated without first entrenching democracy. Consolidation of democracy according to him is a process by which democracy is so well established and legitimized that it cannot be subverted or destroyed. He further maintains that it is on this foundation that peace can be consolidated. Lending credence to the above position, Linz and Alfred (1996:121-23), are strongly of the opinion that peace consolidation can only be said to take place after a transition to democracy has taken place. Yet, the transition to democracy in Guinea has not altogether been a smooth one.

Given the rather difficult route to democracy in the Republic of Guinea and the spectre of democratic regression hanging over the country in the face of economic hardships, weak neighbouring states and the fragility of democratic institutions and processes, the stakes in the consolidation of peace are not difficult to fathom. Accordingly, there are several approaches to peace consolidation. While scholars like Guillermo (1996:34-51) regard peace consolidation as an illusory concept that fails to offer any new insight into the process of democratization, others see peace consolidation as being descriptive of an identifiable phase in the process of transition from authoritarianism to democratic systems that is critical to the establishment of a stable, institutionalized and lasting democracy (Linz and Stepan, 1996a). According to Obi (2003:255), peace consolidation is predicated upon the strengthening of democratic institutions; the enthronement of a democratic culture complemented by a change from authoritarian to democratic attitudes. It presupposes the opening up of the democratic process, the supremacy of the rule of law and civil engagement with the democratic state. Another school of thought conceives democratic consolidation to be a situation where "democracy is the only game in town" (Linz and Stepan, 1996:121-23). This refers to the complete de-legitimization of non-democratic means of gaining access to, or transferring power. They define a consolidated democracy as a political regime in which democracy as a complex system of institutions, rules and

patterned incentives and disincentives has become in a phrase, "the only game in town." As in Diamond`s (1994) approach, democratic consolidation points to the rule of law, constitutionalism, and political behaviour that coheres with democratic ethos. Aiyede (2001) also corroborated the above line of reasoning when he reiterated the role of political actors, particularly the leadership in deepening democracy and consolidating peace. Democratic consolidation is further measured by Huntington's (1991) notion of "two turnover test" where it was noted that democracy is deepened and peace consolidated when "the party or group that takes power in the initial election at the time of transition loses a subsequent election and turns over power to those election winners, and if those election winners then peacefully turn over power to the winners of a later election." Huntington's conceptualization of democratic consolidation will not aid analysis of peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea. This is because 'turn over elections/test' in Guinea has been challenged by a long history of authoritarian military regimes. As a result, democracy, its processes and institutions are not yet robust to conform to the 'two turnover test'. Inspite of this gap, the attended democracy and peace in Guinea can still be consolidated through the behavioural, attitudinal and constitutional dimensions as suggested by Oche (2003:192).

Behaviourally, peace can be said to be consolidated when no significant actor, (national, social, political, economic and institutional) will attempt to achieve its objectives either through the creation of a non- democratic regime or by breaking away from the existing democratic state. In attitudinal terms, peace is consolidated when the overwhelming majority of public opinion is consistently supportive of democratic procedures, processes and institutions as being the only appropriate method of conducting governance and public affairs. In constitutional terms, peace can be said to be consolidated when government and non-governmental actors become subject to, and habituated to, the resolution of conflicts within the bounds of the specific laws, procedures and institutions sanctioned by the new democratic process.

In order for peace to be consolidated, democracy must develop behavioural, attitudinal, and constitutional dispositions and qualities that are completely supportive of the democratic way of life. The emphasis on human disposition in the forms of

attitude, behaviour and the willingness according to Oche (2003) is to uphold the dictates of the constitution which is more or less coterminous with upholding the rule of law while the corresponding de-emphasis of the structural and institutional dimensions of democracy highlights the centrality of the human factor in consolidating peace. In other words, peace consolidation goes beyond the elaborate formalities of fashioning constitutions and establishing institutions. As a process, peace consolidation lays emphasis on the development and cultivation of the critical behavioural and attitudinal underpinnings that are necessary foundations for a viable democratic system.

Derived from the foregoing, a better grasp and understanding of the concept of peace consolidation is obtained when consideration is given to possible alternative scenarios. Andreas Schedler quoted in Linz and Stepan (1996a:14-33), argues that the process of completing transition, deepening and organizing democracy lie in the possibility of democratic break down and democratic erosion. The concept of democratic breakdown denotes a total dysfunctionality and failure of the democratic system leading to the supplanting of the system through a *coup d'état* or any other anti-democratic process that culminates in the establishment or restoration of an authoritarian system. Seen in this light, a major goal of peace consolidation is to avoid a breakdown of democracy. An equally possible scenario is captured by the concept of democratic erosion. As the term suggests, this is a process that involves the slow and gradual decay and disintegration of democracy and by implication peace. It involves a gradual relapse to old authoritarian ways characterized by a steady re-emergence of anti-democratic forces, attitudes and behaviours. The danger of democratic erosion lies in the possibility of its growing and developing completely unnoticed and undetected. In their struggle to entrench democracy and consolidate peace, young democracies face this critical impediment. While it can be overcome if detected early, there is also every possibility that democratic erosion can eventually lead to a complete breakdown of peace. Thus, peace consolidation is a process of democratic development and institutionalization in such a way that the risk of regression to authoritarianism or chaos is minimized or absolutely eliminated. It is an important element of good governance and brightens the prospects for political stability and democratic peace. It can be argued however, that peace consolidation in ways that build up the participation of the people in governance and upholds their

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interests and rights is a process that would qualitatively improve the social and political life of the people of Guinea and enhance development.

Peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea is examined in the context of the security challenges faced by it as a result of internal and external political developments. Internally, the Republic of Guinea has had a history of coups and repressive government since it gained independence from France in 1958. Externally, the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the quarter of a century old low intensity Casamance insurgency in Senegal, the drug war in Guinea Bissau, the armed struggle in Cote d' Ivoire and the restiveness in Mali all culminated in the flow of illicit arms and refugees into Guinea thereby threatening its security and stability. In spite of these internal and external security threats, Guinea was able to maintain its stability. Consolidation of peace in this context is therefore, directed at how civil society organizations can support processes and institutions of the state to deliver good governance. These include ensuring voice and accountability, rule of law and reforms. Guinea has enjoyed relative degree of 'negative peace' because of its governance architecture, but the efforts of CSOs should help transform the 'negative peace' to 'positive peace' through advocacy, reforms, accountability and good governance. Peace in the context of this study can be viewed through the lens of both negative and positive peace. Negative peace, connotes the absence or fear of violence while positive peace represents the attitudes, institutions and structures that, when strengthened, lead to a more peaceful society. The latter, is the kind of peace that CSOs will work on towards consolidating in the Republic of Guinea.

2.4. Peace Consolidation within the MRU

Unfortunately, the process of peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea cannot be reviewed in isolation especially, in light of the fact that events in other member states of the Mano River Union (MRU) threaten the security and stability of Guinea. The most visible attempt at ensuring subregional stability received expression through the establishment of the Mano River Union. It is therefore necessary to briefly review the Mano River Union to which Guinea is a member. The governments of Liberia and Sierra Leone signed the Mano River Union Treaty on 3 October 1973. The Treaty at this stage formed primarily a customs union designed to allow the free movement of people and products (MRU Treaty, 1973:2). The Republic of Guinea became a

signatory and joined the Union in 1980 and Cote d'Ivoire in 2008. The Union derives its name from the Mano River which begins in the Guinea highlands and forms a border between Liberia and Sierra Leone. At its inception, the MRU had primarily economic and trade objectives, which included the following:

- Elimination of obstacles to the movement of people and goods.
- Common policy of development in the areas of fishery, forestry, etc.
- Common programme for transport, communication, and energy production
- Promotion of harmonious relation between member states
- Determination, establishment and application of investment policies in addition to customs practices
- Establishment of a common monetary policy
- Determination of common policies on health, arts, sports, culture, and international trade.

The major aim of the MRU *abi nitio* was to foster economic co-operation with the intent of establishing economic sub-regional integration (Customs and Economic Union between the member states with the view of improving the living standards of its members) and security co-operation.

According to Mano River Union Treaty (1973:3), A Non-Aggression Treaty was signed by the Heads of state of the then three member states. This extended the MRU`s objectives. These extended objectives are classified into short, medium and long terms.

Short-term objectives include:
- Restoration of durable peace in the region.
- Reinforcement of the activities of the MRU secretariat
- Return and reintegration of refugees

Medium-Term objectives include:
- Encourage the use of the River as commercial and political channel between the three countries.
- Creation of a favourable environment for stability.

Long-Term objectives include:
- Creation of Economic framework for development of the sub-region
- Harmonization in use of the region's resources

- Social and political unity.

The original structure of the MRU comprised a Council of Ministers; a Technical Committee; and a Secretariat. The three Heads of the member states at a summit in Conakry signed the 15th Protocol in April 2000 establishing additional structures to address the area of security, with the aim of restoring trust between the countries (MRU, 2000:2-5). These new structures comprised a Joint Security Committee (JSC) a Technical Committee (TC), and a Border Security and Confidence Building Unit (BSCBU).

Below are some basic sign-posts in the history of the MRU:

- **1973:** Signing of the Mano River Union Treaty by Liberia and Sierra Leone; Introduction of a common external tariff (at the intra-union trade level).
- **1977:** The liberalization in goods of local origin.
- **1980:** Guinea became a signatory and joined the MRU
- **1981:** Decision to rejuvenate the Economic Organization.
- **1998:** The countries of the organization agreed with UNAID to collaborate on a Sub-regional level in order to reduce vulnerability to HIV/AIDS amongst displaced populations and their host communities.
- **2002:** (March) Rejuvenation of the Organization.
- **2004:** (May 20) Reactivation of the Union at a summit of the three leaders of the MRU states at the time. (Presidents Lansana Conté` of Guinea, Ahmed Tejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone and Chairman Gyude Bryant of Liberia).
- **2008:** Cote d'Ivoire became a signatory and joined the union.

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of Liberia is currently the Chairperson of the Mano River Union. The MRU Secretariat is in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Regional offices exist in Monrovia, Liberia and Conakry, Guinea. This exposition is necessary in the light of the fact that Guinea cannot operate in isolation. The contiguous nature of the member states and shared commonalities make independent quest for regional stability difficult. This suggests that a threat to peace in any member state is a threat to peace in the entire sub region.

2.5.   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Encarta (2009), a theory is an idea or belief about something arrived at through assumption and in some cases a set of facts, prepositions or principles analyzed in their relation to one another and used especially in Science to explain phenomena. It is also seen as a formal set of ideas that is intended to explain why something happens or exists. (Wehmeier *et al* 2005:1533). To have any value, a theory must explain or suggest ways of explaining why a subject matter has certain characteristics. In other words, a theory must have explanatory, predictive and problem solving value (Faleti, 2007:37). The goal of any theory therefore, is to explain something which has occurred with a view to dealing with problems which arose or may arise as a result (Percy, 1968:2).

According to Obi (2012:49), the purpose of a theoretical framework in general perspective is to explain any phenomenon under consideration and in a study of this nature, it provides the ideas and principles that enable the examination and explanation of the capacity and role(s) of the civil society sector in peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea. To ease presentation and analysis, this study is anchored on two frameworks namely: *Structural-Functionalist and Democratic Peace theories.* The choice of two theories is based on the perception that a single theory might be fraught with inadequacies. The merit associated with this approach is therefore premised on the assumption that the inadequacies of a particular theory are complemented by the other. These theories are reviewed in the order presented above.

2.5.1. Structural-Functionalist Theory

Structural functionalism is a theoretical understanding of society that is built on the assumption that social systems are collective means to fill social needs (Gingrich, 1999). In order for social life to survive and develop in society, there are a number of activities that need to be carried out to ensure that certain needs are fulfilled. In the structural functionalist model, individuals produce necessary goods and services in various institutions and roles that correlate with the norms of the society. Structural-Functionalism (often paraphrased 'Functionalism') is an important offshoot of General Systems Theory (GST) popularized by Radcliff-Brown. It is a consensus theory, a theory that sees society as built upon order, interrelationship and balance

among component units as a means of maintaining the smooth functioning of the whole (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:3). It is a broad perspective in Social Sciences which addresses social structures in terms of the functions of its constituent elements. It studies society as a structure with interrelated, interdependent and mutually interacting parts. Parson (1975) declares that Herbert Spencer in his book, *Principle of Sociology* (1896), regards these interrelated parts of society as "organs" that work toward the proper functioning of the system as a whole.

The Structural-Functionalist approach is very central to this study. For the system to survive, certain duties (functions), civic and otherwise, must be performed by certain institutions or people (structures). According to Ibeanu (2006:3-13), when structures perform their functions properly there is order in society and in fact, society inherently moves in the direction of order and stability. Consequently, from a structural–functionalist perspective, peace is achieved where existing social structures perform their functions adequately supported by the requisite culture, norms and values. For instance, if the school structure, which consists of the roles of principal, teacher, administrator and students, performs its function of educating children properly by inculcating the right values and norms such as tolerance, patience and love, then peace would prevail in society in the long run and the institutionalization of this process culminates in peace consolidation. The Structural-Functional framework is important and central to the study in various ways. It enables identification of the civil society sector as 'sub structure' of the whole system and establishes the specific and general role(s) CSOs can play to support the consolidation of peace (Structural-Functional approach) as well as explains how CSOs can partner other 'sub structures' (component units) in driving the objective of peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea.

Almond's (1963) model of structural-functional theory identified functional requirements of a political system and proceeded to explain the contributions of these functions towards the maintenance and stability of the system. He categorizes the functions into *inputs* and *outputs* functions. A system's *input* according to Almond is defined as the movement of information or matter (energy from the environment) into the system. The *output* is the movement of information or matter (energy from the system) to the environment. He identified the *input* functions to include: political

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socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication. The *output* functions include: rule making (policy making), rule application (policy implementation), and rule adjudication (policy interpretation).

Following the above, it could be gleaned that the inputs functions identified by Almond revolve around the competencies of the civil society sector. Again the choice of this framework is further based on the understanding that the inputs function of political socialization by CSOs will lead to interest articulation/aggregation of best practices that would reduce the likelihood of violence and enhance the possibility of peaceful coexistence, tolerance, good governance and general development in Guinea. When basic interests are articulated and aggregated by the civil society sector as inputs, such aggregated interests would be made available to policy makers (policy process). This process will influence evidence-based rule making, implementation and adjudication that lay requisite foundation for the consolidation of peace in Guinea.

2.5.2. Democratic Peace Theory

Democratic peace theory is a theoretical approach which posits that democracies are hesitant to engage in armed conflict with other identified democracies. In examining the roles and capacities of CSO in peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea, it is therefore appropriate to further the examination in the context of a framework that makes war less likely by strengthening structures that will initiate and sustain development. It is necessary to consider the democratic peace theory by first reviewing its history, strength and weaknesses as well as the justification for adapting it to aid explanation of issues under consideration in this study. According to Mclean and McMillan (2003:143), modern democratic peace theory has a long tradition and is often associated with the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), hence references to *Kantian peace*. The idea of modern democratic peace theory in its present form was revived in the mid-1980s by the American political scientist, Michael Doyle (Mclean and McMillan, 2003:143). The democratic peace theory rests on two basic premises; that democracies almost never fight each other and very rarely consider the use of force in their mutual relations and that other types of relations are much more conflictive including the interactions of democracies with non-democracies.

The notion of democratic peace is specifically anchored on the understanding that democratic states do not go to war against each other (Ray, 1995). Its proponents argue that democratic institutions and processes provide the space and instruments for the dispersal of the various triggers of conflict even before they can build up into an explosive crescendo. It is also argued that one very fundamental advantage of democracy is that it eliminates the danger of countries going to war against each other because they are bound by the norms, values and rules of the partnership for democratic peace (Bruce *et al,* 1999). Democratic peace theorists hold the view that, in a crisis involving two democracies, each side has a low propensity for violence and a high aptitude for the kind of behaviour that makes war less likely, and each knows that its democratic opponent also has these qualities. Therefore, they are able to remain at peace (Russett 1993; Schultz 2001; Bueno de Mesquita et al. 1999). In essence, the argument is that democracies are less violence-prone than are other kinds of states and/or more effective at engaging in the kind of behaviour that makes war less likely. Lending credence to the above position, Wright (1965:162), quoted in Bassey (1998), declares that absolutistic states with geographically and functionally centralized governments under autocratic leaderships are likely to be most belligerent, whereas constitutional states with geographically and functionally federalized governments under democratic leaderships are likely to be most peaceful. Democratic peace therefore, cements the link between politics and security and explains how democratic consolidation can directly fit into peace and stability.

In spite of this likely strength, the central assumption upon which the democratic peace theory is based has been criticized with the intent of establishing the causal logic that underpin the theory and to determine whether it offers compelling explanations for why democracies do not fight one another. Critics have often requested to know if there are evidences, that democracies rarely fight each other and if there are compelling reasons why this should be so. Although there have been efforts to challenge the assumptions of democratic peace theorists (Farber and Gowa 1997; Layne 1994; Spiro 1994), the correlation remains robust (Oneal and Russett 1999; Maoz 1998; Weart 1998; Ray 1995; Russett 1993). Nevertheless, some scholars argue that while there is certainly peace among democracies, it may be caused by factors other than the democratic nature of those states (Gartzke 1998; Farber and

Gowa 1997; Layne 1994). This perspective is predicated upon two causal models-normative and institutional.

According to Dixon (1994), proponents of the normative logic argue that one important effect of democracy is to socialize political elites to act on the basis of democratic norms whenever possible. In essence, these norms mandate nonviolent conflict resolution and negotiation in a spirit of live-and let- live. Because democratic leaders are committed to these norms they try, as much as possible, to adopt them in the international arena. This in turn means that democracies both trust and respect one another when a conflict of interest arises between them (Russett 1993). Sentiments of respect derive from a conviction that the other state adheres to the same norms and is therefore just and worthy of accommodation. Trust derives from the expectation that the other party to the dispute is also inclined to respect a fellow democracy and will be proscribed normatively from resorting to force. Together, these two causal mechanisms—*norm externalization* and mutual *trust and respect*—make up the normative logic and explain why democracies rarely fight one another (Dixon 1994; Russett 1993; Weart 1998).

The downside of the democratic peace theory is that while mutual trust and respect generally ensure that conflicts of interest between democracies are resolved amicably, there will be some situations in which ostensibly democratic states do not perceive each other to be democratic and therefore fight one another. In particular, a democracy may not be recognized as such if it is in the early stages of democratization or if it does not meet the criteria that policymakers in another state have adopted to define democracy (Russett 1993; Weart 1998). What is practiced in the 'Democratic People's Republic' of Korea (North Korea) for instance, is considered an abnormal genre of democracy where powers are centralized and electoral choices are determined by the central government on behalf of the citizens. In this genre of democracy, voters are merely handed ballot papers which they are not expected to tick as the outcome of the electoral process is decided before the election and the 'voters' are only expected to affirm the predetermined electoral outcome by depositing the ballot in the ballot box. Voting in this system is compulsory for everyone over the age of 17. Failing to take advantage of the opportunity to show support for the government is tantamount to treason (Novak, 2015). Democracy as practiced in North Korea engenders distrust and other democracies may work toward

undermining the capacity of the central government of North Korea to manage its people. The perceived distrust exhibited by other renowned democracies like the United States of America against North Korea has inadvertently motivated North Korea to defend itself through the creation of nuclear war heads. Democracies that have demonstrated a tendency to aggress and expand their frontiers and influence like the United State, can hardly help explain the content of peace that CSOs can work towards consolidating in the Republic of Guinea.

The logic of trust and respect also explains why democracies have often been prepared to go to war with non-democracies. Simply put, non-democracies are neither trusted nor respected. They are not respected because their domestic systems are considered unjust, and they are not trusted because they neither respect the freedom of self-governing individuals, nor are they socialized to resolve conflicts non-violently. Large-scale violence may therefore occur for one of two reasons. First, democracies may not respect non-democracies because they are considered to be in a state of war against their own citizens. War may therefore be permissible to free the people from authoritarian rule and introduce human rights or representative government. The expansionist tendencies of the United States, its activities in the Middle East, especially in Iraq and Syria, its role in the Arab spring amongst others are clear pointers in this regard. Again, American interventions to destabilize fellow democracies in the developing world provide good evidence that democracies do not always treat each other with trust and respect when they have a conflict of interest. Second, because democracies are inclined toward peaceful conflict resolution, non-democracies may be tempted to try and extract concessions from them by attacking or threatening to use force during a crisis. In such circumstances democracies may either have to defend themselves from attack or launch pre-emptive strikes (Doyle 1997; Russett 1993).

Another reason why democratic states hardly go to war according to the institutional model is because democratic institutions and processes make leaders accountable to a wide range of social groups that may, in a variety of circumstances, oppose war. The element of accountability in democracy derives from the fact that political elites want to remain in office, that there are opposition parties ready to capitalize on unpopular policies, and that there are regular opportunities for democratic publics to remove

elites who have not acted in their best interests. Moreover, several features of democracies, such as freedom of speech and open political processes, make it fairly easy for voters to rate a government's performance. In short, monitoring and sanctioning democratic leaders is a relatively straightforward matter (Owen 1997; Russett 1993; Lake 1992). Rosato (2003) in the conclusion of his examination of the logic underpinning democratic peace declared that although there is peace among democracies, it does not appear to be caused by the democratic nature of those states. The democratic peace proposition has many possible empirical and theoretical forms. On the empirical side, some propose that democracies are more peaceful in their relations with all other states in the system ("monadic" democratic peace); others propose that democracies are more peaceful only in their relations with other democracies ("dyadic" democratic peace); still, others argue that the more democracies there are in a region or the international system, the more peaceful the region or international system will be ("systemic" democratic peace); and still others doubt the existence of any significant relationship between democracy and peace.

Although the ideals of democratic peace as put forward by its theorists have been criticized on several grounds, there are good reasons to use it here in explaining the democracy - peace nexus. This is so because civil society organisations would hardly sustain peace in an autocratic environment where freedom of association is restricted and freedom of expression treasonable. This presupposes that for any degree of peace to be initiated and sustained, democracy must necessarily be the bedrock. This position is further informed by the fact that democracy creates fertile grounds upon which the civil society sector can introduce certain mechanisms to support the consolidation of peace. It is important to note therefore, that for any degree of peace to be consolidated, democracy must first be enthroned. This enthronement of democracy increases the possibility of development and reduces the likelihood of conflict. It is this window of opportunity that CSOs can build on to consolidate peace. Again, this framework enables the identification of role(s) that CSOs can play to avoid democratic erosion and breakdown in order to strengthen the consolidation of peace.

The democratic peace theory as presented is not without its shortcomings. It has been criticized that it focuses exclusively on inter-state conflicts and stability. Evidence in

history however shows that the traditional method of warfare between nations has been distorted. Wars are now predominantly intra-state as the conflicts in the MRU suggest and from which Guinea suffered spills. Another inadequacy of the theory is the problem raised by democratization processes and the evidence that whilst fully consolidated democracies may be peaceful, democratizing regions like the MRU countries and Guinea in particular may be more conflict-prone than authoritarian regimes.

Notwithstanding these deficiencies, democracies in the sub region would have to internalize the democratic norm of tolerance, compromise and respect for basic rights in intra-state transactions and externalize same norms to transactions with other state actors. This will make war within them and others like them unlikely. Perhaps Akindele (2003: 275-276), captures this more aptly when he remarked that if it is true that democratic states hardly go to war among themselves as the democratic peace proposition would have us believe, it is arguable that the search for domestic peace and international security must begin from and concentrate on building a viable democratic political order in both the nation-states and the international system. Though the democratic peace theory mostly applies to inter-state relations, the theory is however used here in a limited sense to help strengthen the argument that for any degree of peace to be consolidated, democracy must be seen to have been entrenched. This is in congruence with the submissions of the works of such scholars like; Obi (2011); Skocpol (2003); Kukah (1999); Diamond, Juan and Seymour (eds) (1998); Ekeh (1998); Salamon and Anheier (1997); Hall (1995); Judge (1994); Seligman (1992); Bayart (1986) and Lipnack and Jeffrey (1982).

However, the entire process of peace consolidation cannot be explained based on the outcome of the activities of one organization but the contributions and support from different initiatives, structures, organizations and institutions hence the centrality of the chosen frameworks. Structural functionalist and democratic peace theories as used here are mutually interrelated and therefore useful in explaining phenomena in the system. The nature of the society itself brings to the fore the need to ensure its survival. The systems approach simplifies this 'survival needs' by establishing the interrelatedness of the system and calls for the optimal functionality of its component units. The functional approach in its own right identifies structures of the system and

spells out functions that are required to be performed to strengthen its survival. Operating in a global system where democracy has gained currency, it is only useful to build a system and identify functions that are supportive of democracy. The selected theories therefore, enabled an assessment of the interrelatedness of the civil society sector with other component units of the system. This also aided the identification of democracy supportive functions that the sector needs to perform to ensure the consolidation of peace in the Republic of Guinea. In essence, the democratic peace theory as used in this study incorporates knowledge of its inadequacies.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology deployed in data collection and analysis. It covers such areas like research design and explanation of research instruments, data collection techniques, presentation and analysis.

3.2. Research design

The primary purpose of any research design is to provide a detailed outline of how an investigation will take place. A research design will typically include how data is to be collected, what instruments will be employed, how the instruments will be used and the intended means for analysing data collected (Roller and Lavrakas, 2015; Creswell, 2003; International Alert, 1996:16). It also provides the procedural outline for the conduct of any given investigation. A combination of exploratory and case study research design was adopted using primary and secondary sources of information. According to Brian (2015), exploratory technique is appropriate for studies that are addressing a subject about which very little research on the subject matter is done. While research into the role of the civil society sector has generated huge literature, very little has been done to examine its capacity in performing such roles. An exploratory research project is therefore an attempt to lay the groundwork that will lead to future studies (Devin, 2015). The case study design according to Leedy and Ormrod (2001:149) attempts to learn more about a little known or poorly understood situation. The civil society sector was used as a case study in this context. This is so because the sector is only one of several others that support the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. It was therefore singled out for a more focused assessment of its capacity and roles in peace consolidation in order to lay a foundation for a broader future exploration of the capacity of CSOs in peace consolidation.

The research methodology adopted for the study basically took two forms: a) a desk-based review of relevant literature; b) field visit to the study area (the Republic of Guinea) for the purpose of data collection through interviews with critical civil society actors and security agents, focus group discussions and administration of

survey questionnaire on selected civil society organizations. The study therefore used both qualitative (secondary) and quantitative (primary) methods of data collection.

According to Babbie (2005:295), qualitative research is a method of field research that does not easily yield to statistical data like the quantitative method and it is less structured in description (Leedy, & Ormrod, 2001). Quantitative research on the other hand involves the collection of data so that information can be quantified and subjected to statistical treatment in order to support or refute "alternate knowledge claims" (Creswell, 2003:153). As already indicated, the study used both methods of data collection. The essence of using both methods was based on the fact that the employment of a qualitative method of research alone would entrench subjectivity. It also confirms that qualitative data are more interpretive, historical and ethnographic than empirical. In the bid to achieving a qualitative field research, Babbie (2005: 312-320) discussed specific ideas and techniques for conducting such. Among these are desk based reviews and interviews. Gravetter and Forzano (2006:42) defined primary source as "first-hand report of observations or research results written by the individual(s) who actually conducted the research and made the observations." They likewise defined secondary source as "description or summary of another person's work.

3.3. Sampling method

Purposive sampling was used in the selection of respondent civil society organizations and critical civil society actors. The purposive sampling technique is an informant selection tool used in selecting an informant of choice due to the qualities the informant possesses. Simply put, the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience (Bernard, 2002; Lewis & Sheppard, 2006;). Purposive sampling is especially exemplified through the key informant technique wherein one or a few individuals are solicited to act as guides to a culture (Garcia, 2006; Lyon & Hardesty, 2005; Gustad *et al*., 2004; Jarvis *et al*.; 2004; Bernard (2002). Scholars have maintained that key informants are observant and reflective members of the community of interest who know much about the phenomenon under consideration and are both able and willing to share their knowledge (Bernard 2002; Seidler, 1974; Tremblay (1957); Campbell, 1955). Using this sampling method, the study used 12

civil society organizations as key informants (case studies) and sample population. The distribution of these organizations was purposively selected to include: Human Rights; Women; Local Media; International civil society organizations operating in the Republic of Guinea; Religious/Faith-based organizations and Educational/Research Institutions. The study collected data from 2 organizations in each of the broad categories with special inclusion of some organizations that have strong presence in the rural areas. An international organization is used here to refer to such organizations with established presence beyond the borders of Guinea. Other organizations whose operations are limited to the borders of Guinea are considered local in the context of this study.

3.4. Study Population

The study population included the following genre of civil society organisations:

- Women organizations;
- Human Rights organizations
- Religions/Faith based organizations;
- Educational/Research establishments
- The Local media and
- International civil society organizations operating in Guinea

The rationale for proposing women organizations was informed by the fact that since women and children are the most vulnerable during periods of conflicts, data from this group createed critical insight into the capacity of CSOs and how they sustained the struggle and also determine what specific role they can play to enhance the consolidation of peace. The role of Human Rights organizations is central to the entrenchment of democracy in Guinea. This group monitored, publicized and called the attention of the world to the gross violations of human rights in the region. Data from this group enabled an objective assessment of the strength of the civil society sector in fighting the abuse of basic rights during periods of conflicts and how it intends to sustain the gains of democracy and indeed the fragile peace in the post transition phase. Religious organizations played a very strategic role in addressing the conflict in the MRU. Religious leaders directly mediated in conflict between political leadership and appealed to the consciences of the Guinean population on the need to eschew violence despite obvious threats from its neighbours. Data from religious

organizations provided insight into how this feat was achieved and strengthened ones' understanding on the peculiarities of the struggle for the consolidation of peace from the religious perspective. Educational/research institutions conducted researches and organized conferences to discuss the cost of insecurity and war on the sub region. The Media is an indispensable component of the peace process. It has the capacity of facilitating the peace process and at the same time it can become the spoiler of the process. It was therefore important to critically investigate the role of the media component in realizing the objective of the consolidation of peace in the Republic of Guinea. The perspective of international civil society organizations in Guinea was useful in providing the much needed insight into how it partners local civil society organizations in the management of conflict in the Republic of Guinea. Overall, data from the study population enabled an objective assessment of the capacity and role of civil society organisations in peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea.

3.5. Methods and Instruments of Data Collection

This section attempts an explanation of the nature of research instruments used, how they were deployed, list of organizations/individuals that participated in the study as well as how the collected/collated data was analysed. The study benefited from the merits associated with data triangulation to enhance credibility of findings.

Triangulation involves using more than two methods to gather data such as interviews, focus groups discussions, questionnaires, and desk review of literature. The idea is that one can be more confident with a result if different methods lead to the same result. If only one method is used, results may be accepted without question; if two methods, the results may clash; by using three methods it is hoped that consistent and verifiable results may be obtained. The purpose of triangulation in qualitative research therefore is to increase the credibility and validity of the results to give a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation. The triangulated methods are further discussed below.

3.5.1. Interviews

Interview data was generated through Key Informant (KII) and In-Depth Interviews with selected civil society actors and key officials in the security sector. This is further explained below.

3.5.2. Key Informant Interview

In all, a total of 11 KII sessions were conducted with critical civil society actors in the Republic of Guinea. To establish the level of recurrence of topical issues (triangulation), the researcher designed and deployed a structured interview guide (Appendices III & IV). The essence was to capture such questions that are related to the objectives of the study. This was also done as part of the process of data triangulation to support or negate findings gotten from the same questions through focus group discussions and questionnaire. The guide contained specific questions that were tied to the objectives of the study as well as questions on related issues to enable the interviewee freely comment on areas of interest. The Table below is a summary of the key informants.

Table 2: List of Key Informants

S/NO	NAME OF ORGANIZATION		NAME OF INTERVIEWEE	DESIGNATION	DATE
S/N	**In English**	**In French**			
01.	Mano River Women Peace Network **(MARWOPNET)**	Réseau des Fleuve du fleuve Mano pour la paix **(REFMAP)**	**Hadja Tiguidanké Diakhaby**	President-Guinee	27/08/13
02.	Guinean Organization for Human Rights **(GOHR)**	Organization Guinéenne des Droits de l'Homme **(OGDH)**	**Dr Thierno Mandjou Sow**	President	30/08/13
03.	National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action **(NIRPA)**	Institut National de recherché et d'Action Pédagogique **(INRAP)**	**Amadou Diallo**	Director, Culture and Peace	03/09/13
04.	Rural Radio of Guinea **(RRG)**	Radio Rurale de Guinee **(GRR)**	**Hadja Hawa Keita**	Director General	09/09/13
05.	Association for the Wellbeing of Communities and Development **(ACWD)**	Association pour le Bien être Communautaire et le Développement **(ABC-DEV)**	**Sow Saikou**	Executive Director	14/09/13

06.	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding **(WANEP)**	Le Réseau Ouest Africain pour l'édification de la Paix	**Jean Millimouno**	National Network Coordinator	16/09/13
07.	Open Society Initiative for West Africa **(OSIWA)**	Open Society Initiative for West Africa **(OSIWA)**	**Abdoul Rahamane Diallo**	Program Coordinator	16/09/13
08.	Equal Rights for All **(ERA)**	Les Mêmes Droits pour Tous **(MDT)**	**Me Frederick Loua**	President	02/10/13
09.	National Commission Against the illicit Circulation of Small Arms and Light Weapons **(NACASALW)**	Commission Nationale de Lutte Contre la Circulation Illicite des Armes Légères et de petit Calibre **(ComNat)**	**Dr. Mahmoud Cissé.**	President of the sub-commission on Finance and Administration	04/10/13
10.	Guinea Central Mosque	Mosquée Centrale de Guinée	**Elhadj Abdoulaye Bah** **Elhadj Mohamed Lamine sy**	Imams of the central Mosque	08/10/13
11.	National Council of Guinea Civil Society Organizations **(NCGCSO)**	Conseil National des Organizations de la Société Civile Guinéenne **(CNOGSCG)**	**Dr. Ibrahima Sory Cissoko**	National President	16/10/13

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

3.5.3. In-depth Interview (IDI)

A total of 7 IDI sessions were conducted with key officials in the security sector. The IDI was a product of referrals by CSOs actors for additional data generation. The import of the IDIs with officials in the security sector was to also incorporate their perspective in supporting national stability and peace. Key security officials who participated in the IDIs are presented in the table below.

Table 3: List of key security sector officials who participated in the IDIs

S/NO.	NAME	RANK	AGENCY	DATE
01.	Abdoulaye Friguia Camara	Colonel	Army	28/08/13
02.	Bangaly Camara	Lt. Colonel	Army	30/08/13
03.	Bambo Fofana	Brig. Gen.	Air Force	02/09/13
04.	Jean Kolysoua	Commandant	Air Force	02/09/13

	Loua			
05.	Mamadou Djouldé Bah	Superintendent	Police	05/09/13
06.	Sékou Socrate Keita	Superintendent	Police	05/09/13
07.	Siba Soropogui	Commandant	Gendarmerie	11/09/13

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The Republic of Guinea as noted in the background to the study, has suffered from the spills of the wars in the neighbouring countries of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire. The primary task of securing national borders and ensuring internal security was, and is, the exclusive responsibility of the security agents. It is within this context that key security officials were interviewed to get their perspective on national stability and threats to peace in the Republic of Guinea.

To facilitate the process of data collection and strengthen the achievement of the objectives of the study, the researcher enlisted the services of a bilingual Research Assistant/Translator. The Assistant who himself is a civil society actor, helped in interpretation during interviews and focus group discussions. Preliminary contacts were established (in Guinea) with some of the civil society actors before the field exercise and a letter introducing the researcher and the area of research was issued by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan (Appendix V). Upon arrival in the field/location the researcher, visited the Nigerian Embassy in Conakry for formal documentation and with the help of the Research Assistant, the process of re-contacting identified actors was initiated.

Appointments were secured with different actors usually before the commencement of an interview session. A statement introducing the researcher, his Assistant and the purpose of the research was made by the researcher while the letter of introduction by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan was presented. The consent of the person to be interviewed was sought and secured, conveying the intention of the researcher to record the proceedings. Tape recording was needed to enable a confirmation of notes taken during the sessions and to support the process of transcribing. The attention of the interviewee was also called to the fact that data collected from the process was confidential and strictly to be used for research

purposes. The interviewee was equally informed that for the sake of clarity, the interpreter may have a reason to pause and interpret the response of the interviewee to the researcher to enhance understanding and follow up questions. Overall, the interview process lasted an average of 90 minutes and usually ranged between 80-120minutes.

3.5.4. Focus Group Discussions

The study also generated part of its data through focus group discussions (FGDs). Focus group discussion according to Krueger (1988:47) is a qualitative method employed in interviewing a group of subjects, thereby prompting a discussion and allowing diverse viewpoints. This was adopted as part of the process of data triangulation to establish recurrent issues and strengthen the validity of data generated through interviews and survey questionnaire.

Furthermore, to establish the level of recurrence of topical issues, the researcher also designed and deployed a structured Focus Group Discussion guide (Appendices VI& VII). This was also done as part of the process of data triangulation to support or negate findings gotten from the same questions through interview and questionnaires. The guide contained specific questions that are tied to the objectives of the study as well as questions on related issues to enable discussants freely comment on areas of interest. It also contained procedures on how to manage group discussions to avoid monopoly of discussions of any issue by a discussant. Overall, 12 focus group discussions were proposed to be conducted at one for each of the selected 12 civil society organizations. The researcher was however only able to conduct 10 FGD sessions due to availability and disposition of selected CSOs. The Table below shows details of participants in the FGDs from the selected organizations.

Table 4: Details of participants in the Focus Group Discussion from selected CSOs

S/NO	NAME OF ORGANIZATION		NAME OF PARTICIPANTS	DATE
S/N	In English	In French		
01.	Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET)	Réseau des Fleuve du fleuve Mano pour la paix (REFMAP)	• Hadja Tiguidanké Diakhaby • Mme Gomou Fatoumata Morgane • Koumba Bintou Millimono • Adama Dian Diallo • Mme Toure Juliette	28/08/13

			• Hadja Kadiata Kaba	
02.	The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (**NCGRW**)	Coalition Nationale pour le Droit et la Citoyenneté des Femmes (**CONAG-DCF**)	• Hadja Fatoumata Sall • Bintou Touré • El Ansou Soumah • Mougna Kourouma	30/08/13
03.	Equal Rights for All (**ERA**)	Les Mêmes Droits pour Tous (**MDT**)	• Me Frederick Loua • Fousseinatou Camara • Aminata Condé • Dakala Grovogui • Moustapha Diallo • Pierre Camara • Boniface Loua • Elhadj Mamadou Diallo • Ramata Diallo	7/10/13
04.	Guinean Organization for Human Rights (**GOHR**)	Organization Guinéenne des Droits de l'Homme (**OGDH**)	• Dr Thierno Mandjou Sow • Amadou Barry • Alseni Sall	06/09/13
05.	Rural Radio of Guinea (**RRG**)	Radio Rurale de Guinee (**GRR**)	• Hadja Hawa Keita • Hawa Camille Camara • Oumoul Khairy Cherif • Monique Curtis	13/09/13
06.	Association For the Well Being of Communities and Development (**AWCD**)	Association pour le Bien être Communautaire et le Développement (**ABC-DEV**)	• Sow Saikou • Abdoulaye Fofana • Aboubacar Sylla	15/10/13
07.	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (**WANEP**)	Le Réseau Ouest Africain pour l'édification de la Paix	• Jean Millimouno • Issa Kourouma • Jean Baptist Tounkara • Cherif Samouka • Fodé Cissé • François Fadoua Tolno • Honoré Loua • Mara Saidou • Aissata Lamarana Baldé • Bintia Camara	18/09/13
08.	** Non-governmental organizations forum in Guinea	Forum des ONG	• Lamine Traoré • Bintou Touré • Mougna Kourouma • El Ansou Soumah • Aboubacar Sylla • Malick Soumah	27/09/13
09.	** National Transition Council of Guinea (**NTC**) *National*	Conseil National de la Transition (**CNT**) *Reconciliation*	• Mme Cisse Hadja Mariama Sow • Prof. Galema Guilavogui • Elhadj Seydina Oumar Sylla • Elhadj Malal Diallo	17/10/13

	Reconciliation, Solidarity and Human Rights	National Solidarite et Droits de l'Homme	• Mme Fatoumata Diaraye Baldé • Dr Fadima Barry • Dilé Diallo • Hafiziou Barry	
10.	Guinea Central Mosque	Mosquée Centrale de Guinée	• Elhadj Abdoulaye Bah • Elhadj Mohamed Lamine sy	08/10/13

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

** These two actors were not proposed for study at the pre-field stage. However, based on referrals and also due to the importance of these two organizations to the general process of peace consolidation, it became necessary to have their perspectives hence their inclusion.

As indicated, the researcher, with the help of the Research Assistant secured appointments with the above organizations. The aim was for the organizations to mobilize their members for a group discussion on the role and capacity of the civil society sector in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. The sessions which lasted for an average of 60 minutes were moderated by the researcher with the help of the interpreter specifically to ensure that the discussion was not monopolized by one discussant as the opinions of all participants were instructive in the quest for collecting relevant data. It was noted at the discussion table that some of the selected organizations had a staff presence of less than five participants for the discussion. This was so because some of the organizations at the time had deployed some of thier staff to the hinterland to sensitize electorates ahead of the September 2013 Parliamentary election. Again, on ethical grounds, discussants were informed that data collected from the discussion was confidential and mainly for research purposes. With this consideration and to support the process of transcription, the consent of the group was secured to record the discussions and take attendance.

3.5.5. Questionnaire

Quantitative data for this study was largely generated through survey questionnaire. A total of 60 questionnaires were proposed to be administered on the 12 selected CSOs i.e. five for each of the 12 CSOs. The questionnaire was a self-assessment tool designed to allow the civil society sector assess its role, capacity and challenges associated with the sector's role in supporting the process of peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea (Appendices VIII & IX). However, the specific reality in the field did not favour the pre-field proposal of administering five questionnaires to each of the proposed 12 CSOs. This was so because as noted earlier, some of the proposed organizations have staff strength of less than five. Again, some of the stakeholders

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argued that since the tool was a role, capacity and condition assessment, using the same tool in collecting data from staff of the same organization might lead to misleading submissions. To this end, a participatory approach in dealing with the tool was suggested. This implied that instead of dealing with the tool as individual staff, a meeting of selected critical staff in the organization was summoned where collectively; the staff brainstormed and came to a consensus as to the option that best reflected the role, capacity and condition of their organization at the time of the exercise. Derived from the above therefore, a total of 12 questionnaires were administered on the 12 selected CSOs but only 10 organizations returned the questionnaires, representing 83% return rate. Below is the list of the organizations that returned their questionnaire.

Table 5: Organizations that participated in the survey

S/NO	NAMES OF ORGANIZATION	
	In English	**In French**
01.	Mano River Women Peace Network (**MARWOPNET**)	Réseau des Fleuve du fleuve Mano pour la paix (**REFMAP**)
02.	The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (**NCGRW**)	Coalition Nationale pour le Droit et la Citoyenneté des Femmes (**CONAG-DCF**)
03.	Equal Rights for All (**ERA**)	Les Mêmes Droits pour Tous (**MDT**)
04.	Guinean Organization for Human Rights (**GOHR**)	Organization Guinéenne des Droits de l'Homme (**OGDH**)
05.	National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action (**NIRPA**)	Institut National de recherché et d'Action Pédagogique (**INRAP**)
06.	Association of African Professionals of Communication (**AAPC**)	Association des Professionnelles Africaines de la Communication (**APAC**)
07.	Rural Radio of Guinea (**RRG**)	Radio Rurale de Guinee (**GRR**)
08.	National Platform of United Citizens for Development (**NPUCD**)	Plateforme Nationale des citoyens unis pour le développement (**PCUD**)
09.	Association For the Well Being of Communities and Development (**AWCD**)	Association pour le Bien être Communautaire et le Développement (**ABC-DEV**)
10.	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (**WANEP**)	Le Réseau Ouest Africain pour l'édification de la Paix

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

As already indicated, a total of 12 participatory structured questionnaires were administered to the 12 selected CSOs and 10 were returned at the end of the process representing 83%. Overall, the data collection tools were translated from English to French and subjected to confirmation to ensure that there was no significant difference (if any) between the contents of the English version and the French translated version. To this end, the quality of translation was confirmed by the Department of Modern Languages and Translation Studies, University of Calabar (Appendix X).

3.6. Ethical Consideration

The process of primary data collection was designed in such a way as not to threaten or hurt the sensibilities of the participants (respondents). Thus, prior to the various sessions and in all research instruments, respondents were informed that data collected through the various instruments were to be used solely for research and academic purposes. The consent of respondents was also requested and secured on such occasions where it was important to tape record discussions during interviews and focus group discussions. This understanding provided necessary incentives and created an enabling environment for free interaction.

3.7. Preparation before Fieldwork

The researcher registered for a 12 months basic course in French language preparatory to the fieldwork. The objective was to have working knowledge of French language. The basic knowledge proved very useful in the field as it enabled elementary interaction during the field exercise. Prior to the field exercise, preliminary contact was established with some civil society organisations and actors. Prominent amongst which were; West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP); Mano River Women`s Peace Network (MARWOPNET) and Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA-Guinee). Initial contact was also established with the research Assistant and translator prior to the field exercise. Overall, these preliminary contacts proved very useful in creating necessary soft-landing in the field.

3.8. Data analysis

The whole spectrum of data analysis begins from the point of data collection. This means that the framework and tools for data collection would have to be right to be able to collect relevant data. The major tools for data collection as used in this study were questionnaire, interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and desk-based review of relevant literature.

The questionnaire was designed to allow respective civil society organizations assess its condition, roles, capacity and challenges in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. The tool which is divided into 7 columns began with a statement assuring the respondents that data collected from the process was to be used strictly for research purposes. The first column described the thematic area/key research element in civil society operations. The essence was to collect data from such broad areas that relate to the sector's operational framework and how this fits into its capacity and role (s) of supporting the process of peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea. The second column highlights the key performance question in a specific thematic area to which answers are required. Each thematic area has 4 key performance questions a-d. A total of 11 thematic areas were raised in the questionnaire of 4 performance questions each making a total of 44 questions. Out of these, 24 questions were specifically set aside to collect data that related directly to the objectives of the study (i.e. questions: 2a-d; 3a-d; 4a-d; 5a-d; 6a-d; and 8a-d).

Again, columns 3-6 in the questionnaire contains structured options from which the respondent organization was expected to choose from. These options were ranked in order of importance and respondents were strongly advised to choose an option that best reflected the situation/condition of their organization at the time of the survey.

The ranked options included: *Limited; Being developed; Partially functioning and Fully effective.* These options, wherever applicable, suggest the following:

- *Limited:* the issue under consideration has little effect on the civil society sector and its processes
- *Being Developed:* if allowed to thrive, the issue under consideration could turn out to be a threat or otherwise to peace consolidation in Guinea

- *Partially Functioning:* the issue under consideration affects the operations of the sector and its impact might be obvious in the long run.
- *Fully Effective:* the issue under consideration is seriously accepted as a threat or otherwise to the process of peace consolidation.

The seventh and last column gave the respondent organization an opportunity to freely explain why a particular option was chosen and give suggestions for improvement. Such suggestions for improvement by respondents were then extracted to form part of the recommendations of the study. The options were designed to enable the respondents to only indicate with 1; 2; 3; or 4 in the appropriate option column except for column seven where explanation was required. In other words, some form of pre-coding was done for columns one to six while column seven is an open-ended question column. It may be instructive to note here, that the options are commensurate to the options chosen. Thus, 1(-*Limited)* means one point…and 4(-*Fully Effective)* means four points. The chosen options in a thematic area (of four questions) are added together and divided by the number of variables (representing the 4 options) to get the average per organization. The average scores for all the organizations are then added together and divided by the total number of participating organizations to get the group average. The group average at this point is further divided by the options variables 4 and multiplied by 100 (here referring to options A-D) to get the group percentage (%) score on a particular objective. The percentage (%) is ranked on a scale of 100%. In line with basic understanding of percentage ranking, any percentage score below 50% on a scale of 100% means a lack of capacity or effectiveness depending on what is being tested. Below 60% suggests inadequate strength or effectiveness also depending on what is being measured. Scores above 60% suggest effectiveness, again depending on what is being measured. (See Table 12 for aggregate average scores and Appendix XI for data coding sheet).

Once the questionnaire was retrieved from the respondent organizations, the results of their submissions were summarized to enhance ones' understanding of the individual and collective positions of the participating organizations to issues raised. An approach that was considered useful in this respect was to plot the results of their respective submissions in a 'spider web'. This was necessary because the 'web' enabled an establishment of the relationship between the variables under consideration in each of the objectives of the study. It further provided a template to

highlight the interconnectedness of the factors as reflected in the rise and fall of the web as well as showed the participating organizations' view about the variables under consideration. The rise and fall of the web indicates the participating organizations' perception of the interaction of the variables. Organizations with high average scores and percentages (%) suggest a greater opinion about the interaction of the variables in relation to the threat they pose to peace consolidation and those with low average scores and percentages (%) suggest a lower opinion about the threat posed by the interaction of variables under consideration to the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. The web is also significant because it demonstrates how organizations operating in the same environment can have different opinions on the same issue perhaps, because they perceive, relate with and are affected differently. Also, the web exposes how these respective issues from an organization's perspective can contribute to threaten or strengthen the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. The interconnectedness of the web equally brought to the fore the obvious need for a synergy, to pull resources (human and material) to support the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.

The web analysis has previously been used by Buehler and Keten, (2010), an associate professor of Civil and Environmental Engineering (CEE) at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), to analyse the complex, hierarchical structure of spider silk and its amazing strength and the scholar related it to the interaction of elements in civil construction. Buehler concluded that the main defining element that makes spider webs so resilient is the interconnectedness of the webs. This suggests that the web should be able to map the relationship between the capacity of the civil society sector and its roles. The lessons learned from his work, Buehler noted, could not only help develop more damage-resistant synthetic materials, but could also provide design principles that might apply to networked systems such as the Internet or the electric grid. A spider web analysis is therefore a graphical representation of variables with the intent of showing the interrelationship between one variable and another (Friendly, 1990; Chambers, William, Beat and Paul (1983). The spider web is the main analytical tool for this study deployed to highlight the interconnectedness and how one variable under consideration interacts and feeds on another in threatening or supporting the process of peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea. It is supported by tables and content analysis.

As part of the process of analysis, proceedings of the interview and focus group discussions sessions were recorded and transcribed. In addition to general issues, the interviews and FGDs contained much of what was captured in the questionnaire. The essence of reflecting such critical questions during interviews and group discussions was to establish the degree of recurrence of core issues. Results from interviews and group discussions were used to support findings from the questionnaire. Extracts from reviewed literature were also used to support some of the primary data gotten from the field exercise. Overall, the methodology adopted for the study proved very appropriate and useful. This was more so because it enabled the collection of relevant and valid data.

3.9. Problems associated with the process of data collection

The field exercise which lasted for about 8 weeks (August 25-October 20) was not without its challenges. Difference in language was one of the challenges associated with the process of data collection. However, the 12 months' basic course in French language provided the researcher with working knowledge that proved useful in the course of the exercise. Also, the privilege of having met some civil society actors who were bilingual as well as the services provided by the Research Assistant/Translator further whittled down the language challenge. In addition to the above, was the climatic condition in Guinea at the time which was characterised by daily rainful thereby making movement to keep appointments a bit difficult.

Another challenge was the fact that the field exercise coincided with a period Guinea was preparing for the legislative elections that has been continuously postponed since 2010. Electoral activities preparatory to the legislative elections reinforced ethnic suspicion that often resulted in pockets of violence. More so, some civil society actors selected for the purpose of the study were also critically involved in the electoral process resulting in postponement of appointments or waiting late into the evening or having to move out during weekends to keep such appointments. Again and probably as a result of the above, questionnaire return rate was slow, but at the end, 83% was secured.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter offers analysis and discussion of research findings. It is organized around the objectives of the study.

4.2. Research Objective 1:
To identify threats to the consolidation of peace in Guinea

This study was based on the understanding that it would perhaps be more instructive in the quest of supporting the process of peace consolidation to first identify basic threats to peace in the Republic of Guinea. The intent was to come to terms with the factors that are necessary to enhance and strengthen whatever degree of peace that was on ground. To achieve this objective, structured questionnaire was administered on 12 CSOs from which 10 were retrieved. In addition to the data collected through the questionnaire, the study also analysed additional data derived from interview and focus group discussion sessions. To this end, questions 5a-d in the structured questionnaire collected data that related specifically to identifying threats to the consolidation of peace in Guinea. The Table below summarizes the findings based on objective 1.

Table 6: Summary of scores on objective 1 (Threats to peace)

S/No	Organisation	Research Area	Specific Research Question (5a-5d)	Average Score (On a scale of 4)	Percentage (On a scale of 100)
1	Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET)	Threats to peace	**5a.** To what extent is the circulation of small arms and light weapons a threat to peace consolidation?	3.0	75%
2	The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (NCGRW)			2.8	70%
3	Equal Rights for All (ERA)			2.3	58%
4	Guinean Organization for Human Rights (GOHR)		**5b.** To what extent is instability in other member	2.5	63%
5	National Institute of Research and Pedagogic			2.5	63%

	Action (NIRPA)		states of the MRU a threat to the consolidation of peace in Guinea?		
6	Association of African Professionals of Communication (AAPC)			2.3	58%
7	Rural Radio of Guinea (RRG)			2.8	70%
8	National Platform of United Citizens for Development (NPUCD)		**5c.** To what extent is bad governance a threat to the consolidation of peace?	2.8	70%
9	Association For the Well Being of Communities and Development (AWCD)			2.5	63%
10	West Africa Network for Peace Building (WANEP)		**5d.** To what extent are acts of mismanagement within the civil society sector a threat to peace consolidation?	2.5	63%
			Total average score and percentage	**2.6**	**65%**

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The total average score on this objective is **2.6** on a scale of 4 representing **65%** (see pp. 76-78 for the full description of the questionnaire). While this reflects the opinion of the participating CSOs on issues raised, it more specifically represents the aggregate position of the CSOs based on the options. This score therefore suggests that the circulation of small arms and light weapons, instability in neighbouring states and bad governance are all basic threats to the consolidation of peace in Guinea. This finding coheres with the submission of Simbine (2006:40) where it was noted, that 'aside from criminality leading to insecurity of lives and property, the problem of small arms proliferation will undermine efforts to ensure the political stability of such countries and their governments'.

The Table above gives us at a glance an idea of the findings on objective 1 based on the average scores and percentages of the organizations that participated in the survey. While this represents the perception of the CSOs, it more specifically reflects the scores on individual questions. Unfortunately, however, the Table is unable to

highlight how the variables interact to threaten or support peace consolidation in Guinea. It is therefore needful to show that these variables are actually related by presenting them in a web. The web below further establishes the position of the organizations that participated in the survey and highlights the interrelationship of the factors in threatening or supporting the consolidation of peace in the Republic of Guinea.

Web I: Responses to Objective 1 (Threats to peace)
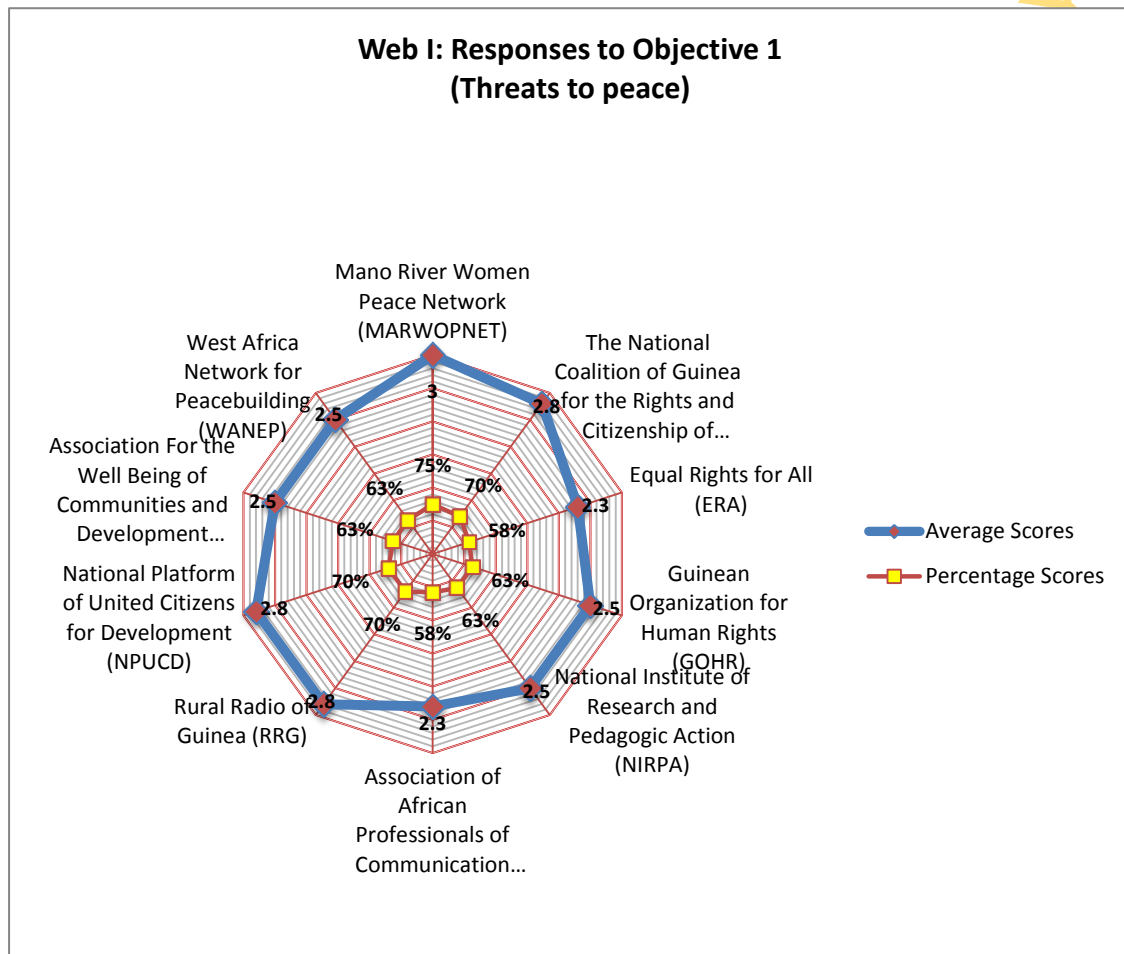
Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The interconnectedness of the factors is captured in the way and manner such that one factor interacts and influences the other as reflected in the web. The web shows the participating organizations view about the variables under consideration. It could be observed for instance, that MARWOPNET with an average score of 3 has a higher view of the interaction of the variables in threatening the process of peace consolidation in Guinea than others. The total average score of 2.6 on a scale of 4 representing 65% suggests that the interaction between small arms and light weapons, instability in member states of the Mano River Union (MRU) and bad governance

individually and collectively contribute to threatening the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.

It is easy to deduce from this interaction that bad governance predisposes the State to radicalism occasioned by attempts to upturn the *status quo* as the history of coups and counter coups suggest in Guinea. This has often culminated in the militarization of the civil population, armbanditry and cross border attacks. In the same vein, instability in member States of the MRU has often had domino effect on the peace and security of Guinea. The Liberia and the Sierra Leone civil wars for examples inadvertently activated mass movement of refugees into Guinea thereby threatening the already fragile peace and economy of the country. Peace in Guinea would be continuously threatened as these variables continue to interact in this manner. The web equally shows the rise and fall of the strings in line with the participating organization's perception of the interaction of the variables. Organizations with high average scores and percentages (%) suggest a greater opinion about the interaction of the variables in relation to the threat they pose to peace consolidation and those with low average scores and percentages (%) suggest a lower opinion about the threat posed by the interaction of variables under consideration to the process of peace consolidation. This again means for instance, that an organization like MARWOPNET with an average score of 3 on a scale of 4 representing 75% strongly hold the view that the interaction of small arms and light weapons, bad governance and instability in member States of the MRU are potent threats to peace consolidation in Guinea while an organization like ERA with an average score of 2.3 on a scale of 4 representing 58% is suggestive of a weak opinion about the threat posed by the interaction between the variables under consideration. It could be gleaned from the web that organizations operating in the same environment can have different opinions on the same issue and demonstrates how these respective issues from the organizations' perspectives can contribute to threatening or strengthening the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.

With a total percentage score of 65%, the web above clearly suggests that for peace to be consolidated in Guinea, the civil society sector should necessarily design and implement programs and projects that are directed towards addressing the menace posed by the illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons, support state structures to entrench good governance and stability in member states of the MRU.

Discussants noted as a recurrent issue in group discussions, that this is so because government's inability to provide jobs and alternative means of survival makes ex-combatants ready tools in the hands of those who can pay for their services. Discussants further declared that as long as there are illicit arms in the hands of unemployed youths, peace in the sub region will be continuously threatened. The point that the peace and stability of Guinea cannot be attained in isolation of other member States of the MRU was a recurrent issue in group discussions and interviews with critical civil society actors especially, the National Commission Against the illicit Circulation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (NACASALW), the National Transition Council of Guinea (NTC) and West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP). These organizations declared that instability in any member state of the MRU means instability in Guinea. They argued that this is so because in the past, the conflict especially in Liberia and Sierra Leone saw thousands of refugees migrating to Guinea. This refugee influx they noted, exerted additional pressure on the already overstretched fragile economy and environment of Guinea with social infrastructure, health and educational facilities stretched beyond their limits.

Findings from interviews and group discussions also point to the fact that Government's inability to effectively mop the illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) in circulation constitutes a potent threat to the consolidation of peace in Guinea. The mere fact that such weapons are mostly in the hands of unemployed youths further threatens the objective of peace consolidation. This was particularly highlighted during interviews with officials in the security sector. The threat posed by SALWs was mentioned in separate interviews with Brig. Gen. Bambo Fofana of NatCom, Col. Abdoulaye Friguia and Commandant Siba Soropogui. They all maintained that although the Republic of Guinea has been able to maintain its stability in the region, the circulation of SALWs remains a potent threat as it has often been used in pockets of violence in Guinea. Dr. Mahmoud Cissé of the National Commission against the Illicit Circulation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (ComNat-Guinee), during an interview, also declared that small arms and light weapons and incomplete disarmament process appear to be major threats to peace consolidation. Again, Jean Millimouno, the National Network Coordinator of WANEP-Guinee, strengthened the "SALWs-threat to peace nexus" when he remarked that small arms and light weapons featured prominently in the conflict in forest region

in *N'zerekoré* in which more than a hundred people lost their lives and many others were wounded. This point was also corroborated by Rahamane Diallo, Guinea Program Coordinator of the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), when he revealed during an interview that the *N'zerekoré* conflict borne out of 'indigene-settlers' claims was aggravated by the use of SALWs). Frederick Loua, President of *Les Mêmes Droits pour Tous (MDT)* ('Equal Rights for All') a human rights organization, lent credence to the threat posed by SALWs when he observed that "someone killed a man with a gun at *Koulé* (a village situated in *N'zerekoré* where the *Guerzé* live) and this singular act resulted in ethnic conflict that seemingly claimed the lives of more than 600 persons".

Another recurrent issue from the FGDs and interview sessions was the spectre of bad governance as a threat to peace consolidation. Bad governance incites mass actions to enhance good governance and this process has some conflict exacerbating elements that threaten peace consolidation. They cited the demonstration of 28 September 2009 against the military junta that resulted in the mass killings of demonstrators as a case in point. This act they noted further tainted the human rights record of Guinea. Evidences of bad governance threatening peace consolidation in the long run can be found in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The coup that culminated in the protracted Liberia civil war was tied to bad governance by its plotters and the attempt by the military class to deliver good governance. This is not a stand-alone case as the Sierra Leone civil war is also an example in this direction. Guinea suffered from the spills of both wars. This again is in congruence with Simbine's (2003:312-313) 'good governance' perspective where it was noted that if good governance were the rule rather than the exception, so many conflicts may not have arisen and where they did, would be nipped in the bud before they escalate.

Internally, Guinea has not fared better in this direction as access to affordable health and educational services are almost non-existent. Despite the fanfare that saluted the return to democracy in 2010, the government is not yet able to meet the basic needs of its people. One can literally see poverty while walking on the streets of Conakry. According to the Multidimensional Poverty Index of the United Nations Human Development Report (UNDP HDI Report, 2014:180) the percentage population of Guinea in severe poverty was put at 68.6% while percentage of those living below the international poverty line of $1.25 (in purchasing power parity terms) a day was

43.34% and percentage population below national poverty line was 55.2%. Housing seems a luxury the government cannot afford and the government's inability to provide employment for its teeming unemployed youths further deepens the challenge posed by bad governance. This, according to Lewis (2014) is further compounded by the illicit drug trade. The central argument according to this perspective is that, drug trafficking fuels crime and engenders corruption, and money generated through drug trade has a corrosive effect on attempts by the government and civil society sector to improve governance (Irinnews, 2008). Globally, bad governance accounts for most of the uprisings in the world today and is a potent threat to the consolidation of peace. From Egypt to Libya, Israel, Pakistan to Syria, the spectre of bad governance has often been adduced as the justification for uprising and armed struggle.

Other recurrent factors emanating from the interviews and group discussions that pose a threat to the process of peace consolidation in Guinea include:

- Ethnicity/Tribal management of public affairs
- Weak judicial system
- Corruption
- Government's inability to provide basic needs of the citizenry
- Impunity
- Poverty
- Unemployment

Governance in Guinea is largely based on ethnic consideration to the extent that an individual's statements are often tied down to the person and traced to his/her ethnic group. Politics, appointments and general distribution of rewards are also based on one's ethnic origin. This ethnic consciousness has often resulted in episodic violence. The conflicts that resulted in the loss of about 600 lives as noted above in an interview and focus group discussion with *Les Mêmes Droits pour Tous (MDT)* ('Equal Rights for All,') in 2011 and 2012 in N'zerekoré and *Koulé* in *Gueckedou,* all in forest Guinea are vivid examples of the threat posed by ethnic consciousness. In Guinea, it is common to see one first as a *Malinke, Peuhl, Sousson* or *Guerze* representing ethnic groups in *Haute Guinee* also called *Madingue* (Upper Guinea); *Moyeene Guinee* also called *Foutah* (Middle Guinea); *Guinee* Maritime (Basse) Lower Guinea and *La Guinee Forestiere* (Forest Guinea) before such an individual is seen as a Guinean, suggesting that the ethnic consciousness supersedes national consciousness. Ethnicity

as a threat also resonated in a group discussion with the Non-Governmental Organizations Forum in Guinea '*Forum des ONG'.*

Again, the electoral process in Guinea is not left out of this deeply ingrained ethnic consciousness as the legislative election that was based on proportional representation appeared to further reinforce the threat posed by ethnicity. In the proportional representation system as practiced in Guinea, Parliament is made up of 114 seats out of which 38 are statutory while the remaining 76 are to be filled based on a process of internal party election/selection. Here, the parties participating in the legislative elections are expected to submit a list of 76 names in order of preference through a process of internal party elections/selection and seats are allocated to parties based on the percentage of votes secured in line with the total number of votes cast at the end of the election.

The percentage of votes scored by a party is translated to the number of seats won by that party which are allotted based on the order of the name placement on the submitted party list of 76 prospective Parliamentarians. This means that a party that secures 23% of total votes cast will automatically have the first 23 names on the submitted party list (of 76 names) as parliamentarians and the one with 5% votes will have the first 5 names on the submitted party list (of 76 names) as parliamentarians. Leaders of parties have often been accused of submitting lists with names mostly of members of their ethnic groups constituting the first 10, 20, or 30 names on the list without recourse to the party process of internal election/selection and clearly threatening the electoral process and peace efforts in general. It is perhaps more instructive to share an instance where a particular text that went viral in Guinea before the September 2013 legislative elections captures the quintessence of the menace of ethnicity:

> Chers compatriotes, Cellou Dalein a toujr crié à l'ethnocentrisme lors des nominations mais voilà qu'il vient de montrer sa vraie face ethnocentrisme en inscrivant sur liste nationale à la députation (56) peulhs dont (32) Diallo comme lui (12) soussou, (5) malinkés et (2) forestiers. Faite passer ce sms pour dire non à son ethno stratégie. Merci citoyen(e).

This means:

Dear compatriots, Cellou Dalein Diallo has always cried out against ethnocentrism during the nominations but here, he has just shown that he is the face of ethnocentrism in writing (generating) his national list for parliament. Out of the names (56) are from (his ethnic extraction) the Fulah ethnic group out of which (32) bear the name Diallo like him, (12) Soussou (5) Mandingo and (2) persons from Forest Guinea. Please pass this sms (text) to say no to his ethnocentrism. Thank you citizen.

Cellou Dalein Diallo was a candidate in the September 2013 parliamentary election. This was about the first real parliamentary election to be conducted in the last 10 years. This shows that ethnicity can even be used in propaganda and building of sentiments-a spectre that further radicalizes Guinean politics and threatens peace consolidation. Ethnicity as a potent threat to the process of peace consolidation resonated in all the group discussions and interviews with critical civil society actors.

Again, the judiciary that is supposedly saddled with the duty of adjudication appears to be weak in Guinea. This observation was made during a group discussion with the Guinea Organization for the Defence of Human Rights ('*Organization Guinéenne de Défense des Droits de l'Homme (OGDH))* and 'Equal Rights for All' (*Les Mêmes Droits pour Tous (MDT)).* For the process of peace consolidation to be strengthened therefore, the judiciary needs to be active to entertain cases that relate to abuse of rights, discourage culture of impunity and serve as deterrence to all who might be induced to trample on the rights of people as a result distorting due process and threatening the peace of the society. Impunity as a threat to the process of peace consolidation was further reiterated during an interview with Mme Baldé of Rotary International Guinee when it was noted that the government's inability to convict culprits of corruption and other crimes makes it difficult to discourage others from abusing the process of governance. Closely related to weak judicial system is corruption. This in its own right is identified as a threat to peace consolidation. According to the 2014 Perception Corruption Index, Guinea ranked 145 out of 175 countries surveyed. The state treasury was alleged to be looted with impunity and there is no record of any punishment meted out on culprits, a situation that is attributed to weak judicial system. This was the opinion shared in a group discussion by Non-Governmental Organizations Forum in Guinea ('*Forum des ONG').* The

study also found out on objective 1 that poverty which is partly a result of corruption, unemployment and government's inability to provide for its citizenry individually and collectively, contributes to threatening the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. The interaction of the identified threats with rampant drug trade makes the process of peace consolidation even more daunting. The associated difficulties are more aptly reflected in the opinions of Lewis (2014) and Irinnews (2008) where it was declared that drugs could be a trigger for further instability and could facilitate anarchy and make any solution to potential political crisis in the Republic of Guinea difficult.

4.3. Research Objective 2:
To establish the linkage(s) between civil society organizations and the consolidation of peace

This objective attempts to answer the question: what is the linkage(s) between civil society organisations and the consolidation of peace? There appears to be a general assumption that every surviving democracy necessarily has a civil society sector that supports the processes of governance hence creating and strengthening the conditions that are necessary for peace. This, for instance, can be found in the works of: Obi (2011); Skocpol (2003); Kukah (1999); Ekeh (1998); Salamon and Anheier (1997); Hall (1995); Judge (1994); Seligman (1992); Bayart (1986); Lipnack and Jeffrey (1982). To empirically confirm or negate this assumption, questions 3a-d in the structured questionnaire collected data that related to establishing the linkage (s) between the civil society sector and the consolidation of peace. In addition to the data collected through the questionnaire, the study also analysed additional data derived from interview and focus group discussions sessions. The Table below summarizes the findings based on objective 2.

Table 7: Summary of scores on Objective 2 (Civil society-peace consolidation nexus)

S/No	Organization	Research Area	Specific Research Questions As (3a-3d)		Average Scores (On a scale of 4)	Percentage (% on a Scale of 100)
1.	Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET)		3a.	To what extent is there a relationship between civil society and the consolidation of	2.5	63%
2.	The National Coalition of Guinea				3.0	75%

		CIVIL SOCIETY - PEACE CONSOLIDATION NEXUS			
	for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (NCGRW)		peace?		
3.	Equal Rights for All (ERA)			2.3	58%
4.	Guinean Organization for Human Rights (GOHR)		**3b.** To what extent is the attended peace in Guinea associated with civil society activities?	2.5	63%
5.	National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action (NIRPA)			2.5	63%
6.	Association of African Professionals of Communication (AAPC)		**3c.** To what extent did civil society contribute to the cessation of hostilities during the war years in the MRU?	2.3	58%
7.	Rural Radio of Guinea (RRG)			2.0	50%
8.	National Platform of United Citizens for Development (NPUCD)		**3d.** To what extent can the civil society sector mobilise other sectors to support the process of peace consolidation.	2.3	58%
9.	Association For the Well Being of Communities and Development (AWCD)			3.0	75%
10.	West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP)			2.3	58%
			Total average score and percentage	**2.5**	**63%**

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The total average score on this objective is **2.5** on a scale of 4 representing **63%.** This implies that a relationship exists between the civil society sector and the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. This conclusion is in congruence with the works of scholars cited in objective 1 above. The central element of the cited works suggests that the civil society sector is central to the attainment and sustenance of peace in the society. Whereas the Table above gives us at a glance an idea of the findings on objective 2 based on the average scores and percentages of the organizations that participated in the survey, it is however, unable to highlight how the variables interact to enhance the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. It is therefore needful to show that these variables are actually related by presenting them in a web. The web below further establishes the position of the organizations that participated in the

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survey and highlights the interrelationship of the factors in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.

Web II: Responses to Objective 2 (Civil society-Peace consolidation nexus)
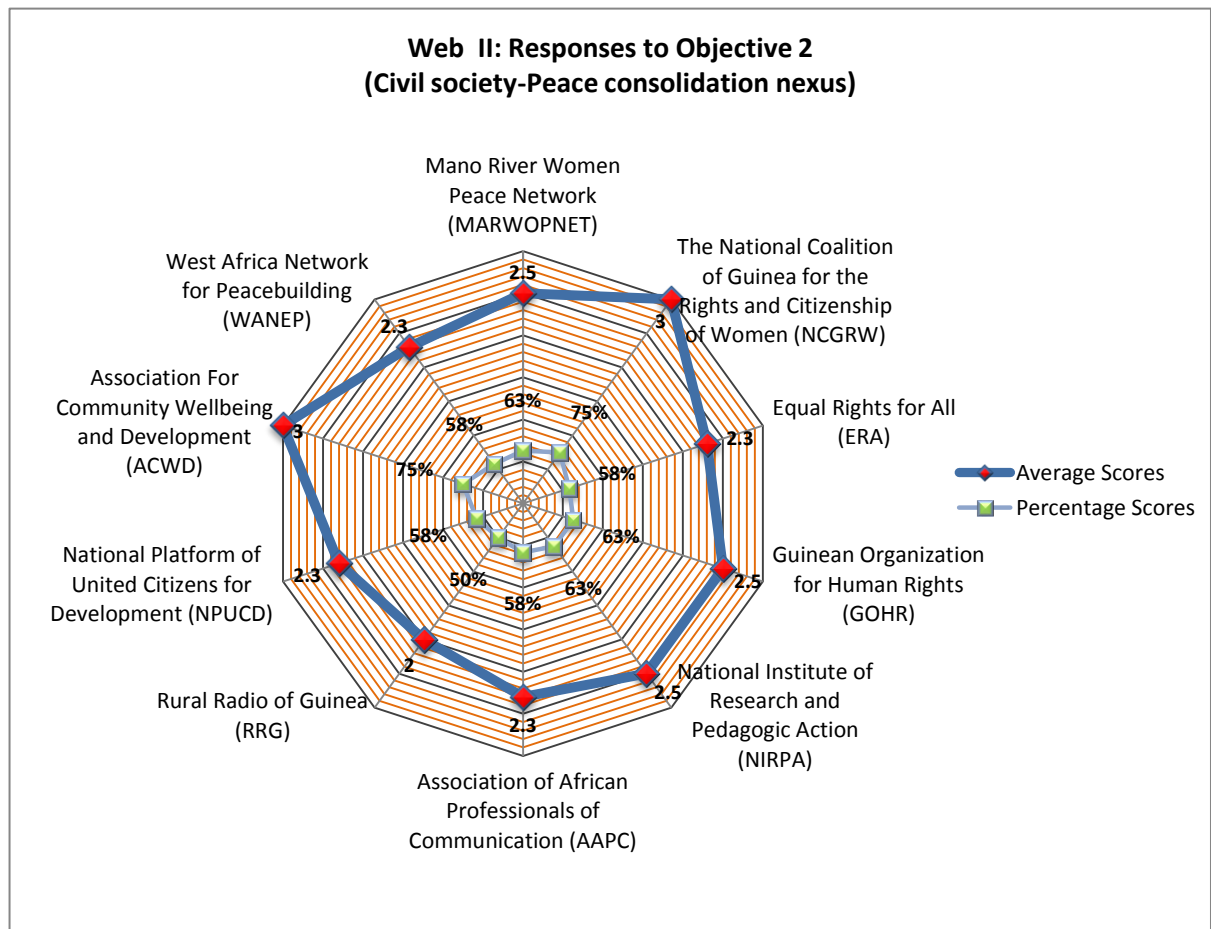
Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The web shows the level of interaction between the activities of the civil society sector and the process of peace consolidation. This is represented by the average scores, percentages and the rise and fall of the strings of the web. Organizations like NCGRW and ACWD with a percentage of 75% for instance hold a stronger view of the interaction of the civil society sector with the process of peace consolidation than an organization like RRG with 50%. This interaction revolves around how the activities of the civil society sector such as advocacy, open campaigns/demonstrations, publications, sensitization, network, non-partisanship and expertise influence the peacebuilding process in Guinea. It could be seen from the web that the Association for the Well Being of Communities and Development (AWCD) (*Association pour le Bien être Communautaire et le développement*) and

National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (NCGRW) have the highest average point of 3 on a scale of 4 (75%) over and above other participating organizations. This is particularly so because AWCD (ABC-Development) appears to be the only organization that has grassroots (rural) presence. As a result, it is able to take the quest for peace consolidation to rural communities thereby further strengthening the nexus between the civil society sector and the process of peace consolidation. Here, the AWCD is able to sensitise and educate rural dwellers on behaviours that are supportive of a peaceful society. The NCGRW on the other hand, appears to be the only women organization whose focus is to ensure the projection and protection of the rights of women who constitute the most vulnerable segment of the society thereby equally expanding the democratic space and enhancing the nexus between civil society and the process of peace consolidation.

The response to this objective further shows that the civil society sector has demonstrated this nexus in its various activities in support of democracy, good governance, accountability, respect for human rights and general participation in governance. This point was further reiterated in separate interviews with Dr. Ibrahima Sory Cissoko, President of the National Council of Guinea Civil Society Organizations (NCGCSO) – (*Conseil National des Organizations de la Société Civile Guinéenne)* and Mme Baldé of Rotary International Guinee when they separately noted that during the period of the coup and preparatory to the 2010 presidential election, the civil society sector midwifed an initiative called *'Force Vive'*. This initiative was to stimulate discussion, sensitize and educate the populace on civic rights and how to more effectively engage the electoral process especially to strengthen the consciousness of the populace on the need to discourage military involvement in the electoral process. Mme Baldé particularly noted that the strength of the civil society sector in engaging the process of governance was rewarded when civil society actors were engaged in the management of the affairs of the state either as Ministers or advisers. She specifically noted that the offices of the Minister of Decentralization, Defence, National Electoral Commission, Tourism and Alphabetization had been occupied by civil society actors. Jean Millimouno of WANEP supported the civil society-peace consolidation nexus when he noted during an interview that "CSO is the interface between peace and democracy and if democracy guarantees peace, CSO then strengthens the democracy".

The Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET) also revealed during a group discussion that the various campaigns, demonstrations, advocacy visits and publications made during the height of the conflict in the MRU were initiated by the civil society sector to call the attention of the World to the hostilities in the sub region as a means of setting a background for a negotiated settlement. The group further remarked that at a time when the president of Liberia, Charles Taylor and his Guinean counterpart Lansana Conté could not see face to face, it took the tact, persistence and resilience of MARWOPNET to bring the leaders of the countries of the Mano River Union (Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea at the time) to a meeting in Morocco. The aim was to discuss issues that bordered on the hostility in the MRU with the intent of finding a political solution to the conflicts in the region. They further explained during a group discussion that MARWOPNET launched its first initiative in the summer of 2001 when both Sierra Leone and Liberia were engulfed in an interrelated civil war and Guinea was experiencing mounting instability. Discussants declared that between June and August, MARWOPNET delegations met with each country's president to convince them on the need to increase dialogue and cooperation with each other. In March 2002, Presidents Taylor (Liberia), Conte (Guinea), and Kabba (Sierra Leone) agreed to start peace talks at a three-day summit in Morocco.

The relationship between the civil society sector and the process of peace consolidation was equally highlighted during an interview with Dr. Thierno Mandjou Sow of OGDH and Frederick Loua of ERA (both human rights organizations) when they revealed in separate interviews that during the September 28, 2009 massacre in which more than a 100 people were killed and many others maimed, human rights groups mobilized lawyers to establish Rights abuses against the government, an act they noted restrained the government from further abuse. Again, Amadou Diallo of the National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action, (*Institut National de recherché et d'Action Pédagogique) - (INRAP)* (an institution of education which is in charge of the quality of teaching at all levels in Guinea) revealed during an interview that the Institute, as part of the peace consolidation strengthening strategy, supported by United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF), developed a program called '*Civic Education and the Culture of Peace'* to be embedded in school curricula for the teaching of peace education at all levels in the Republic of Guinea. He also declared

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that the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) also supported the Institute to implement a program on peace and tolerance before, during and after elections.

It is instructive to also note that other structures of government equally appear to create the necessary background needed to strengthen the nexus between the civil society sector and the peace process. The National Transition Council (NTC) of Guinea is an example in this direction. The members of the NTC during a group discussion noted that the council that was saddled with the responsibility of putting in place a strategy that would ensure a smooth transition to democratic rule had as a critical component, the Committee on National Reconciliation and Peace Building (NRPB). The NRPB committee, as further confirmed by the group discussion, placed national reconciliation as the bedrock of national peace and further divided its activities into short, medium and long term. The activities of the NTC clearly support the efforts of the civil society sector and reinforced the nexus between the sector and the general process of peace consolidation in Guinea.

The nexus between civil society and the process of peace consolidation was further highlighted during an interview with religious leaders (Imams of the Central Mosque) in Conakry. This group particularly noted that it took the concerted efforts of religious leaders to lay to rest the *N'zerekoré* and *Gueckedou* conflicts of 2011/2012 that resulted in the destruction of 17 mosques and 13 churches as well as loss of many lives. Again, the tension that characterized Dadis Camara failed assassination attempt and the threat posed by his continuous presence in Guinea was diffused when after several failed attempts by members of the public for Camara to leave Guinea, it only took the intervention of religious leaders to convince Dadis Camara to leave the country seemingly creating a soft-landing for the transition process to be initiated. According to the religious leaders, they were able to achieve this feat and even more owing to the fact that as religious leaders, they are not politicians, government nor opposition hence they can tell the truth to anybody. They further remarked that more so, those in positions of authority are either Muslims or Christians and they preach the doctrine of peaceful coexistence to them during sermons because their role as religious leaders is to build bridges between the broader spectrum of civil society, the aggrieved parties and the government. They also maintained that their role as religious leaders gave them the moral authority and neutrality that even the United

Nations and other peacekeeping institutions did not possess. They revealed that based on their contributions to the peace process, the Imam of Conakry's grand Mosque El Hadj Mamadou Saliou Camara and the city's Roman Catholic Archbishop Vincent Koulibaly were appointed to co-chair a Provisional Commission of Reflection (PCR) on the conditions needed for the undertaking and achievement of national reconciliation.

Despite the sector's contributions to the cessation of hostilities in the MRU during the war years, overall, findings from group discussions and interviews with critical actors however, suggest that the civil society sector lacks adequate capacity to document its activities. This, the discussants and interviewees noted was because the sector is not robust enough. This clearly means that the sector would need to redesign its methods/strategies as well as build its capacity in relevant areas to strengthen the process of peace consolidation.

4.4. Research Objective 3:

To identify specific and general roles CSOs can play to support the consolidation of peace in Guinea

Research objective 3 attempts to answer the question: 'what role (s) can the civil society sector play in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea? This objective also tended to examine the specific and general role(s) the civil society sector played in ensuring the attended peace in Guinea. As part of the process of achieving this objective, questions 6a-d in the questionnaire collected data that related to examining the roles the civil society sector can play in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea as well as the context of its operation. In addition to the data collected through the questionnaire, the study also analysed additional data derived from interview and focus group discussion sessions. The Table below summarizes the findings based on objective 3.

Table 8: Summary of scores on objective 3 (Civil society's roles in peace consolidation)

S/No	Organization	Research Area	Specific Research Questions (6a-6c)	Average Scores (on a Scale of 4)	Percentage (% on a scale of 100)
1.	Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET)	CIVIL SOCIETY'S ROLES IN PEACE CONSOLIDATION	**6a.** To what extent can the civil society sector impact the process of peace consolidation?	2.5	63%
2.	The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (NCGRW)			3	75%
3.	Equal Rights for All (ERA)			1.8	45%
4.	Guinean Organization for Human Rights (GOHR)		**6b.** To what extent can the civil society's functions of monitoring, protection, advocacy, socialization, intergroup social cohesion, facilitation and service delivery strengthen peace consolidation?	2	50%
5.	National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action (NIRPA)			1.5	38%
6.	Association of African Professionals of Communication (AAPC)			2.3	58%
7.	Rural Radio of Guinea (RRG)			2	50%
8.	National Platform of United Citizens for Development (NPUCD)			1.5	38%
9.	Association For the Well Being of Communities and Development (AWCD)		**6c.** To what extent is the environment supportive of civil society engagements?	2.5	63%
10.	West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP)		6d. To what extent and what specific roles did the civil society sector play in the management of conflict in the MRU?	2.8	70%
			Total average score and percentage	**2.2**	**55%**

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The total average score on this objective is **2.2** on a scale of 4 representing **55%.** This suggests that overall; the roles of civil society organisations to the process of peace consolidation are not fully effective. Despite this conclusion and based on the table, it may still be instructive to establish the interconnectedness that seems to exist between

the variables that appear to undermine the role of the sector to more effectively impact the peace consolidation process in Guinea. The web below represented by participating organizations average scores and percentages highlights the interaction of these variables.

Web III: Responses to Objective 3.
(Civil society's role in peace consolidation)
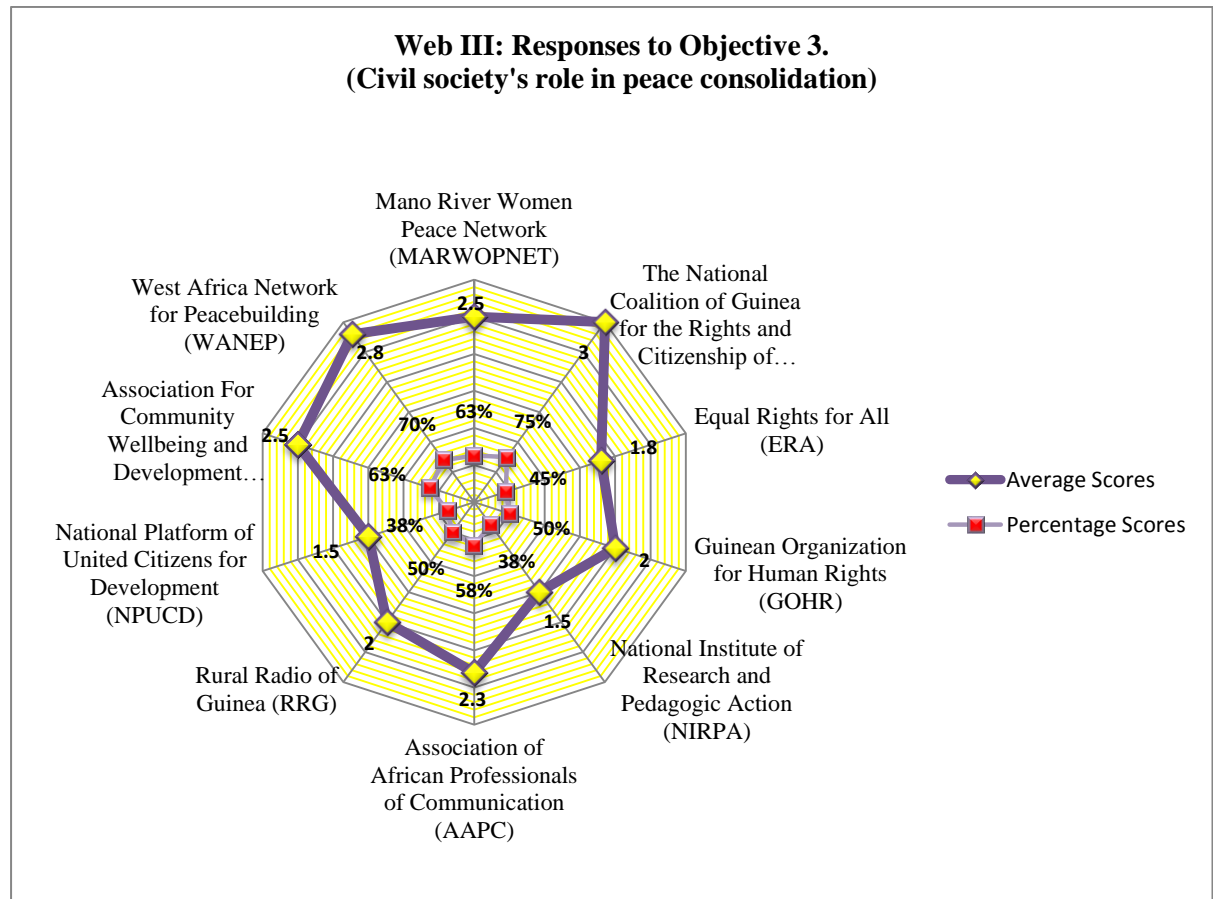
Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The web reflects the interaction of the factors represented by individual organizational scores. It would be seen for instance, that organization like NCGRW holds a higher view of the roles of the sector in supporting the peace consolidation process than NIRPA and NPUCD. The reason for this higher view by NCGRW is because it is an organization dedicated to projecting and protecting the rights of women. This means that the space for women involvement in the process of governance and peace has been expanded and the voices of women are now heard. The capacity of the civil society sector to effectively support the peace consolidation process is threatened by the interaction of corruption and inadequate funds, victimization and hostile operating environment, improper coordination and lack of information sharing. As long as these variables interact in this manner as reflected in the rise and fall of the strings of the

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web, the capacity of the civil society sector to effectively support the peace consolidation process will be continuously threatened. The web also appears to tie the sector in a relationship of mutual interdependence to such an extent that the role (s) played by an organization seems to affect the overall performance of the sector in Guinea.

A recurrent point from interviews and group discussions in the field revolved around the fact that though, the civil society sector has been very instructive in the process of supporting peace consolidation in Guinea, most of its initiatives especially of the locally based organizations are often implemented without a well-defined methodology and mechanisms for communication of findings. A local organization in this context refers to such organizations without any established international connection/network. Despite these seeming challenges, instances of the sector's role in the process of peace consolidation can however be cited.

The roles of CSOs were however dependent on the situation in Guinea and developments in neighbouring countries. Before the wars that activated influx of refugees into Guinea, CSOs irrespective of orientation were active in advocacy against repressive regimes and abuse of rights. Prior to the outbreak of wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Guinean CSOs were active in civic education and campaigns against military rule. The outbreak of wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, redefined their roles. They shifted from advocacy for governance to refugee management by offering psycho-social support and counselling. During an interview with Hadja Tiguidanké Diakhaby the President of the Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET) Guinee, she shared a story that highlighted the unique role and strength of women in the process of peace consolidation. She noted that during the war in Sierra Leone, the inter-religious Council of Sierra Leone set out to visit the rebel camp with Simanatu Kassim the only woman in the midst of many men to facilitate the release of 50 abducted children. Upon arrival at the camp, she noted that Kassim was suddenly gripped by the reality of her vulnerability and did not want to step out of the car. The young rebels with guns in their hands sighting her, moved to the car and one of them said to her "Don't be afraid Madam; you can come out of the car for we are your children". To prove that she was safe, the boy took off his helmet and laid down his gun. She further noted that Kassim with her colleagues spent the

rest of the day trying to persuade the rebels to release a group of children that were abducted. Kassim using her advantage as a mother and building on the understanding already created by the rebels was noted to have asked the rebels as a mother to let the children go back home. The young rebels heeded her request and in return requested the team to pray for them.

Again, Association for the Well Being of Communities and Development (ABC-Development), - (*Association pour le Bien être Communautaire et le développement*) a CSO committed to creating a socio-economic environment conducive to the promotion of peace, the well-being of rural communities and total human development observed during an interview with the Executive Director (Guinee) Sow Saikou that the ABC-Development has been actively involved in refugee management and offering psycho-social support to refugees and building conditions necessary for peace in border communities. A particular instance was the work among refugees from Liberia and Sierra Leone in the various camps in Guinea. He noted that ABC-Development gave refugees the opportunity to participate in discussions and activities for solving their own problems of survival, trauma healing and conflict resolution. It also undertook an active approach at creating social and economic relationships between the refugees and the host communities as a solution to the widespread conflict between them created by the supply of food and non-food items, infrastructures such as water and schools in the refugee camps long before the arrival of the International Relief Agencies. He further stated that the organization was also involved in a process of guidance and counselling that promoted genuine reconciliation and healing with the participation of victims and perpetrators of violence accompanied by social and economic activities such as food production, skills development, sports, music and theatre. The organization also facilitated a process whereby ex-combatants, child soldiers, girl child, victims of physical and emotional violence were all brought together in community reconciliation discussions, healing and cleansing ceremonies.

Discussions with the National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (*Coalition Nationale pour le Droit et la Citoyenneté des Femmes*) - (CONAG-DCF)'; Guinean Organization for Human Rights (*Organization Guinéenne des Droits de l'Homme*) - (OGDH)'; West Africa Network for Peace building

(WANEP) – (*Le Réseau Ouest Africain pour l'édification de la Paix);* National Platform of United Citizens for development; *(Plateforme Nationale des citoyens unis pour le développement) - (PCUD)';* National Council of Guinea Civil Society Organizations; *(Conseil National des Organizations de la Société Civile Guinéenne);* Equal Rights for All (*Les Mêmes Droits pour Tous) - (MDT);* Forum of Non-governmental Organizations; *'Forum des ONGs' and Radio Rurale de Guinee* individually and collectively highlighted the role(s) played by the civil society sector in supporting the process of peace consolidation. The opinions of discussants converged around the point that the role(s) of civil society organisations, irrespective of orientation, overlapped in the course of implementation.

The group discussion with Radio *Rurale de Guinee* particularly highlighted the fact that in its effort to support the process of peace consolidation, it was established to attend to the information needs of rural dwellers. As a result, its programs are deliberately designed to present and convey government programs to rural dwellers in a language that is fully understood by them. Messages that promote peaceful co-existence are presented in native languages with the intent of strengthening their understanding. During conflict periods and in the radio's quest to avoid misinformation, Radio *Rurale* usually steps up its activities and evolves relevant strategies to inform the populace of the reality on ground so as to douse tension. Discussants noted for example, that during the *N'zerekoré* conflict in 2011/2012, it was rumoured that *Foromo Azhaly Zogbelemou* (a man claimed to be the oldest man in *N'zerekoré*) was killed. This rumour further heightened tension in the already overcharged region that resulted in more deaths until Radio *Rurale* mobilized a team to investigate the veracity or otherwise of the rumour. The team was able to trace the alleged 'dead man', interviewed and recorded his voice/message that was later broadcast to all the regions. This singular act helped in de-escalating the conflict.

The media play a very important role in peacebuilding in Guinea. Through media outlets, a broad range of the populatilon is reached with critical information. It facilitates public communication, expanding the audience for advocacy campaigns and raising awareness on the need for and feasibility of non-violent solutions. Disseminating objective and non-partisan information (on mass killings, human rights violations, and truth and reconciliation efforts) is a critical media contribution to

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peace consolidation. The media on the flip side can also be used to perpetuate ethnic stereotypes and fuel further hostilities and violence. Although there is no account of media being used to fuel hostility in the Republic of Guinea, a case in point in the African context is radio *Milles Collines* that was used in Rwanda to preach hate and foster ethnic stereotype. An enabling environment for media should facilitate the emergence of independent outlets, including community radio, and promote high professional standards via self regulation. The importance of the media to peace consolidation is perhaps reflected in Burundi, for example, when according to Cheema (2005), United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) collaborated with the media to promote reconciliation and peace education, while Search for Common Ground supported the establishment of the country's first radio station in 1995.

Evidence from the field also suggests that the civil society sector is increasingly playing an important role in the revenue and budget processes in Guinea. In order to increase public budget literacy, civil society contributes to the simplification of the budget process, budget structure, budget allocation and trends, and other issues related to resource revenue. The sector also works on dissemination of information on the budget, social expenditure and local and international best practices. This is directed toward strengthening transparency and supporting good governance. The Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA-Guinee) reveals during an interview with its Program Coordinator that it also supports the process of peace consolidation by strengthening the capacity of the youths in responsibly engaging in the electoral process.

Peace consolidation in Guinea was linked to the activities of CSOs. As highlighted in the nexus between CSOs and peace consolidation in objective 3, prior to the outbreak of wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Guinean CSOs were active in civic education and campaigns against military rule. After the outbreak of armed violence in neighbouring countries, they shifted from advocacy for good governance to refugee management by offering psycho-social support, counselling for victims of physical and emotional violence, community reconciliation discussions as well as healing and cleansing ceremonies. Through their peacebuilding efforts, the presidents of Liberia (Charles

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Taylor), Sierra Leone (Ahmad Tejan Kabbah) and Guinea (Lansana Conté) were brought together in a peace summit in Morocco in March 2002 to discuss the security and stability of the region. The NIRPA *Civic Education and Culture of Peace* program was embedded in school curricula for the teaching of peace education at all levels. Tension arising from the 2009 Conakry stadium massacre was stemmed when CSOs established rights abuses against the government. The success of CSOs in persuading Dadis Camara, former military leader to leave Guinea after a failed assassination attempt on his life de-escalated internal tensions and paved way for transition to democratic rule.

Findings from group discussions and interviews demonstrate that the civil society sector can specifically play seven broad roles in line with Paffenholz (2009:5) categorization. Following this perspective, the roles include *protection* of citizens against violence from all parties; *monitoring* of human rights violations and monitoring the implementation of peace agreements and budget; *advocacy* for peace and human rights; *socialization* to values of peace and democracy as well as the development of the in-group identity of marginalized groups; *inter-group social cohesion* by bringing people together from adversarial groups; *facilitation* of dialogue on the local and national level between all sorts of actors and *service delivery* to create entry points for peace building. Discussants further maintained that in light of identified roles, it is expedient for the civil society sector to partner international organisations to enhance sharing of best practices. The importance of advocacy and monitoring was particularly highlighted when it was noted that Women CSOs' advocacy for increased women involvement in the political process resulted in the appointment of a woman as chairman of the National Transition Council of Guinea. It was also stated that the role of Religious CSOs during the *N'zerekoré* and *Gueckedou* conflicts that claimed more than 100 lives in 2011/1012 resulted in the appointment of the Imam of Conakry's grand Mosque El Hadj Mamadou Saliou Camara and the city's Roman Catholic Archbishop Vincent Koulibaly as co-chair of a Provisional Commission of Reflection on the conditions needed for the undertaking and achievement of national reconciliation. Overall, the roles played by CSOs in peacebuilding are not necessarily decisive, but rather supportive in most instances. It is imperative in examining these roles to also explore other contextual factors that can possibly limit or strengthen CSO's capability to execute peacebuilding role. Relevant

contextual factors may include: the behaviour of the state, the level of violence, the role of the media, the composition of CSO, and the involvement of external political actors and donors.

4.5. Research Objective 4:

To examine the capacity of civil society organisations in peace consolidation in Guinea

Research objective 4 attempts to answer the question: 'what is the capacity of civil society organisations in peace consolidation in Guinea? This objective explores human and material capacity of civil society organisations in supporting the process of peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea. As part of the process of achieving this objective, questions 2a-d in the structured questionnaire collected data that related to examining the capacity of the civil society sector in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. In addition to the data collected through the questionnaire, the study also analysed additional data derived from interview and focus group discussion sessions. The Table below summarizes the findings based on objective 4.

Table 9: Summary of scores on Objective 4 (Capacity of CSOs in peace consolidation)

S/No	Organization	Research Area	specific research questions (2a-2d)	Average Scores (on a scale of 4)	percentage (% on a scale of 100)
1.	Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET)			3.0	75%
2.	The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (NCGRW)		2a. To what extent is human capacity adequate for peace consolidation?	2.0	50%
3.	Equal Rights for All (ERA)		2b. To what extent are incentives for civil society in place and adequate? E.g. training for staff; conducive working environment; encouragement from stakeholders; enough financial resources for civic engagements etc.	1.5	38%
4.	Guinean Organization for Human Rights (GOHR)	Capacities and conditions for peace consolidation		1.8	45%
5.	National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action (NIRPA)			2.6	65%
6.	Association of African Professionals of Communication (AAPC)			2.3	58%
7.	Rural Radio of Guinea (RRG)			1.5	38%
8.	National Platform of			1.8	45%

	United Citizens for Development (NPUCD)		2c. To what extent is the civil society-State relationship cordial?		
9.	Association For the Well Being of Communities and Development (AWCD)			3.0	75%
10.	West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP)		2d. To what extent is the capacity of CSOs assessed and identified capacity gaps filled?	3.2	80%
			Total average score and percentage	**2.3**	**58%**

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The total average score on this objective is **2.3** on a scale of 4 representing **58%.** This suggests that overall; the capacity of the civil society sector to sufficiently support the process of peace consolidation is not fully effective. Despite this conclusion deduced from the Table, it may still be instructive to establish the interconnectedness that seems to exist between the variables that appear to undermine the capacity of the sector to more effectively impact the peace consolidation process in Guinea. The web below represented by participating organizations average scores and percentages highlights the interaction of these variables.

**Web IV: Responses to objective 4:
(Capacities and conditions for peace consolidation)**
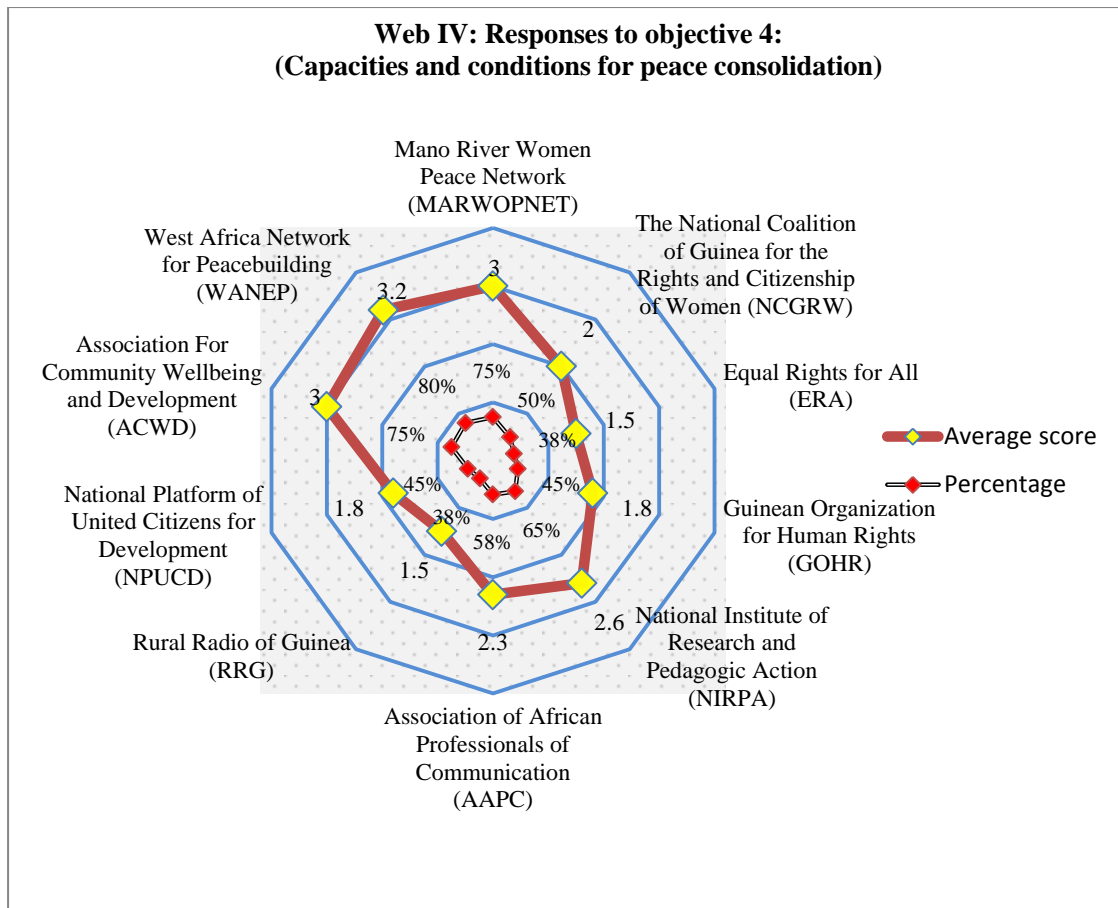
Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The web shows the interaction of the variables of human capacity for peace consolidation, incentives, context and CSOs relationship with the State. It could be inferred from the rise and fall of the strings of the web that the capacity of participating CSOs to effectively support the process of peace consolidation is not the same. Organisations like WANEP with an average score of 3.2 on a scale of 4 representing 80% demonstrate the highest capacity for peace consolidation. The reasons for these are not far-fetched. The regional presence enjoyed by WANEP in West Africa provides requisite incentive for regular capacity building, sharing of ideas on international best practices and exposure. Because of its spread and expertise, WANEP is able to source for, and retain some of the best hands in peacebuilding in the West African sub-region. Its professional relationship with organisations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU) further enhances its capacity. Staffing and ability to secure donor confidence makes funding less difficult. Other organisations like MARWOPNET and ACWD, both with an average score of 3 on a scale of 4 representing 75% indicates capacity

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for peace consolidation. The activities of MARWOPNET are not limited to the Republic of Guinea alone. The organisation operates in the entire MRU and as a result enjoys the benefits of capacity building, staffing and funding. Being a foremost CSO dedicated to peacebuilding from the perspective of women, its members are especially exposed to several opportunities for capacity building within and outside the region. The presence of the ACWD in the hinterland as well as its relationship with organisations like WANEP, OSIWA and MARWOPNET has enabled relevant capacity building for it.

Overall, the average score of **2.3** on a scale of 4 representing 57% indicates that the civil society sector is not adequately capacitated to effectively support the process of peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea. A number of reasons account for this capacity deficit. One of such reasons has to do with the inability of the civil society sector to guide its strategies towards peace consolidation. This is so because majority of the civil society organizations that participated in the survey, especially the locally based organizations, did not demonstrate a defined methodology of intervention. Here program design, review and redesign appears not to be considered an integral component of the civil society sector's strategy of intervention as the sector only focuses on delivery of predetermined activities and outputs. The reason for the above lack of defined methodology as suggested by interviewees and group discussants is the fact that the sector, is not robust enough to engage its members in relevant capacity strengthening initiatives. Again, as part of the methodology of intervention, findings also show that data is often collected through various means like tracking media reports, survey, polls, key persons interviews etc. and such data is often analysed but hardly communicated. Communication of findings (which is a two-way process involving a feedback) is a very important component of the process of peace consolidation because information sharing has the unique advantage of introducing and integrating universal best practices into local interventions as a result creating the much needed opportunity for learning lessons. At best, the civil society sector adopts a vertical approach to communicating findings. Here the sector owes its funders an obligation to report the impact of whatever intervention for which funds were released. This approach is vertical because it is bottom-up. This means that the local organizations report directly to their funders instead of also sharing the report of an intervention (horizontally) with the civil society community in Guinea. This approach

of vertical reporting is inimical to strengthening the capacity of the sector through information sharing and communication of findings. Findings are considered useful and credible for evidenced-based policy formulation but the civil society sector in Guinea seems to lack the needed technical capacity to follow-up and build on the results of even an individual intervention. The 'vertical approach' to communication of findings has often been criticised by scholars (Belloni 2006; Bush 2005; Pouligny 2005; Orjuela, (2004) and Neubert, 2001), who see it as a process that disempowers local communities and civic engagement. They maintain that donor-driven CSOs initiatives have limited the capacity to create domestic social capital and ownership for the peace process, leaving domestic groups in a weak and subordinate position.

In addition to the foregoing is the challenge of funds. The general finding here is that the civil society (except those with international affiliations and those that are established by religious organizations) lacks the capacity to generate funds hence depends mainly on support from donors and sympathizers. This makes organizations benefiting from donor funds to be inadvertently tied to the apron strings of the donor. Such organizations in an environment that is relatively poor would be first answerable to the funder before the sector. This funding paradigm that makes CSOs dependent on external funding and increasingly accountable to international funders rather than local constituencies predisposes, the civil society sector to certain capacity limitations. The logic of fundraising here tends to downplay local knowledge and capacity, emphasizing instead local weaknesses and needs, which can sideline and disempower local advocacy efforts and capacity. In this context, a recurrent issue emanating from interviews with key actors and focus group discussions points to the fact that many smaller and grassroots CSOs have often been manipulated by the larger and more well-established ones, often using them and their grassroots activities as a front to secure donor funding, with little effort to build their capacity. This poses a serious constraint on the process of peace consolidation. The general assessment again shows lack of adequate human capacities and conditions to effectively impact the process of peace consolidation. Findings further reveal that staffs are in place in the various organizations to carry out relevant activities but inadequate in numbers to effectively engage the process. An organization like the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA-Guinee) for instance had a staff presence of less than 5 at the time of the study. This is not an isolated case as it is a true representation of the specific reality in

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the field with reference to the human capacities for peace consolidation across the organizations. Closely related to the above is the fact that staffs are generally not incentivized to effectively engage the process because of inadequate human capacities (knowledge, skills and numbers) as well as inadequate operational funds. Trainings, conferences and workshops beyond the shores of Guinea appear to be a luxury that majority of the local organizations cannot afford hence clearly missing out on very important opportunities for the pollination of ideas on global best practices.

Coordination of the activities of the civil society sector is another challenge that seems to have affected its overall effectiveness. It is perhaps instructive to note here that the civil society sector in Guinea has an umbrella body the 'National Council of Guinea Civil Society Organizations' (*Conseil national des Organizations de la Société Civile Guinéenne)* (CNOSCG) created in 2002 with a mission to contribute to rebuilding the state and support the strengthening of its members' capacity and those of other national actors. It is also responsible for coordinating the activities of the civil society sector to achieve the stated mission. Despite this resolve, politics, corruption and ethnic sentiments have greatly affected its performance especially in the area of capacity building for members and linking members to international opportunities for capacity enhancement.

Another umbrella organization that also supports the coordination of activities of the sector is the 'Forum of Non-Governmental Organizations in Guinea *(Forum des ONG)*. The Forum is a consortium of national NGOs created on February 12, 1996 with more than 60 organizations operating in different domains in all the prefectures. *Forum de ONG* is a parent body to the CNOSCG. This is so because the members of the CNOSCG are first members of the *Forum des ONG* which is a constellation of Non-governmental organizations. It is expected, that for an organization to be a member of the CNOSCG, such an organization must have a number of NGOs/CBOs under it for it to be represented in the CNOSCG. But like the sister organization the CNOSCG, the *Forum des ONG* has not demonstrated the capacity and necessary linkage to connect member organizations to especially international capacity building opportunities.

It is safe to draw from the foregoing assessment, that the capacity of CSOs is uneven and limited. This point is buttressed by the World Bank (2005), where it declared that national CSOs often lack adequate human, financial, organizational and physical resources, and find it difficult to retain qualified staff and maintain a specialization. The CNOSCG which is supposedly responsible for the coordination of the activities of CSOs in Guinea is weak. Weak coordination and networking therefore, limits civil society effectiveness and makes it unable to fulfill key functions of communication, coordination, cross-fertilization and oversight. The capacity of CSOs in Guinea is further affected by legitimacy and accountability. This is so because, many national-level, urban-based NGOs lack a legitimate membership base or meaningful constituency links. Except for a few, majority of the CSOs lack a legitimate membership based in the hinterlands. Capacity for peace consolidation is in this context, limted to urban centres. External funding and support is also often limited to a small sub-set of intermediary CSOs, while many local-level and membership-based organizations are by-passed. It was World Bank (2005), and Van Rooy (1998), who observed that donor preferences for funding CSOs on a project-by-project basis afford CSOs limited opportunities to develop capacity, specialization, strategic planning, and long-term community investments. Donors aiming to promote governance and democratization should therefore help to create space through dialogue with reluctant governments and seek to address enabling environment factors. Findings from group discussion with Dr Thierno Mandjou Sow of the Guinean Organization for Human Rights (GOHR) and Me Frederick Loua of Equal Rights for All reveal that the relationship between the State and CSOs has not created an enabling environment for the strengthening of the civil society sector. Illegal arrest, detention and intimidation have all contributed to limiting the space for capacity enhancement.

Overall, the capacity of the civil society to function optimally depends on a range of external and internal factors which define the enabling environment in which it must operate, as well as the internal characteristics and capacities of civil society. Drawn from the the World Bank report on PRSP (2003), key aspects of the enabling environment include:

- The legal and regulatory frameworks (e.g., laws guaranteeing basic rights of association, expression, information and participation, and regulations on financing, tax status and registration);

- The political and institutional context (e.g., peace and stability, respect for political rights, governance institutions);
- Socio-cultural aspects (e.g., societal values and attitud es, trust and tolerance, levels of literacy) and economic factors (e.g., poverty and inequality); and
- The nature and dynamics of civil society relations with other societal actors, particularly the state.

Key internal factors include:

- Institutional and organizational capacities (e.g., knowledge, skills, structures and systems, resources);
- Values (e.g., commitment to democracy, transparency, accountability and non-violence);
- Extent to which CSOs represent and answer to their constituencies; and
- Extent to which there is power-sharing, coordination and collaboration within and between CSOs.

The overall capacity of CSOs can be strengthened or undermined based on the interactions of these external and internal factors.

4.6. Research Objective 5

To identify ways through which CSOs can partner government and external actors in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea

Research objective 5 attempts to answer the question: 'How can the civil society sector partner government and external actors in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea'? As part of the process of achieving this objective, questions 4a-d in the structured questionnaire collected data that related to identifying areas of partnership between the civil society sector, the state and international organizations/institutions. In addition to the data collected through the questionnaire, we also analysed additional data derived from interview and focus group discussion sessions. The Table below summarizes the findings based on objective 5.

Table 10: Summary of scores on Objective 5 (Institutional and international linkages)

S/No	Organization	Research Area	Specific Research Questions (4a-4d)	Average Scores (On A Scale Of 4)	Percentage (% On A Scale Of 100)
1.	Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET)	INSTITUTIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES	**4a)** To what extent has the civil society sector partnered external (International) actors in the management of conflict in Guinea?	2.5	63%
2.	The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (NCGRW)			2	50%
3.	Equal Rights for All (ERA)			3	75%
4.	Guinean Organization for Human Rights (GOHR)			1.8	45%
5.	National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action (NIRPA)		**4b)** To what extent and in what specific areas can the civil society sector partner external (International) actors in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea?	2.3	58%
6.	Association of African Professionals of Communication (AAPC)			2	50%
7.	Rural Radio of Guinea (RRG)			1.8	45%
8.	National Platform of United Citizens for Development (NPUCD)			2	50%
9.	Association For the Well Being of Communities and Development (AWCD)		4c) To what extent has the civil society sector	3	75%

10.	West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP)		partnered the state and local institutions in the management of conflict?	3	75%
			4d.To what extent and in what specific areas can the civil society sector partner the state and local institutions in the management of conflict?		
			Total average score and percentage	**2.3**	**58%**

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The total average score on this objective is **2.3** on a scale of 4 representing **58%.** Findings on this score imply that the civil society sector has benefited from external partnership but such partnership cannot be translated into concrete impacts on the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. The web below shows the interaction between the variables that tend to undermine the impact of such partnership on the peace consolidation process.

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Web V: Responses to objective 5
Institutional and international linkages
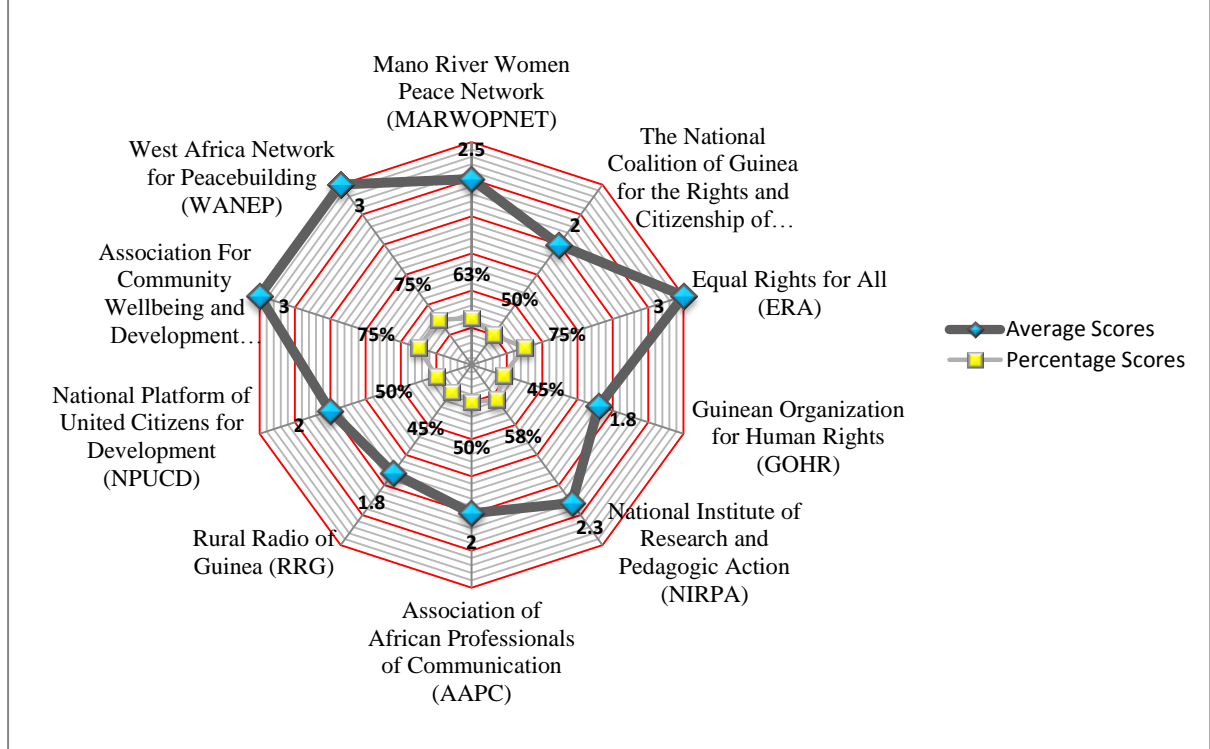
Source: Fieldwork, 2013

It could be deduced from the web that organizations like ACWD, ERA and WANEP with an average score of 3 on a scale of 4 (75%) hold a stronger view of the interaction of the activities of the civil society sector, its partnership and the process of peace consolidation. The web links participating organizations in an interconnected web of partnership disparity. It shows that despite the fact that these organizations operate in a common environment, the capacity and opportunity for partnership is clearly different. This explains why organizations like RRG with an average score of 1.8 on a scale of 4 (45%) hold a weaker view of the interaction of the activities of the civil society sector, its partnership and the process of peace consolidation. This also means that those organizations with established partnership strength can further create a web linking others without such strength to networks and opportunities for partnership. This clearly brings to the fore the urgent need for the strengthening of social capital. The basic idea of social capital according to Narayan (1997) is that one's family, friends, associates and network constitute an important asset, one that

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can be called upon in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and/or leveraged for material gain.

It could however be gleaned from the web above that organizations like the West Africa Network for Peace Building (WANEP); Association for Communities Well Being and Development (ABC-Development); Equal Rights for All (ERA) and the Mano River Union Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET) have the highest scores on the objective of partnership with government and external actors in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. This is so because organizations like WANEP operate in the entire West African sub-region and therefore able to enjoy the benefits associated with such international presence in terms of general capacity building, grants and knowledge of global best practices. Again, organizations like ABC-Development, MARWOPNET and ERA operate locally but have international linkages, demonstrated by the fact that their areas of operations extend beyond Guinea to other member states of the Mano River Union. This clearly explains their scores as seen on the web. However, in an environment that is largely dominated by local civil society organizations that are weighed down by the challenges of inadequate funds, improper coordination and lack of relevant linkages, it would be difficult to extrapolate based on a few anecdotal evidences that the civil society sector in Guinea has effective institutional and international linkages. The need to identify, establish and sustain institutional linkages is to further strengthen the degree of social capital enjoyed by the civil society sector. This is in congruence with Narayan's (1997) position where he argued that those communities endowed with a rich stock of social networks and civic associations have been shown to be in a stronger position to confront poverty and vulnerability, resolve disputes (Schafft and Brown, 2000), and share beneficial information (Isham, 1999). The need to develop and sustain these linkages as part of the mechanism for peace consolidation also coheres with econometric studies which have shown that diffuse sets of social ties are crucial for providing informal insurance mechanisms (Coate and Ravallion, 1993; Townsend, 1994) and have important impacts on the success of development and peace projects (Isham, Narayan and Pritchett, 1995; Galasso and Ravallion, 2000).

More broadly, empirical studies have suggested that there are important connections between bridging and bonding social capital. Putnam's work in Italy for instance, proposes that membership in civic groups or voluntary associations, symptomatic of

bridging ties at the micro level, have "spill over" effects that lead to better state-civil society relations through the mediating level of civil society (Putnam 1993). This idea has its antecedents in Tocqueville, who believed from his observations of American society that voluntary associations function as a "learning school for democracy". Others have argued that it is essentially family background and conditioning, aspects of bonding ties at the micro level, that act as a training school for developing civic virtues, trustworthiness and social capital (Coleman 1988). Conversely, Rudolph points out in the context of India that for many developing societies it is a democratic, well-functioning state that serves to facilitate new civic linkages, as well as disrupt older forms of solidarity within and across different groups, castes, and cultures (Rudolph 2000). The works cited above re-emphasize the importance of building relevant linkages which in their own right can serve as a learning school for democracy, insurance mechanism and provide the necessary background for capacity building and sharing of best practices. For civil society to effectively engage the state, the state must be seen to be functioning. During and after the wars in the region, state structures were weakened and unable to guarantee an enabling environment. A strategy to strengthen CSOs would also involve supporting the creation of enabling environment, including state institutions of governance.

Funding options are opened creating a good platform for partnership, but the system through which donor funds are transmitted through intermediary organisations has implications on the process of peace consolidation. Donors make funds available for multilateral agencies or International Non-Governmental Organisations (I-NGOs) which in turn, corporate with local CSOs. This means that local CSOs can hardly access funding directly from multilateral agencies except in a context where donors institute a special funding mechanism such as peacebuilding or community development funds linking donors and local organizations. A sustained partnership opportunity between local CSOs and multilateral agencies in Guinea is not clearly defined and partnership interfaces between I-NGOs which directly fund the activities of local CSOs exist but need to be strengthened. While funding the activities of CSOs through intermediaries is generally not a bad idea especially in light of the fact that it makes the management of funds and logistics relatively easy to monitor, intermediaries are also vulnerable to implementing donor agendas at the expense of effective empowerment and local ownership.

On the areas of actual partnership, the study notes that the civil society sector can partner external actors specifically in the areas of funding, capacity building, logistical and institutional support, publicity, monitoring and evaluation of its activities, report writing and institutional linkages as this can help strengthen the sector's capacity to manage the process of peace consolidation towards impact. Findings from the field also suggest that partnership opportunities with the state and local institutions exist but are not robust. Local institutions like corporate business establishments have demonstrated partnership interests but the state seems not to have provided the necessary environment for such partnership to thrive. *Mme Baldé* of Rotary International noted during an interview that normally, the civil society sector should have a cordial relationship with the state. This is so because the state is expected to provide protection to civil society actors against harassment and illegal arrest and the civil society in return should help support the state to deliver on its promises of good governance. This supposedly mutually reinforcing relationship according to her seem to have been manipulated by managers of state resources to the extent that when the attention of government is called to certain ills in the process of governance, such an actor is declared an enemy of the state. A case in point as noted by Frederic Loua, President of Equal Rights for All (*Même Droit pour Tous)* MDT during an interview was when he was arrested by the governor of Conakry in 2011 for advocating for, and securing the release of people that were illegally arrested. On the flip side of the coin, he further noted that this seeming humiliation attracted the attention of lawyers in Guinea who instituted a case against the Governor of Conakry who was eventually judged and found guilty of human rights abuses. This, according to him represented the first time in the history of Guinea, that a higher authority was judged and declared guilty. He further noted that the judgment which attracted the commendation of African Union (AU), ECOWAS and other international organizations was also considered a good step towards entrenching democracy in Guinea. The interview session with Rahamane Diallo, the Program Coordinator of OSIWA established the fact that a partnership exists between OSIWA and local civil society organization. He specifically noted that such partnership exists in the areas of funding (grant) awarded to local CSOs and capacity building in relevant areas. This point was further reinforced by Jean Millimouno, the National Network Coordinator

of WANEP when he noted that a partnership also exists between WANEP and local CSOs particularly in the area of capacity building.

It is no longer in doubt, that external support and partnership can help strengthen civil society contributions to peace consolidation. It builds on local CSOs potential and comparative advantages (availability, geographical access, reach across conflict fault lines, expertise, familiarity with the context, community-based interventions, voice of marginalized groups), especially when an independent civil society can counterbalance a fragile or partisan state. While institutional and international partnership is a critical element in developing civil society, support for peacebuilding should be based on locally-owned initiatives.

4.7. Research Objective 6

To identify the prospects and challenges for civil society organizations in Guinea

Research objective 6 attempts to answer the question: 'What are the prospects and challenges for civil society organizations' role in peace consolidation in Guinea? As part of the process of achieving this objective, questions 8a-d in the structured questionnaire collected data that related to examining the prospects and challenges for the civil society sector in Guinea. In addition to the data collected through the questionnaire, the study also analysed additional data derived from interview and focus group discussions sessions. The Table below summarizes the findings based on objective 6.

Table 11: Summary of scores on Objective 6 (Prospects and challenges for the civil society sector)

S/No	Organization	Research Area	Specific Research Questions (8a-8d)	Average Scores (on a scale of 4)	Percentage (% on a scale of 100)
1.	Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET)		**8a.** To what extent is the civil society sector equipped to face the challenges of the future?	2	50%
2.	The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (NCGRW)			1.3	33%
3.	Equal Rights for All			1.8	45%

	(ERA)		**8b.** To what extent does the civil society sector critically reflect on its' work as a means of learning lessons to prepare it for the future?		
4.	Guinean Organization for Human Rights (GOHR)	PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES FOR THE CIVIL SOCIETY SECTOR		1.8	45%
5.	National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action (NIRPA)			1.3	33%
6.	Association of African Professionals of Communication (AAPC)		**8c.** To what extent does the civil society sector facilitate learning opportunities for its members?	1.5	38%
7.	Rural Radio of Guinea (RRG)			1.8	45%
8.	National Platform of United Citizens for Development (NPUCD)		**8d.** To what extent and in what specific areas can the civil society sector act differently to better prepare it for the future?	1.5	385
9.	Association For the Well Being of Communities and Development (AWCD)			2	50%
10.	West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP)			1.3	33%
			Total average score and percentage	**1.6**	**40%**

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The total average score on this objective is **1.6** on a scale of 4 representing **40%**. Of all the average scores and percentages, the scores on objective 6 is the lowest implying that despite the contributions of the civil society sector in supporting good governance and stability in Guinea, the sector is however not fully equipped to face the challenges of the future. It may be useful to demonstrate through the web how the various elements interact to undermine the capacity and preparedness of the civil society sector in facing the challenges associated with the process of peace consolidation in the future.

Web VI: Responses to objective 6
Prospects and challenges for the civil society sector
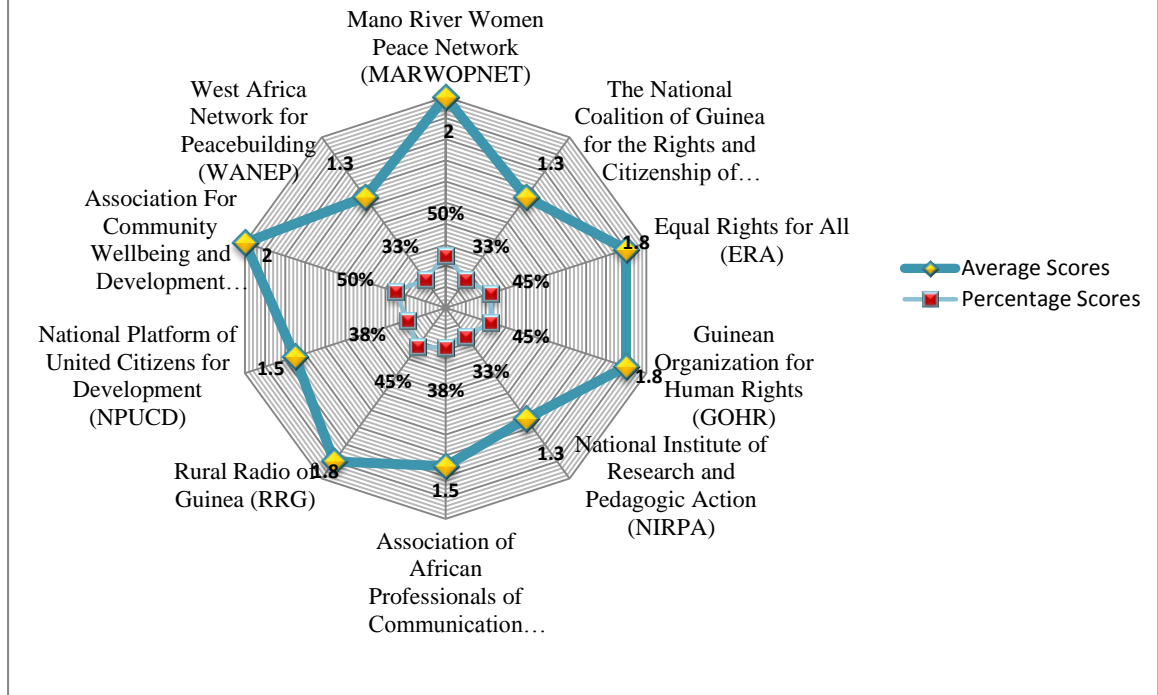
Source: Fieldwork, 2013

It could be deduced from the web that organizations like MARWOPNET and ACWD with an average score of 2 on a scale of 4 (50%) hold the view that the sector is equipped to face the challenges of the future. Though this represents the highest score on this objective yet it is considered a weak position. This presupposes that while the sector might have demonstrated some positive strides towards preparing for the future, it seems to be heavily weighed down by the interaction between inadequate funding, lack of access to opportunities for relevant capacity enhancement, lack of relevant institutional and international linkages, inability to adequately track information, analyse and communicate findings as well as inability to design and implement results-based programs/interventions directed towards enhancing and strengthening the learning of lessons. The prospects of the civil society sector will be continuously threatened as long as these elements continue to interact in this manner. Again, the central element and indeed the driving force in the process of peace consolidation is the human factor which seems not to be critically developed in the civil society sector in Guinea.

Findings from interviews and group discussions show that staffs of the various organizations meet at irregular intervals to discuss progress, issues, problems and solutions to the challenges of the sector but this is not often systematically done. There is no consistent evidence of critical reflection and feedback that could be ploughed back into the planning process to better inform strategies of interventions and more effectively prepare civil society actors for the future. One of the recurrent issues from interviews and group discussions was that opportunities for internal capacity building/learning exist but are seldom explored as civil society actors tend to have a focus that capacity building/learning is better facilitated predominately through external stimuli or persons.

Interviewees and group discussants shared their fears that there are prospects in the future to have a country whose civil society sector is predominantly based in urban centres. Evidence shows that apart from a few organizations like ABC-Development and MARWOPNET which seem to have presence in rural communities, all others tend to operate in the major cities in Guinea. This rural-urban dichotomy has also created a situation whereby the rural areas are now seen as safe havens for conflict entrepreneurs and breeding grounds for hoodlums. The rural areas are obviously the most in need of all round assistance-access to health services, education, and potable water as well as civic education. The over-concentration of civil society organizations and its activities in the urban centres means that rural dwellers are deprived of effective and consistent civic education which is an integral component of the process of peace consolidation. The argument here is that location is a major constraint on the capacity of civil society organizations to contribute to the process of peace consolidation. As fluid as this line of reasoning might seem; it is supported by the assumption that urban-based civil society organizations have the advantage of interacting more closely with critical stakeholders and policy influencers than their rural-based counterparts. Discussants noted that such interactions; have a tendency to strengthen or weaken the capacity of the sector for intervention. Overall, the challenges identified in this study would need to be addressed for the civil society sector to be more strategically placed to effectively engage the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.

There are also prospects for the civil society sector in Guinea to be a model especially, for the Mano River Union countries (MRU) to learn from. This would be

possible only if the National Civil Society Council of Guinea (a forum supposedly responsible for the coordination of the activities of the sector) can shake off the challenges of corruption, politics, ethnicity, lack of access to opportunities for capacity building, lack of relevant institutional and international linkages, inappropriate means of sharing findings and the challenge of inadequate and sustainable funding opportunities that seem to weigh it down. This is so because amongst the countries of the Mano River Union (MRU), Guinea seems to be the only member country that appears to have a forum/organ that is supposedly responsible for coordinating the activities of the sector.

4.8. CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

Many studies in peace and conflict research aim at understanding why conflict occurs, and the chain of causality driving economic, political and cultural patterns and events seem to dwell more on 'cause and effect' with little emphasis on how such conflict energies can be redirected and what specific initiatives, structures and institutions need to be strengthened to more effectively support and drive the process of peace. The works of Obi (2011); Skocpol (2003); Kukah (1999); Diamond, Juan and Seymour (eds) (1998); Ekeh (1998); Salamon and Anheier (1997); Hall (1995); Judge (1994); Seligman (1992); Bayart (1986); Lipnack and Jeffrey (1982) for instance, tended to see civil society as the vital link in the transition to, and sustainability of post-war democracy. In the same vein, some scholars such as, Obi (2003); Oche (2003); Aiyede (2001); Linz and Stepan (1996); Linz and Stepan (1996a) and Diamond (1994) have argued that democracy is a necessary precondition for peace. Although the contributions of CSOs to peacebuilding have been documented, its specific roles and capacity to more effectively support the process of democracy, national stability and peace consolidation has not received adequate attention.

Clearly, it is noble to have democracy and peace but perhaps, it is more rewarding to be able to sustain it. This study therefore, fills this gap by providing empirical data on the roles, capacity and conditions of the civil society sector in supporting the process of peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea. The study particularly highlights the point, that despite the 'arm chair' assumption that the civil society sector is central to the survival of democracy, in reality in some climes and as findings from the field

exercise in Guinea suggest, it lacks relevant incentives, partnership and capacity to even sustain itself. It is hoped therefore, that this addition to knowledge would help stimulate further research into conditions, capacity and roles of how other initiatives, structures and institutions like government and international donor organizations can individually and collectively be strengthened to support the general process of peace in the Republic of Guinea.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter offers a summary of the study including recommendations and conclusions.

5.2. Summary

The civil society sector is widely assumed to be an important actor for peace building and as a result, substantive attention has been directed towards building and strengthening the sector especially in countries directly or indirectly experiencing or emerging from situations of armed conflicts. In such environments, the civil society sector is often seen as playing important role in reducing violence and facilitating the conditions necessary for building sustainable peace. However, despite this ever-growing emphasis on the role of civil society in peacebuilding, little systematic research has been undertaken to empirically support this assumption. As an effort to contribute to the existing body of knowledge and stimulate further research in the area, this study therefore examined the role and capacity of the civil society sector in supporting the overall process of peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea.

The study was designed to answer the following questions: What factors threaten the consolidation of peace in Guinea? What is the linkage(s) between civil society and the consolidation of peace? What role can civil society play in supporting the consolidation of peace in Guinea? What is the capacity of civil society organisations in peace consolidation in Guinea? How can civil society partner government and external actors in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea? And what are the prospects and challenges for civil society organization`s role in peace consolidation in Guinea? The following specific objectives were set: To identify threats to the consolidation of peace in Guinea; To establish the linkage(s) between civil society organizations and the consolidation of peace; To identify specific and general roles CSOs can play to support the consolidation of peace in Guinea; To examine the capacity of civil society organisations in peace consolidation in Guinea. To identify ways through which CSOs can partner government and external actors in

supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea; and to identify the prospects and challenges for civil society organizations in Guinea.

The research methodology adopted for the study principally took two forms: a) a desk-based review of relevant literature and b) field visit to the study area (Guinea). The field visit enabled the researcher to interact with and collect data from 12 civil society organizations and other critical actors involved in the general process of peace consolidation in Guinea. The scope of organizations covered by the study included: Human Rights Organizations; Women Organization; Local Media Establishments; International Civil Society Organizations operating in Guinea; Religious/Faith-based Organizations and Educational/Research Institutes. Data was collected through the use of structured questionnaire, interview and focus group discussions guides.

Table 12: Summary of aggregate scores based on objectives of the study

Research Objective	Research Area	Aggregate average of CSO scores	Aggregate CSO percentage (%) scores
Research Objective 1	Threats to peace	**2.6**	**65%**
Research Objective 2	Civil society –peace consolidation nexus	**2.5**	**63%**
Research Objective 3	Civil society's role in peace consolidation	**2.2**	**55%**
Research Objective 4	Capacities and conditions for peace consolidation	**2.3**	**58%**
Research Objective 5	Institutional and International linkages	**2.3**	**58%**
Research Objective 6	Prospects and challenges for the civil society sector	**1.6**	**40%**

Source: Fieldwork, 2013

The research findings highlighted a number of issues. First, the report noted on research question 1, objective 1 that the illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons, instability in member states of the Mano River Union (MRU) and bad governance are the basic observable threats to the process of peace consolidation in

the Republic of Guinea. Other identified threats to peace as further noted by interviewees and group discussants included: ethnicity/tribal management of public affairs; weak judicial system; corruption; government's inability to provide the basic needs of the citizenry; entrenched culture of impunity; poverty and unemployment. Second, the report also acknowledges on research question 2, objective 2 that a strong relationship exists between the civil society sector and the process of peace consolidation in Guinea and the report provided concrete illustrations to buttress this nexus. Third, the report established on research questions 3 and 4, objectives 3 and 4 that the overall role and capacity of the civil society sector's contributions to the process of peace consolidation is not fully effective. This is so because despite the fact that the civil society sector has been very instructive in the process of supporting peace consolidation in Guinea, most of its initiatives especially of the locally based organizations, are often implemented without a well-defined methodology and mechanisms for communication of findings. Coupled to the above is inadequate funding, inadequate access to relevant capacity strengthening opportunities, inadequate institutional and international linkages and lack of adequate human capacity to manage the peace consolidation process towards impact.

Fourth, the report noted on research question 5, objective 5 that the civil society sector has benefited immensely from external partnership but such benefits cannot be translated into concrete impacts on the process of peace consolidation. The report on this objective further revealed that such partnership opportunities seem to be strengthened with organizations with evidence of established international and institutional linkages at the expense of several other locally based organizations. Again, due to the seeming inability of such organizations with established international linkages to share ideas and findings of best practices with the local organizations, the strength of the civil society sector in this regard tended to be emasculated. The study equally noted that the civil society sector can partner external actors specifically in the areas of funding, capacity building, logistical and institutional support, publicity, monitoring and evaluation of its activities, report writing and institutional linkages as this can help strengthen the sector's capacity to manage the process of peace consolidation towards impact. Findings from the field on this objective also suggest that partnership opportunities with the state and local institutions exist but are not robust.

Fifth, the report on research question 6, objective 6 acknowledges that the civil society sector in Guinea is not fully equipped to face the challenges of the future. While the sector might have demonstrated some positive strides towards preparing for the future, it seems to be heavily weighed down by inadequate funding, lack of access to opportunities for relevant capacity enhancement, inadequate relevant institutional and international linkages, inability to track information, analyse and communicate findings and inability to design and implement results-based programs/interventions directed towards enhancing and strengthening the learning of lessons. The report on this objective further revealed that there are indications in the future to have a country whose civil society sector is predominantly urban-based if relevant measures are not put in place to address the imbalances in environment of operation.

5.3. Conclusions

Civil society has unique potential in supporting peace consolidation but strengthening the capacity of CSOs does not automatically translate to peace consolidation. Most organizations are today established to support the overall process of global peace from their unique perspective and region (intra-national, national, regional, international and multinational). West Africa in the last two decades has been the centre of global attention as a result of the threat posed by the wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the armed conflicts in Mali, Guinea Bissau, Cote D'Ivoire and the Casamance insurgency in Senegal. The only country in the 'extended Mano River Region', whose neighbours (North, South, East and West) have experienced armed conflicts except it, is Guinea. The ability of Guinea to maintain its stability from slipping into civil war despite a history of coups, repressive governments, abuse of rights and influx of refugees from war torn neighbours has provoked interest of many concerned people and institutions in the country.

The civil society has been useful in supporting the state to maintain its stability. The starting point for a more effective engagement in the process of peace consolidation requires that civil society actors be viewed not merely as part of the conflict but also as actors and potential peace enforcers whose interventions are an important complement to those of the state and external interveners. In view of this, the strategy must therefore seek to build the capacity of the civil society sector as much as those of their government and must emphasize a sustained rather than ad hoc engagement. The basis for this strategy should be structured to promote mutual benefit and respect and seek to draw on their wide outreach and mobilizing capacity to support the process of peace consolidation. Ultimately, it should be based on recognition of the fact that in order to sustain the peace dividends and create the necessary foundation for democratic governance, all available capacities in the polity need to be mobilized. The civil society sector is clearly a critical resource in this regard.

Though the civil society sector from the study has not demonstrated adequate capacity to effectively contribute to the overall process of peace consolidation, it however played important roles in initiating, sustaining and consolidating peace in the Republic of Guinea. This was achieved in spite of limitations imposed by funding and

the stability of Guinea would have been more critically threatened without its contributions.

5.4. RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has identified some important gaps in the roles, capacity and conditions of the civil society sector in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea. Central to closing such gaps are recommended actions. The following recommendations are therefore made in line with the identified gaps according to each research question/objective:

Objective 1: *To identify threats to the consolidation of peace in Guinea.*

Recommendations to findings on objective 1

- *An integrated sub regional approach to dealing with the menace of the illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons.* The study noted on objective 1 that the illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons is a threat to peace in Guinea. It is instructive to also note in the light of this finding that this illicit circulation is as a result of the wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The civil society sector/actors should therefore forge/revitalize existing sub regional civil society forum like the Mano River civil society forum to design and implement programs that are specifically directed at discouraging the illicit circulation of SALWs. This may mean encouraging the governments of the member states to also initiate programs that can help mop illicit small arms and light weapons in circulation by redirecting conflict energies into sustainable economic and skills acquisition programs as well as create and sustain a viable interface between the civil society sector and the National Commission Against the Illicit Circulation of Small Arms and Light Weapons

- *Pursue a sub-regional policy of good governance to entrench sub-regional stability.* As noted in this study, instability in any of the member states of the MRU is a threat to peace and stability in Guinea and vice versa. The civil society sector should therefore (through the proposed forum in recommendation 1 above) carry out its basic functions of civic education, monitoring the activities of government to strengthen transparency and accountability, stimulating relevant policy discussions and general capacity

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building so as to constantly keep the state on track toward enhancing, strengthening and entrenching good governance in the respective member states.

- *A collaborative approach to dealing with drugs and related crimes.* Peace in the Republic of Guinea is threatened by drug trade. Efforts of civil society actors in stemming the tides of drug traffickers have often been undermined by the interaction of corruption, poverty, unemployment and weak state institutions. As a recommended action, civil society actors and other relevant stakeholders should design and implement anti-drug trafficking awareness clubs in secondary and tertiary institutions. This is to be complemented by anti-drug trafficking awareness jingles on print and electronic media. The naming and shaming of those found guilty of drug related crimes should also be encouraged. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) should partner civil society organizations in the war against drugs and related crimes and the government be compelled to freeze accounts confirmed to be funded by proceeds from drugs and confiscate property confirmed to have been purchased with proceeds from drugs. As a more durable strategy, the civil society sector and other relevant stakeholders should advocate for the inclusion of anti-drug trafficking course in school curricula at all levels of education in the Republic of Guinea.

- *Entrenched political will to fight corruption and tackle the menace of impunity.* Guinea is often seen as one of the richest resource-based countries yet it is also rated as one of the poorest countries in the world. The study established that corruption fuelled by a culture of impunity is at the centre of the reasons for poverty in the midst of plenty in Guinea. The civil society sector should advocate for a penalty regime that will deal with those convicted of acts of corruption. This process should be owned and driven by the civil society sector which on its own part must demonstrate a degree of rectitude in this direction.

- *Revitalization of the judicial system.* A vibrant judicial system is essential to the general process of governance especially in dealing with corruption and culture of impunity. Findings from the field established that the judicial system in Guinea is weak and incapable of discharging its basic function of

adjudication hence entrenching the culture of impunity. The civil society sector should in this contest, design an intervention to advocate for judicial reforms and support the process with relevant capacity strengthening and critical information sharing.

Objective 2: *To establish the linkage (s) between civil society organizations and the consolidation of peace*

Recommendations to findings on objective 2

- *Enhance the capacity of the civil society sector to more effectively strengthen the relationship between the process of peace consolidation and the sector.* The study established a nexus between the civil society sector and the process of peace consolidation but to fully strengthen this nexus, the capacity of the sector needs to be constantly strengthened. The sector would need to establish useful collaboration with relevant institutions/organizations, seek opportunities that would support individual and corporate capacity enhancement at regular basis.

- *The civil society sector cannot support the process of peace consolidation in isolation.* The study also acknowledges that the quest for peace consolidation must be multi-sectorial/dimensional for any meaningful degree of success to be recorded. To this end, the civil society sector, in supporting the peace consolidation process should equally take into account the contributions of other sectors. This means that the sector should evolve a method of supporting the activities of those other sectors in delivering the objective of peace consolidation for the little contributions of all the sectors in the polity would more effectively quicken and strengthen the general process of peace consolidation.

- *It is needful for the civil society sector to develop local capacity to document its efforts toward peace consolidation.* The study equally acknowledges that the efforts of the civil society sector in the process of peace consolidation are documented but only with the assistance of external partners. The major benefit of the relationship with external partners should transcend external support in documenting the efforts of the civil society sector to actual capacity building and local ownership of the process of documenting its contributions

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to the process of peace consolidation. The civil society sector should therefore devise a strategy of developing sustained local capacity in engaging the entire process of peace consolidation.

- *Development of an inclusive National Strategic Plan*

  Part of the challenges hampering effective civil society sector's efforts in peace consolidation in Guinea is linked to lack of an inclusive National Strategic Plan (NSP). As a recommended action, the National Council of Civil Society Organizations in Guinea and other relevant stakeholders should advocate for the development of an inclusive National Strategic Plan for the Republic of Guinea. This, is because the 2012-2016 Country Strategy Paper did not capure the establishment of the Civil Society Intervention Trust Fund. The NSP which is to define the development agenda of Guinea over a period of time should de designed to capture the institutionalization of the Civil Society Intervention Trust Fund as well as spell out how other actors including external donors can tailor their interventions to fit into the strategic plan.

- *The civil society sector should evolve methods on how to more effectively engage institutions of the state in the process of peace consolidation.* It is needful in the circumstance for the civil society sector to evolve relevant strategies on how to strengthen government institutions to ensure better management of the activities of the state to positively impact the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.

Objective 3: *To identify specific and general roles CSOs can play to support theconsolidation of peace in Guinea.*

Recommendations to findings on objective 3

- *It is needful for the civil society sector to strengthen its role of advocacy, monitoring, civic education and sensitisation.* The study established that CSOs in Guinea, prior to the outbreak of wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, were active in civic education and advocacy. In the post-war and transition phase, it is necessary for the civil society sector to strengthen these roles through review of strategies and forging additional partnership opportunities.

- *Information sharing and communication of findings is central to strengthening the role and capacity of the civil society sector in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.* The study established the fact that whereas there is evidence of the civil society sector's contributions to the process of peace consolidation, one of the challenges that has impeded its roles is the inability of civil society actors to share information and communicate findings. Sharing of information and communication of findings support a feedback process. The sector should therefore evolve a system through which relevant information could be shared among stakeholders and findings from the interventions of individual organizations communicated to stakeholders to promote a culture of feedback. The National Council of Civil Society Organizations in Guinea should create an enabling environment for this to thrive.

- *Promote and sustain the idea of town hall meetings.* Part of the findings on this objective is that the roles of CSOs are externally influenced. To evolve an alternate approach to influencing policies, the CSOs should promote and sustain the idea of town hall meetings. This is to strengthen the interface between the sector and the masses. Reports from such meetings which should revolve around peacebuilding and governance should be shared to influence policies and actions.

- *Organise public debates.* The sector should at intervals, organise public debates on issues of national importance. This should be done with the active participation and involvement of government and other stakeholders. Through this role, the civil society would be able to stimulate public conversations on sensitive issues, expand the space for citizens' participation and keep the government on track in delivering good governance and strengthening peacebuilding efforts.

- *The role of the civil society sector should be context and challenge specific.* Civil society organizations play many functions to support governance but the study found out that not all of these roles are necessary at every given time, context and challenge. To this end, civil society organizations should therefore tailor their activities and roles to address the specific challenge posed by a specific context.

Objective 4: *To examine the capacity of civil society organisations in peace consolidation in Guinea.*

Recommendations to findings on objective 4

- *Source and retain relevant technical capacity to support the activities of CSOs in peace consolidation.* The study established, though with few exceptions, that CSOs in Guinea lack adequate technical capacity to support its programmes. It is needful in light of this gap for CSOs to evolve a system that would source and retain relevant technical capacity to provide technical leadership in its projects and programmes. A sustained means of capacity transfer can help strengthen and sustain the capacity of CSOs in peace consolidation.

- *Strengthen local capacity to generate funds.* An obvious challenge of the civil society sector in Guinea is funding. The study confirmed a total dependant of the civil society sector on external donors for its funding. There are also good evidences of some organizations that are inactive as a result of lack of funding. As a recommended action, the civil society sector and especially its coordinating body – the National Council of Civil Society Organizations in Guinea should advocate for the institutionalization of a Civil Society Intervention Trust Fund (CSITF) which should be funded by an agreed percentage of the proceeds from mining and other related business concerns. Through annual subvention to registered CSOs, the Trust Fund is to provide a sustained alternative to external funding.

- *Enhanced capacity to strengthen civil society sector's role in the process of peace consolidation.* Whereas the civil society sector has demonstrated its strength in the general governance process in Guinea, its capacity still needs to be constantly enhanced in order to also strengthen its overall ability to more effectively support the process of peace consolidation. Within this context, trainings and re-training are central to strengthening CSOs roles in peace consolidation. Capacity building of CSOs should be based on a broad conception of civil society that goes beyond formally constituted organisations.

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- *Robust partnership.* The study confirmed that the capacity of CSOs is not fully strengthened because of insufficient partnership. The civil society sector will therefore need to explore partnership opportunities with international CSOs and institutions, state institutions and strengthen horizontal partnerships with CSOs within Guinea.

- *Involvement of State actors and similar institutions in strengthening peace consolidation.* State actors and other stakeholders need to develop local capacity for supporting national stability, security and peace consolidation.

Objective 5: *To identify ways through which CSOs can partner government and external actors in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.*

Recommendations to findings on objective 5

- *Strengthen network for effective partnership.* Inadequate partnership opportunities were identified as one of the factors militating against effective civil society efforts in peace consolidation in the Republic of Guinea. As a recommended action, part of the National Strategic Plan should specifically address the need for donors to create a network that will enhance effective partnership and make especially, external donors commit to it.

- *Early Warning as entry point for partnership.* Civil society actors are often closest to domestic challenges of mis-governance that threaten the process of peace consolidation and can thus contribute directly and early to conflict prevention. The United Nations (UN) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) leaders should therefore work closely with the civil society sector to strengthen the ECOWAS security mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security adopted in Lome in December 1999.

- *Commitment of donors to the National Strategic Plan.* The study confirmed that in sponsoring CSOs interventions in Guinea, donors sponsor projects and programs to deliver on their agenda which often denies Guineans the right to local ownership and control. As a recommended action, with a viable alternative to funding through the Civil Society Intervention Trust Fund, donors should be encouraged and, or compelled to align their interventions

with the National Strategic Plan. This means that donors will be expected to commit to the Strategic Plan through appropriate means.

- *International organizations, governments, donors, the UN and ECOWAS should support civil society-government partnership.* Processes initiated by the government of Guinea which seek to involve civil society actors and organizations in policy formulation and implementation should be encouraged. Measures to improve the enabling environment (external factors) and interactions with the state should also be encouraged.

- *Strengthen state-civil society relations.* The study also confirms the fact that a relationship exists with the state but it's not robust. In a country such as Guinea that has had a history of *coup de tat* and threatened stability, civil society actors and organizations particularly those engaged in human rights advocacy and democratization have often been perceived as opponents of the state and therefore subject to punitive measures and scrutiny by government. As a more long-term strategy, civil society organizations should continue to build alliances around common agendas and formal networks. Collaborative arrangements have often allowed civil society actors to operate more effectively at the national level, under cover of a collective identity.

Objective 6: *To identify the prospects and challenges for civil society organizations in Guinea.*

Recommendations to findings on objective 6

- *The civil society sector should create a balance between its operations in the urban and rural areas.* The study shows that operations of the civil society sector are often urban based. The civil society sector should therefore endeavour to create a balance in its operations by ensuring that the rural areas as well as urban centres are covered in all its activities. This can be done through the institutionalization of a reward system such as ease of access to funds from the Civil Society Intervention Trust Fund (CSITF) and granting of weavers.

- *Accountable government.* The government of Guinea has been found to be insensitive to issues of governance – security, jobs creation, provision of utilities (health, education, water, electricity) housing and roads. As a result of

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lack of political will, these elements have interacted to undermine the peace efforts in the Republic of Guinea. As a recommended action, the civil society sector should ensure that successive governments are elected based on their avowed capacity to work with, and implement the contents of the developed National Strategic Plan. This also means that performance indicators of any government will be drawn from NSP.

- *Establish relevant institutional linkages for continuous capacity strengthening and further research.* The challenge of inadequate institutional linkages can be tackled by identifying and sustaining such linkages. Further research is required on how the state, international organisations and other institutions can support the creation of an enabling environment and partnership with the civil society.

- *Evolve consistent methods of information sharing.* Information sharing and communication of findings is a central element in consolidating peacebuilding efforts. In the future, the civil society sector through the National Council of Guinea Civil Society Organisations (NCGCSO) should evolve and deploy a system through which reports of CSOs interventions are horizontally shared within the civil society network in Guinea.

- *Remodel and rejuvenate the National Council of Guinea Civil Society Organizations to more effectively perform the role of coordinating the activities of the sector in Guinea.* A critical finding from the study revolved around the issue of corruption and ethnicity by the coordinating body of civil society organisations in Guinea. This has resulted in parallel coordinating organisations. The future of NCGCSO is threatened if issues of corruption and ethnicity are swept under the carpet. The NCGCSO will need to put a system in place to reorganise and reposition it for the future. With remodelling and rejuvenation processes completed, there are prospects of NCGCSO being a model and providing leadership for the civil society sector in the region.

5.5. Suggestions for Further Research

The research and knowledge gaps identified in this study tend to revolve around improving the coordination of the activities of civil society organisations and those of government and other institutions in supporting the consolidation of peace. Further analysis and research through in-depth and comparative case studies, and greater knowledge sharing would be beneficial to answer a number of questions:

- How can the state partner CSOs in peace consolidation?
- How can international organisations and other institutions more strategically engage CSOs in peace consolidation?
- How can the state and international organisations ensure the creation of an enabling environment for civil society partnership?
- What criteria determine whether, when and how external actors should support civil society capacity building?
- How does drug trade affect peace consolidation efforts?
- Who does the civil society sector report to?

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Le Lynx Newspaper, 12 April (2004) Guinea weekly publication on developments in Guinea.

APPENDICES

Appendix I:

Map of the Study Area (Guinea)

Source: africaguide.com

Appendix II.

MAP SHOWING THE PRECARIOUS SITUATION OF GUINEA

Source: Extracted from *africaguide.com* on January 29th 2017 and modified by the researcher

LEGEND

(red)	Neighbouring countries with records of civil war
(green)	Guinea (Study Area) as the only surviving country in the region with no record of civil war

Appendix III.

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INTERVIEW GUIDE-English

</div>

1. OBJECTIVE

To assess the condition, role and capacity of civil society organizations in supporting the consolidation of peace in Guinea

2. DISCUSSIONS

- **Major discussion points**
  - Discuss the general strategy of civil society engagement in the peace consolidation process
  - Discuss the role of the civil society sector **before**, **during** and after the conflicts in the MRU in general and Guinea in particular
  - Discuss the capacity of CSOs in peace consolidation in Guinea
  - Discuss civil society linkages with external actors
  - Discuss threats to peace consolidation
  - Discuss the prospects and challenges for civil society's roles in peace consolidation in Guinea

b. Probe questions

- What are your concerns about peace in Guinea?
- Is there peace in Guinea?
- What can civil society do differently to ensure the consolidation of peace?
- What are the major threats to peace in Guinea?

c. Current situation in Guinea

- What is the current situation of governance in Guinea? (Discuss in details including human rights, rule of law, provision of and access to affordable health and educational services and employment).
- Current situation of interstate relationship (probe for areas of institutional collaboration, joint border patrol, information sharing and capacity building)
- Current state of the civil society sector in Guinea (probe for civil society strategies of engagements, information sharing, international linkages, funding, means of data collection and communication).

- Relevance of democracy to peace consolidation (probe for the link between democracy and peace and between civil society and democracy as well as between civil society and peace).
- What are the prospects and challenges for the civil society sector in Guinea?

Appendix IV.

GUIDE D'INTERVIEW-French

1. OBJECTIF

Pour évaluer la force et la capacité des organisations de la société civile de consolidation de la paix en Guinée.

2. DISCUSSIONS

- **Les points de discussion majeurs.**
    - Discuter de la stratégie générale de l'engagement de la société civile dans le processus de consolidation de la paix
    - Discuter du rôle du secteur de la société civile **avant**, **pendant** et **après** les conflits dans le MRU en général et en Guinée en particulier
    - Discuter des liens de la société civile avec les acteurs externes
    - Discuter des menaces a la consolidation de la paix
    - Discuter des perspectives et des défis du rôle de la société civile dans la consolidation de la paix en Guinée

b. questions de sondage

- Quelle sont vos inquiétudes/préoccupation à propos de la paix en Guinée?
- Y'a t'il la paix en Guinée?
- Qu'est-ce que la société civile peut faire différemment pour assurer la consolidation de la paix?
- Quelles sont les menaces majeures à la paix en Guinée?

c. situation actuelle en Guinée:

- Quelle est la situation actuelle de gouvernance en Guinée? (discuter des détails y compris les droits de l'homme, la législation, la provision et l'accès aux conditions abordables des services de santé et d'éducation, l'emploie etc.)
- La situation actuelle de relation inter état (enquête sur les domaines de collaboration institutionnelle, patrouille jointe des frontières, le partage d'information, le renforcement de capacité) etc.
- L'état actuel du secteur de la société civile en Guinée (enquête sur les stratégies et engagement de la société civile, le partage d'information, les liens internationaux, le financement, les moyens de collecte de données et communication) etc.
- La pertinence de la démocratie à la consolidation de la paix (enquête sur le lien entre démocratie et paix et entre la société civile et la démocratie aussi bien qu'entre la société civile et la paix) etc.
- Quels sont les perspectives et défis du secteur de la société civile en Guinée?

Appendix V.

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Institute of African Studies,
University of Ibadan,
Ibadan, Nigeria

29 July, 2013

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Letter of Introduction:
OBI, Ndifon Neji

This letter introduces, OBI, Ndifon Neji (Matric No.129599) a Ph.D student in the Peace and Conflict Studies Unit of the Institute of African Studies, who is seeking to conduct his research on **"The Capacity of Civil Society Organizations in Supporting the Consolidation of Peace in Guinea".**

We would be most appreciative if you could assist him to accomplish this task.

Professor I.O.Albert
Director

Director:
Professor Isaac Olawale Albert, Ph.D, *fspsp*
email: icalbert2004@yahoo.com; ioalbert2004@gmail.com
Tel: 0803 383 4639

Secretary:
Morounfoluwa O. Oyebola (Mrs.) B.Sc, M.Sc (IB)
email: oyebola_folusegs@yahoo.com
Tel: 0805 210 6160

Appendix VI.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE- English

1. OBJECTIVE

To assess the condition, role and capacity of civil society organizations in supporting the consolidation of peace in Guinea

2. METHODOLOGY

In the process of conducting a session, the following should be taken into consideration:

- a session should have a well and clearly stated theme which will guide the focus of the discussions. For this study, this has been captured in the discussion guide included below.
- ideally, a session should last for about 30-45 minutes (usually not more than 1 hour) but long enough for the group to cover a topic of interest and of importance to the objective of the study
- when the facilitator asks questions, he/she should also allow for interactive discussions by encouraging members to talk openly and to respect one another's ideas and opinions
- it is strongly recommended that the facilitator read the guide and be well familiar with the topic prior to meeting with the group. This will help the facilitator become conversant with the topic, objective and the questions that may be asked to achieve stated objective. This also suggest that the facilitator must create an enabling environment to make all participants feel free to talk and express their opinions
- focus only on relevant research issues such as the role of the civil society sector in conflict management before, during and after the conflict in MRU, threats to peace consolidation, institutional and international collaboration, capacity of CSOs to support the consolidation of peace and information communication, interstate collaboration etc.
- note that the sequence of topics in the guide usually moves from general to specific

3. FACILITATING A SESSION-Discussion Guidelines

- ensure that no one dominates the discussion. This can be done by directing questions to or asking for comments from specific people rather than always asking for an open response and waiting for someone to respond. Sitting the group in a circular arrangement also helps to ensure there are no back-benchers who may feel less important in the discussion

- respect all answers and comments and encourage all group members to respect one another even if they disagree. It may be useful to have the group members set rules for the discussions that everyone can agree on
- encourage members to keep their comments and answers brief and straight to the point so that everyone has a chance to join in
- pay close attention to the person speaking and try to keep side conversations to a minimum so that everyone can hear the person talking
- encourage listeners to try to suggest solutions to concerns and problems rather than just listing the incapacities or otherwise of the civil society sector

4. GROUP FORMATION

Running a session:

- the number of participants could range from 3-10 (ideally 6) especially in the light of the fact that some civil society organizations might not have up to ten staff. This is also necessary in order to ensure that all participants can freely give honest answers and contributions to the discussions.
- open ended questions are most appropriate at the start of the discussion because they allow participants to answer from different angles and also give participants opportunities to express their thoughts and feelings based on their specific situations
- the proceedings will be recorded and notes taken except where participants object to it
- a session shall have a facilitator and a note taker/observer whose note taking will include non-verbal communication and group reactions in addition to verbal communication.

5. DISCUSSIONS

- **Major discussion points**
- Discuss the general strategy of civil society engagement in the peace consolidation process
- Discuss the role of the civil society sector **before**, **during** and after the conflicts in the MRU in general and Guinea in particular
- Discuss the capacity of CSOs in peace consolidation in Guinea
- Discuss civil society linkages with external actors
- Discuss threats to peace consolidation
- Discuss the prospects and challenges for civil society's roles in peace consolidation in Guinea

b. Probe questions

- What are your concerns about peace in Guinea?
- Is there peace in Guinea?

- Can there be peace in Guinea when there is instability in other member states of the MRU?
- What can civil society do differently to ensure the consolidation of peace?
- What are the major threats to peace in Guinea?

c. Current situation in Guinea

- What is the current situation of governance in Guinea? (discuss in details including human rights, rule of law, provision of and access to affordable health and educational services, employment etc.)
- Current situation of interstate relationship (probe for areas of institutional collaboration, joint border patrol, information sharing, capacity building) etc.
- Current state of the civil society sector in Guinea (probe for civil society strategies of engagements, information sharing, international linkages, funding, means of data collection and communication) etc.
- Relevance of democracy to peace consolidation (probe for the link between democracy and peace and between civil society and democracy as well as between civil society and peace) etc.
- What are the prospects and challenges for the civil society sector in Guinea?

Appendix VII.

GUIDE DE FOCUS GROUPE DE DISCUSSION-French

1. OBJECTIF

Pour évaluer la force et la capacité des organisations de la société civile dans la consolidant la paix en Guinée.

2. METHODOLOGIE

Dans le processus de conduite d'une session, les aspects suivants doivent être pris en considération:

- Une session doit se statuer sur un thème bon et Claire qui peut permettre de se concentrer sur les discussions. Pour cette étude, il a ete repris dans le guide de discussion inclue au-dessous.
- Idéalement une session doit durer de 30-45 minutes (d'habitude pas plus 1 heure) mais assez long pour le groupe pour couvrir un thème d'intérêt et d'importance à l'objectif de l'étude.
- Quand le facilitateur demande des questions, il/elle doit aussi permettre une discussion interactive en encourageant les membres à parler librement et à respecter les idées et opinion des uns et des autres
- Il est fortement recommandé que le facilitateur lise le guide et qu'il soit bien familier antérieurement avec le thème pour la rencontre avec le groupe. Ceci va aider le facilitateur à connaitre le thème, l'objectif et les questions qui doivent être posées pour réaliser les objectifs fixés. Ceci suggère aussi que le facilitateur doit créer un environnement perméable pour faire en sorte que les participants se sentent libre de parler et d'exprimer leurs opinions.
- Se concentrer seulement sur les questions de recherche pertinentes tel que le rôle du secteur de la société civile dans la gestion des conflits **avant**, **pendant** et **après** le conflit, les menaces à la consolidation institutionnelle et internationale, a la communication et information, a la collaboration inter état etc..
- Noter que la séquence des thèmes dans le guide sont souvent du général au spécifique.

3. FACILITER UNE SESSION- Directives de discussions

- S'assurer que personne ne domine la discussion. Cela peut être fait en dirigeant les questions a, et/ ou demandant les commentaires a des personnes spécifiques plutôt que de poser toujours une question pour une réponse ouverte et s'attendre à ce que seulement une personne réponde. placé le groupe suivant un arrangement circulaire. Ceci aide aussi à s'assurer que personne ne s'asseye derrière et qui peut se sentir moyens important dans la discussion

- Respecter toutes les réponses et commentaires. Et, encourager tous les membres à respecter les opinions des uns et des autres même s'ils ne sont pas d'accord sur un même point. Il est important que les membres du groupe mettent des règles de discussions sur lesquelles tout le monde peut être d'accord.
- Encourager les membres à être direct et bref dans leurs commentaires au point que tout le monde ait la chance d'intervenir.
- Faire une attention particulière à la personne qui parle et essayé de Conténir les conversations d'accote pour que tout le monde puisse entendre la personne qui parle.
- Encourager ce qui écoute à essayer de suggérer des solutions aux inquiétudes et problèmes plutôt que de lister simplement les incapacités du secteur de la société civile.

4. FORMATION DU GROUPE

Le fonctionnement/gestion d'une session:

- Le nombre de participant varie de 3-10 (Idéalement 6) particulièrement due au fait que quelques organisations de la société civile n'ont pas jusqu'a 10 personnes et considérant le fait que la discussion doit être mener avec les staffs qui ont un haut niveau, un niveau moyen et un niveau bas. Ceci aussi est nécessaire afin de se rassurer que tous les participants peuvent librement donner des réponses et contributions honnêtes à la discussion.
- Les questions flexibles sont plus appropriées au début de la discussion par ce qu'elles permettent aux participants de répondre suivant différents angles et donne aussi aux participants l'opportunité d'exprimer leurs pensées et sentiments basés sur leurs situations spécifiques
- Toutes les réponses seront écrites et enregistré sur une cassette excepté si les participants en trouvent une objection
- Une session doit avoir un facilitateur et preneur de note/observateur laquelle prise de note va inclure une communication et une réaction de groupe en plus d'une communication verbale

5. DISCUSSIONS

- **Les points de discussions majeures**
  - Discuter de la stratégie générale de l'engagement de la société civile dans le processus de consolidation de la paix
  - Discuter du rôle du secteur de la société civile **avant**, **pendant** et **après** les conflits dans le MRU en général et la Guinée en particulier
  - Discuter des liens de la société civile avec les acteurs externes
  - Discuter des menaces pour la consolidation de la paix

- Discuter des perspectives et défis pour le rôle de la société civile dans la consolidation de la paix en Guinée

b. questions de sondage

- Quelles sont vos inquiétudes a propos de la paix en Guinée?
- Est-ce qu'il y'a la paix en Guinée?
- Est-ce qu'il peut y avoir la paix en Guinée s'il y a l'instabilité dans les autres pays membres de MRU?
- Qu'est-ce que la société civile peut faire différemment pour assurer la consolidation de la paix?
- Quelles sont les menaces majeures à la paix en Guinée?

C. situation actuelle en Guinée

- Quelle est la situation actuelle de gouvernance en Guinée? (discuter des détails incluant, les droits de l'homme, la législation, l'accès aux conditions abordables de santé, les services d'éducation, l'emploie etc.)
- La situation actuelle du rapport inter état (enquête pour les lieux de collaboration institutionnelle, la patrouille jointe des frontières, le partage des informations, le renforcement de capacité) etc.
- L'état actuel du secteur de la société civil en Guinée (sondage sur les stratégies d'engagement, de partage d'information, des liens internationaux, du financement, les moyens de collecte de données et communication) etc.
- La pertinence de la démocratie à la consolidation de la paix (sondage pour le lien entre la démocratie et la paix aussi bien qu'entre la société civile et la paix) etc.
- Quelles sont les perspectives et les défis pour le secteur de la société civile en Guinée?

Appendix VIII.

QUESTIONNAIRE (English)

SELF ASSESSMENT TOOL TO COLLECT DATA ON THE ROLE AND CAPACITY OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY SECTOR IN SUPPORTING THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE IN GUINEA

INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

My name is **OBI Ndifon Neji**. I am a doctoral candidate of the Peace and Conflict Studies Program of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria West Africa. I am investigating the role and capacity of civil society organizations in consolidating peace in Guinea for the award of a Ph.D. Your frank response to the questions in this document will enable the study collect relevant data on the subject. Be assured that your response will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will be used only for the purpose stated above.

✓ *Please tick as appropriate*

Section 1: Respondent details										
Name of respondent										
Sex	Male		Female		Others:					
Marital status	Married		Single		Others:					
Highest educational qualification	High school		Diploma		Bsc/HND		MA/MSc		PhD		Others	
Religion	Christian		Muslim		Others					

Section 2: Organizational profile							
Name of respondent's organization:							
Designation:							
Year of establishment:							
No of staff:	1-5		5-10		10-15		15 and above	

Goals and objectives of the organization:

Assessing the strength of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in consolidating peace in Guinea

	Key Research Element	Performance questions	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
1	**METHODOLOGY** **Guiding CSOs strategy towards peace consolidation**	**1.a.** To what extent is program design/redesign taken as an integral and on-going process in CSOs engagements?	Program design/redesign is not considered as an integral component of the civil society sector, the sector only focuses on delivery of predetermined activities and outputs	Program design/redesign is done only at the start-up phase of civil society interventions and is not considered as an integral process in the managing of the intervention	Program design/redesign is done at the start-up phase and after start-up as part of process/progress review, supervision missions etc. by the leader of the civil society organization	Program design/redesign is done at the start-up phase and after start-up as part of process/progress review , supervision missions etc in a comprehensive participatory review process to improve intervention strategy	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		1.b. To what extent does the civil society sector generate its funds?	The civil society sector lacks the capacity to generate funds hence depends mainly on support from sympathizers	The sector generates funds from members to carry out activities	The sector is often supported by organizations like the church especially those CSOs that are either established by religious bodies or have relationship with religious organizations.	Major source of funding comes from international donor partners	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					

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	Key Research Element	Performance questions	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
		1.c. To what extent is data collection and analysis conducted by the civil society sector?	Data collection and analysis is not an integral strategy of the civil society sector	Data is often collected through the help of relevant tools but such data is not often analysed	Data is often collected through various means like the media, survey, polls, key persons interviews etc and such data is often analysed but not communicated	Data is regularly collected through various means and analysed and communicated to inform evidenced based intervention	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		1.d. To what extent do CSOs review their methods of intervention?	There are no defined methods of intervention.	Reviews of methods are not considered important.	Methods of interventions are reviewed though not systematically done.	There is a defined system of reviewing our strategies of intervention. The civil society sector in Guinea encourages its members to hold end of year retreat for the purpose of reviewing its activities.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					

	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate

	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
2							
	Capacities and conditions for peace consolidation	**2.a** To what extent is human capacity adequate for peace consolidation?	Not enough people in place to impact the peace process because Knowledge and skills of staff & stakeholders to carry out relevant activities are inadequate.	Staff in place to carry out relevant activities but inadequate in numbers to carry out all relevant activities that will ensure peace consolidation. Some knowledge and skills on peace consolidation exist but inadequate to sustain the process.	Staff and stakeholders have average knowledge and skills to enhance peace consolidation but not enough for a fully consolidated peace process	Staff and stakeholders have adequate knowledge, skills and relevant activities that will strengthen the process of peace consolidation and adequate human capacity to ensure peace consolidation exist.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		2.b To what extent are incentives for civil society in place and adequate? E.g. training for staff; conducive working environment; encouragement from stakeholders; enough financial resources for civic engagements etc.	Staff and stakeholders carry out relevant activities but may not be very motivated to do this. E.g. because of inadequate human capacity (knowledge and skills and numbers), finances for engagement, or because the operating environment is hostile to civil society actors.	Staff and stakeholders are only a bit motivated to carry out relevant peace activities but they may not have enough human capacity (skills, numbers) or money to carry out such activities.	Staff and stakeholders are generally motivated to carry out relevant activities towards peace consolidation but they may not always have the necessary capacity (e.g. human, knowledge, skills, financial) to do it.	Staff and stakeholders are motivated to carry out activities towards peace consolidation. E.g. because of adequate technical human capacity (knowledge and skills and numbers), finances for engagement, and because peace consolidation means enhanced opportunity for all round development.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your					

	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
		opinion on the issue					
		2.c. To what extent is the civil society-State relationship cordial?	Civil society-State relationship is not cordial at all as the State is in the habit of harassing and arresting civil society actors	The relationship between the civil society sector and the State at best could be described as oppositional as the State sees the civil society sector as opponents of the State that must be crushed	The relationship between the civil society sector and the State is very cordial as the State provides protection to civil society actors against harassment and illegal arrest and the civil society sector in return help keep the State on track	The State maintains a mutually beneficial relationship with the civil society sector since the State via an ACT L/2005/013/ of July 4, 2005 provides the legal framework and regulates the activities of NGOs, the civil society in return support the State to deliver on its promises	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		2d. To what extent is the capacity of CSOs assessed and identified capacity gaps filled?	Capacity assessment is not done at all.	Capacity assessment is seldom done.	Capacity assessment is done at irregular intervals but identified capacity deficits are almost always not used to inform policy decisions.	Capacity assessment is always done at regular intervals and identified gaps are used to inform policy decisions.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					

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	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
3.	**Civil society-peace consolidation nexus**	**3.a** To what extent is they a relationship between civil society and the consolidation of peace?	No relationship exist between civil society and the consolidation of peace because civil society only exacerbate conflict situations by antagonizing government	Civil society help in peace building but have not demonstrated adequate strength in sustaining peace in transitional democracies like the one in Guinea.	A relationship exist between civil society and peace consolidation but the civil society sector needs to redesign its methods/strategies to strengthen peace consolidation	A robust relationship exist between civil society and the consolidation of peace and the civil society sector has demonstrated this nexus in its various activities in support of democracy, good governance, accountability, respect of human rights, participation in governance etc	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		3.b To what extent is the attended peace in Guinea associated with civil society activities?	Civil society contributions to the attended peace is insignificant hence cannot be accorded a place on the list of major contributors	Civil society contributed to the attended peace in Guinea but such efforts were not documented to support such claims	The efforts of civil society contributions to the attended peace in Guinea are well documented but this is done with the support of external partners as the civil society sector is not robust enough to achieve such feats	The attended peace is as a result of civil society engagement in the process without which no significant achievement would have been recorded in this direction. The civil society sector is fully matured to impact on other processes even without external support.	

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	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		3.c To what extent did civil society contribute to the cessation of hostilities during the war years?	The hostilities in the sub region came to an end without any significant contributions from the civil society sector	Civil society staged campaigns, demonstrations, publications, advocacy visits etc. to call the attention of the concerned public to the hostilities in the region but these activities were done in a rather unplanned manner	Campaigns, demonstrations, advocacy visits, publications etc. were done by civil society organizations to bring conflict parties to the negotiation tables but this was done with the support of external partners	Campaigns, demonstrations, advocacy visits, publications etc. were deliberately initiated by the civil society sector without external support to call the attention of the world to the hostilities in the sub region as a means of ensuring a negotiated settlement	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		3d. To what extent can the civil society sector mobilise other sectors to support the process of peace consolidation.	The civil society sector lacks the ability to mobilise other sectors to support peace consolidation.	The civil society sector has the capacity to mobilise other sectors for peace consolidation but this is rarely done.	Civil society has often mobilised other sectors in supporting peace consolidation but such attempts are hardly documented.	Civil society has often mobilised other sectors in supporting peace consolidation and such efforts are well documented.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					

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	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
4	**Institutional and International linkages**	**4a** To what extent has the civil society sector partnered external (International) actors in the management of conflict in Guinea?	No relevant partnership exist between the civil society sector and external actors in the management of conflict	Mutual partnership exist but it is not robust to positively impact the conflict management process in the sub region	Civil society sector has benefited immensely from external partnership but such partnership cannot be translated into concrete impacts on the conflict management process	The civil society sector has benefited immensely from external partnership and such partnership accounts for the strength of civil society in the management of conflict in the region	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		4b To what extent and in what specific areas can the civil society sector partner external (International) actors in supporting the process of peace consolidation in Guinea?	The civil society sector can partner external actors in the area of funding the sector's activities and programs	Partnership in the area of capacity building and logistical support can strengthen the sector's capacity to manage the peace process for impact	The sector can partner external actors in areas of publicity, funding, institutional support and capacity building	The sector can partner external actors in the areas of funding, capacity building, logistical and institutional support, publicity, monitoring and evaluation of its activities, report writing and institutional linkages etc.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		4c To what extent has the civil society sector partnered the state and local institutions in the	The sector is seen as a distraction to governance	Local institutions like corporate business establishments have	Partnership opportunities with local institutions exist	Robust partnership opportunities exist and the	

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	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
		management of conflict?	hence not worthy of any local institutional partnership	demonstrated partnership interest but the state has not provided a conducive environment for such engagement	but not robust	state has so far provided a conducive operational environment for such partnership to thrive	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		4d. To what extent and in what specific areas can the civil society sector partner the state and local institutions in the management of conflict?.	The sector is seen as a distraction to governance hence not worthy of any local institutional partnership	Local institutions like corporate business establishments have demonstrated partnership interest but the state has not provided a conducive environment for such engagement	The sector can partner state institutions in areas of publicity, enabling good governance and sensitisation.	The sector can partner the state and local institutions in the areas of capacity building, publicity, monitoring and evaluation of its activities, report writing and institutional linkages etc.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
5	**Threats to peace consolidation**	**5a** To what extent is the circulation of small arms and light weapons a threat to peace consolidation?	Incomplete disarmament and demobilization left some weapons in the hands of ex-militants but this cannot pose a serious challenge to peace consolidation	The circulation of small arms and light weapons is itself a threat to peace consolidation but the law prohibits the use of such weapons as a result diffusing the strength of such weapons in the hands of the owners	Government inability t o completely mop the excess weapons in circulation constitute a potent threat to the consolidation of peace and the mere fact that such weapons are in the hands of people brings the objective of peace	Government inability to provide jobs and alternate means of survival makes ex-combatants ready tools in the hands of those who can pay for their services. Coupled to this, the weapons in their hands means peace in the sub region is under serious	5

	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
					consolidation under serious threat	threat	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		5b To what extent is instability in other member state of the MRU a threat to the consolidation of peace in Guinea?	Guinea is a sovereign state and despite its contiguous borders instability in other member state have very little impact on it	Instability in other member states of the MRU can threaten peace in Guinea but due to shared cultural background, the impact is negligible	The peace and stability of Guinea cannot be attained in isolation.	Instability in any member state of the MRU means instability in Guinea. This is because in the past the conflict especially in Liberia and Sierra Leone saw thousands of refugees migrating to Guinea and clearly posing security challenges	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		5c To what extent is bad governance a threat to the consolidation of peace?	Bad governance can only stimulate mass actions from the public but on its own cannot be a threat to peace consolidation	Bad governance could have some negative attributes but not to the extent of threatening the consolidation of peace	Bad governance incites mass actions to enhance good governance and this process has some conflict exacerbating elements that threatens peace	Bad governance accounts for most of the uprising in the world today and is a potent threat to the consolidation of peace	

	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
					consolidation		
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		5d. To what extent are acts of mismanagement within the civil society sector a threat to peace consolidation?	No such acts of mismanagement exist within the civil society sector.	Mismanagement exists within the civil society sector but it can't threaten the process of peace consolidation in Guinea.	Acts of mismanagement exist within the civil society sector and have often insignificantly affected the sector's role in peace consolidation.	Acts of mismanagement exist within the civil society sector and have often significantly affected the sector's role in peace consolidation.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
6	**Civil society's role in peace consolidation**	**6a** To what extent can the civil society sector impact the process of peace consolidation?	The civil society sector have no specific role to play in the process of peace consolidation	Activities of civil society are directly linked to stimulating good governance and peace consolidation but these activities are vertically and horizontally isolated	Activities of civil society are directly linked to stimulating good governance and peace consolidation and these activities are carried out in a coherent manner but gives no room for learning lessons	Activities of civil society are directly linked to stimulating good governance and peace consolidation and these activities are carried out in a coherent manner and provides opportunity for learning lessons to inform strategy redesign	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					

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	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
		6b To what extent can the civil society's functions of monitoring, protection, advocacy, socialization, intergroup social cohesion, facilitation and service delivery etc. strengthen peace consolidation?	Civil society performs useful functions but these functions individually cannot impact the process of peace consolidation in the direction of positive change	Civil society performs useful functions but these functions can only impact the process of peace consolidation in a democratic setting	Civil society functions when collectively implemented help strengthen the peace process because there promote the rule of law, enhance service delivery etc.	The civil society sector monitors the activities and programs of government from abuse, protects the masses from oppression and denial of basic rights by the state, facilitate dialogue between conflict parties, educate the masses on civic responsibilities and engagements. These activities collectively set the foundation for the consolidation of peace	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		6c To what extent is the environment supportive of civil society engagements?	The environment is very hostile to civil society engagements.	Despite civil society's efforts in ensuring effective operations, the state has not seen any merit in civil society engagement.	The state has not developed adequate confidence in the civil society sector to allow it a free and conducive operational environment.	The environment is fully supportive of civil society engagements since the state sees the State-civil society partnership as mutually reinforcing.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your					

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	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
		opinion on the issue					
		6d. To what extent and what specific roles did the civil society sector play in the management of conflict in the MRU?	The civil society sector did not play any role in the management of conflict in the MRU.	The sector supported the management of conflict in the MRU but its support is not specific and insignificant.	The sector supported the management of conflict in the MRU but its efforts are not well documented.	The sector specifically supported the management of conflict in the MRU through advocacy, reconciliation, publicity, service delivery, repatriation, rehabilitation and reintegration.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
7	**Communication of findings**	**7a** To what extent are findings from civil society engagements communicated?	Findings from civil society engagements are not always communicated	Findings are often communicated to members of the organization with less emphasis on external stakeholders	Findings are often communicated to external partners who funds the programs and activities of the organization	Findings are disseminated through the media (electronic and print), publications, town hall meetings and conferences, internet, person to person as well as to donor partners	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		7b To what extent are civil society findings relevant to the policy processes?	Findings are considered to be full of biases hence not	Findings are considered useful and credible but no defined	Findings are considered useful and credible for	Findings are considered useful and credible and have	

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	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
			credible for policy consideration	means of communicating such findings to appropriate policy quarters	evidenced based policy formulation but the civil society sector lacks the needed technical capacity to follow up.	often been used to inform evidence based policy formulation	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		7c To what extent is data/results communication a major strategy of the civil society sector?	Data/results communication is not considered a critical element in the operational strategy of the civil society sector	Data communication is considered part of the operational strategy of the sector but it is not a key strategy	Data communication is considered a central element of the civil society sector but the means of achieving the objective of communication is not well defined	Data communication is a central strategy of the civil society sector and the means of achieving the objective of communication of findings is well defined in the operational document.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		7d. To what extent are findings of CSOs interventions shared amongst the civil society community in Guinea?	Findings from individual CSO interventions are the exclusive preserve of such CSO.	Findings from individual CSO interventions are only shared with funders.	Findings from individual CSO interventions are shared amongst the civil society community but not in a systematic manner.	Findings from individual CSO interventions are systematically shared amongst the civil society community in Guinea.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					

	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
8	**Prospects and challenges for the civil society sector**	**8a** To what extent is the civil society sector equip to face the challenges of the future?	The civil society sector is not equip from available indications to face the challenges of the future	The civil society sector has demonstrated strong capacity to withstand the challenges of the future but seem to be weighed down by inadequate funding and insensitivity of the operational environment	The civil society sector is positioned for future challenges but needs more support in the areas of capacity building, international and institutional linkages, information tracking and communication and learning lessons based on global best practices.	Lessons learned from civil society interventions in the process of democratization has strategically prepared the sector for the challenges of the future	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		8b To what extent does the civil society sector critically reflect on its' work as a means of learning lesson to prepare it for the future?	Staff meet to discuss progress and sometimes problems and solutions. These meetings are not regular.	Staff meet regularly to discuss progress, issues, problems and solutions but this is not done in an open atmosphere and critical reflection and feedback is not happening.	Staff can discuss openly and critically on what is going on but this may not be done regularly or systematically. Critical feedback and learning are stimulated but not consistently	Staff regularly meet to openly and critically reflect on and discuss expected and unexpected issues, problems, and lessons learned for the future. Critical feedback and learning is stimulated	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					

	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
		8c To what extent does the civil society sector facilitate learning opportunities for its members?	Members receive occasional training.	Learning opportunities are provided for members but there is a focus that learning is facilitated predominantly through external stimuli or persons.	Learning opportunities are created for both individuals and staff groups. Staffs reflect diverse views and attitudes towards learning but the civil society sector is consciously trying to develop more of a learning culture amongst members.	Civil society actors are motivated to seek out learning opportunities for themselves both internally and externally. They have training & development plans and formal and informal learning opportunities are created or seized through coaching, mentoring and on-the-job training to prepare its members for the future	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		8d. To what extent and in what specific areas can the civil society sector act differently to better prepare it for the future?	The civil society sector is already prepared for the future.	Except for the frosty relationship between the state and CSOs, the sector is equipped for the future.	To better prepare it for the future, the sector would have to eschew internal corruption in the management of its affairs.	The sector would be better equipped for the future if it can internally generate funds, strengthen relevant partnership opportunities and enhance its capacity and staffing.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					

	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
9	**Location and synergy**	**9a** To what extent does the location of civil society organization affect its capacity to contribute to the peace process?	The location of civil society organization has little or no significant impact on the capacity of the civil society to contribute to the process of peace consolidation	Location is a major constrain on the capacity of civil society organizations to contribute to the process of peace consolidation	Location has an impact on the capacity of civil society organizations to contribute to the process of peace consolidation but location has its own advantages	Location impact on the capacity of the civil society sector to contribute to the peace consolidation process but these impacts are diffused through adequate information sharing with CSO at the urban centres	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		9b To what extent are civil society organizations that are based at the urban centres better equip to contribute to the process of peace consolidation than those at the rural areas?	The location or area of operation of civil society organization is not a reason for performance or lack of it	Urban centres provides incentives for better civil society intervention than rural centres but also exposes civil society actors to more danger	Urban based civil society organizations have more opportunities for capacity building than rural based civil society organizations	Urban based civil society organizations have the advantage of interacting very closely with critical stakeholders and policy influencers than rural based civil society organizations. Such interactions therefore strengthens their capacity for intervention	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					

	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
		9c To what extent is information shared between civil society organizations at the rural level and the urban centres?	Little or no information sharing exist between civil society organizations in the urban and rural centres	Information sharing exist but is not often document	Information sharing exist but no effective coordination of the process is put in place	Information sharing is encouraged and is actually in practice as there are defined methods of information collection and sharing between urban based and rural based civil society organizations	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		9d. To what extent is location an issue in civil society's role in peace consolidation?	Location is not an issue in civil society's role in peace consolidation.	CSOs are mainly rural-based and the impacts of their activities are felt nationally.	CSOs in Guinea are mainly urban-based but the impacts of their activities are felt nationally.	CSOs in Guinea are mainly urban-based and their activities are mostly centred on developments in the urban areas.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
10	**Democracy as a precondition for peace consolidation**	**10a** To what extent is democracy a precondition for peace consolidation?	Democracy has little or no impact on the process of peace consolidation	Democracy is essential but not an indispensable component of the process of peace consolidation	Democracy is necessary to peace consolidation but the civil society sector has not fully harnessed the opportunities provided by it to strengthen peace	For peace to be consolidated, democracy must first be entrenched as democracy provides the necessary ingredients for good governance and conflict management and peaceful	

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	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
						coexistence	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		10b To what extent can the civil society sector contribute to the process of democracy?	The civil society sector have little or no contribution to the process of democracy	The civil society sector is a critical driver of the process of democracy but the efforts of the sector are not coordinated	The civil society sector is a critical driver of the process of democracy but the impact of its intervention in the process is not measurable	The civil society sector contributes to the entire process of democracy through civic education, monitoring of government programs and policies, accountability and transparency as well as monitoring the electoral process for credibility and fairness.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		10c To what extent can the system of government (democracy or military) in other member states of the MRU affect the process of peace consolidation in Guinea?	The system of government in practice in other member states of the MRU have little or no impact on the process of peace consolidation in	The system of government in practice in other member state of the MRU has an influence on, but not deep enough to affect the process of peace consolidation in	The system of government in practice in other member states of the union affects the process of peace consolidation in Guinea but the trend and extent of	History has shown that the system of government in practice in other member states of the MRU affects the process of peace consolidation in Guinea as	

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	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
			Guinea	Guinea	impact is not often documented	the type and processes of governance in the MRU is mutually reinforcing.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		10d. To what extent can democracy negatively affect civil society's role in peace consolidation?	Democracy has no negative impact on civil society's role in peace consolidation.	Under democratic regime, CSOs tend to be reckless in their strategies and utterances hence distracting governance processes.	CSOs under democratic regimes are more interested in appointments and their activities are tailored to impress the state in this regard. This has denied the state a vibrant civil society hence endangering democracy.	CSOs tend to use the space created by democracy to unnecessarily abuse the state and its institutions because unlike military regime, democracy guarantees freedom of expression.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
11	**Interstate collaboration**	**11a** To what extent do civil society organizations in member state of the MRU collaborate in ensuring peace consolidation?	There is little or no significant level of collaboration between the civil society sector across member states of the MRU to ensure peace consolidation	The civil society sector across member states of the MRU collaborate in the area of information sharing but the process is not often documented	Collaboration exist amongst civil society organizations in member states of the MRU in the area of information sharing but it is often not used to inform evidenced based strategies	Collaboration exist amongst civil society organizations in member states of the MRU especially in the area of information sharing and the strength of such collaboration informs learning lessons and evidenced based review of strategies	

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	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		11b. To what extent is peace attained in Guinea vis a vis other member states of the MRU?	There is no significant level of peace attainment in Guinea as in other member states of the MRU	Like other member states of the union, Guinea has attained fragile peace but no defined process of consolidation	Peace is fully attained and consolidated in Guinea than other member states of the union as a result does not need further consolidation	There is a greater level of peace in Guinea than other member states of the union because while all other members of the union experienced one form of major conflict or the other, Guinea has not experienced any protracted conflict	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		11c To what extent do the civil society sector support the security sectors of the member states of the MRU to conduct intelligence and information sharing?	There is little or no interface between the civil society sector and the security sectors in intelligence gathering and information sharing across member states of the MRU	The civil society sector supports the security sector in intelligence gathering and information sharing across the member states of the MRU but the support processes are not often documented	The civil society sector supports the security sector in intelligence gathering and information sharing across the member state of the MRU but such support has not translated into enhanced intelligence collaboration amongst member states of the union	The civil society sector supports the security sector in intelligence gathering and information sharing and such support has strengthened the security situation of the MRU and improved interstate collaboration	

	Key Research Element	Performance questions (Include Why / why not?)	Limited 1	Being developed 2	Partially functioning 3	Fully effective 4	Explain the reason (why/why not) & ideas for further improvement. Please add extra paper if space is inadequate
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					
		11d.To what extent are the governments of the MRU working to support a sub-regional approach to peace consolidation?	There are no conscious efforts by the governments of the MRU to support a sub-regional approach to peace consolidation.	The governments of the MRU still operate at their individual country level in supporting the process of peace consolidation.	There are efforts by the governments of the MRU to forge a sub-regional approach to peace consolidation but there is no commensurate political will to drive the process.	The governments of the MRU have, through the MRU forge a strategy of good governance and economic cooperation as a means toward enhancing good governance and strengthening the economic wellbeing of its citizenry.	
		Enter 1,2, 3 or 4 in relevant column that best reflects your opinion on the issue					

DU SECTEUR DE LA SOCIETE CIVILE E SOUTENANT LA CONSOLIDATION DE LA PAIX EN GUINEE.

PRESENTATION ET OBJECTIF :

Je me nome **OBI Ndifon Neji**. Je suis candidat de doctorat au programme d'études de la paix et le conflit de l'Université d'Ibadan, Nigeria en Afrique de L'Ouest. Je suis entrain de faire de l'investigation sur le rôle et la capacité des organisations de la société civile dans la consolidation de la paix en Guinée sur l'attribution de Ph.D. Votre réponse franche aux questions dans ce document va permettre une étude de collecte pertinente de données sur le sujet. Vous pouvez être sure que votre réponse seront traité avec la plus grande responsabilité et seront utilisés seulement pour les objectifs statues ci-dessus.

✓ *Cocher s'il vous plait comme approprié*

Section 1:Détails sur le répondant									
Nom du repondant									
Sexe	Homme		Femme		Autres:				
Situation Matrimonial	Marié		Cellibataire		Autres:				
Niveau de qualification educationnelle	Lycée		Diplôme		Licence		Maîtres		PhD	Autres
Religion	Chretien		Musulman		Autres				

Section 2: profile Organisationelle				
Nom de Répondant de l'organisation				
Désignation:				
Année d'établissement :				
No de staff:	1-5	5-10	10-15	15 et plus

But et Objectifs de l'organisation:

Evaluation de la force des Organisations de la Société Civile (OSC) en consolidation la paix en Guinée

	Element clé de recherché	Questions de performance	Limité 1	À etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pour quoi/pour quoi pas) et les idées pour plus d'information. Ajouter s'il vous plait un extra papier si l'espace est insuffisant
1	**METHODOLOGIE** **Guidant les stratégies des OSC envers la consolidation de la paix**	**1a.** Jusqu'a quelle ampleure le programme de conception /reconception est prise comme un processus intégral et en cours dans les engagements des OSC?	Le programme de conception /reconception n'est pas considéré comme une composante intégral du secteur de la société civile, le secteur se concentre seulement sur la délivrance des activités et rendements prédéterminées	Le programme de conception /reconception est faite seulement à la phase de démarrage des interventions de la société civile et n'est pas considéré comme un processus intégral à la gestion de l'intervention	Le programme de conception /reconception est faite à la phase de démarrage et après le démarrage comme partie du processus/ progression de la revue, les missions de supervision etc. par le leader de l'organisation de la société civile	Le programme de conception /reconception est faite à la phase de démarrage et après le démarrage comme partie du processus/ progression de la revue, les missions de supervision etc. dans une revue de processus participatif compréhensif pour améliorer la stratégie d'intervention.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		1b. Jusqu'a quel point le secteur de la société civile génère-t-elle des fonds?	Le secteur de la société civile manque la capacité de générer les fonds d'où dépend surtout du soutien des sympathisants	Le secteur génère des fonds à partir des membres pour exécuter les activités.	Le secteur est souvent soutenu par les organisations telles que l'église spécialement ces OSC qui sont établit soient par les corps religieux ou ont un rapport avec les organisations religieuses	La majeure source de financement vient des partners donneurs internationaux	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou une					

	Element clé de recherché	Questions de performance	Limité 1	À etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pour quoi/pour quoi pas) et les idées pour plus d'information. Ajouter s'il vous plait un extra papier si l'espace est insuffisant
		colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		1c. quel est le Niveau de collecte des données et les analyses menées par le secteur de la société civile?	La collecte de données et analyse n'est pas une stratégie intégrale du secteur de la société civile	Les données sont souvent recueillit a travers l'aide des outils pertinent mais de telles données ne sont pas souvent analysés.	Les données sont souvent recueillit a travers des moyens variés comme le media, l'enquête, les sondages, les personnes clées interviewer etc. et de telles données sont souvent analysées mais pas communiquer	Les données sont régulièrement recueillit a travers les moyens variés et sont analysés et communiqués pour informer sur des interventions basées sur la preuve	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		1d. Jusqu'a quel point les OSC revoient leurs methodes d'intervention?	Il n'y a pas de methodes d'intervention defines	Les revues de methode ne sont pas considerées importantes.	Les Methodes d'intervention sont revues bien qu'elles ne soient pas sysmatiquement faites	Il y a un systeme definit pour revoir nos strategies d'intervention. Le secteur de la Société Civile en Guinée encourage ses members à tenir la retraite de fin d'année dans l'objectif de revoir ses activités.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre					

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	Element clé de recherché	Questions de performance	Limité 1	À etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pour quoi/pour quoi pas) et les idées pour plus d'information. Ajouter s'il vous plait un extra papier si l'espace est insuffisant
		opinion sur la question					

	Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
2	**Capacités et conditions pour la consolidation de la paix**	**2 a** à quel point la capacité humaine est t'elle adéquate pour la consolidation de la paix?	Il n'y a pas assez de personnes en place pour changer le processus de paix par ce que les connaissances et habilités du staff et personnes ressources pour mener les activités pertinentes sont insuffisantes.	Le Staff est en place pour mener les Activités pertinentes mais insuffisant en nombre pour mener toutes les activités pertinentes qui doit assurer la consolidation de la paix. Quelques connaissances et habilités sur la consolidation de la paix existent mais insuffisantes pour soutenir le processus.	Le staff et personnes ressources ont un Niveau et une connaissance pour rehausser la consolidation de la paix mais pas assez pour un processus complet de consolidation de la paix.	Le staff et les personnes ressources ont une connaissance et habilité suffisante et, des activités pertinentes qui vont renforcer le processus de consolidation de paix et la capacité humaine adéquate pour s'assurer que la consolidation de la paix existe.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					

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Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
	2b a quel le niveau sont encourageants et insuffisant la société civile en place ? Ex. La formation pour le staff, favorable à un environnement de travail, l'encouragement des personnes ressources; assez de ressources financiers pour un engagement civique etc.	Le staff et personnes ressources mènent des activités pertinentes mais peu ne peuvent etre très motivé pour faire ceci Ex. a cause de la capacité humaine connaissance (connaissance, habilité et nombres), fonds pour l'engagement, ou par ce que l'environnement d'opération est hostile aux acteurs de la société civile.	Le staff et les personnes ressources sont seulement un peu motivés a mener les activités pertinentes de paix mais peuvent ne pas avoir assez de capacité humaine (habilité, nombres) ou de l'argent pour mener de telles activités..	Le staff et les personnes ressources sont généralement motivés à mener des activités pertinentes pour la consolidation de la paix mais ils peuvent ne toujours pas avoir la capacité nécessaire (ex, humaine, connaissance, habilité, financière) pour le faire.	Le staff et les personnes ressources sont motivés à mener des activités de consolidation de paix Ex: a cause de la capacité technique humaine adéquate (Connaissance, habilité et nombres), finances et engagement et par ce que la consolidation de la paix signifie rehaussé l'opportunité pour tout le tour du développement.	
	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
	2c Jusqu'a quel Niveau le rapport société civile-Etat est cordial?	Le rapport société Civile –Etat n'est pas du tout cordial comme l'état a l'habitude d'harceler et d'arrêter les acteurs de la société civile.	Le rapport entre le secteur de la société civile et l'Etat aux mieux peut etre décrit comme oppositionnel a partir du moment que l'Etat voit le secteur de la société civile comme l'adversaire de l'état qui doit etre écraser	Le rapport entre le secteur de la société civile et l'Etat est très cordial de sorte que l'Etat fournit la protection aux acteurs de la société civile contre l'harcèlement et les arrestations illégales et la	L'état maintien une relation mutuellement bénéficière avec le secteur de la société civile depuis que l'état par un acte an ACT L/2005/013/ du 4 Juillet, 2005 a fournit un cadre de travail légal et a régularisé les activités des ONG. En retour	

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	Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
					société civile en retour aide à maintenir l'Etat	elle soutient l'état pour livrer ses promesses	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		2d Jusqu'a quel point la capacité des OSC est évaluée et identifiée la capacité des lacunes comblées?	L'évaluation de capacité n'est pas du tout faite.	L'evaluation de Capacité est rarement faite.	L'évaluation de Capacité est faite à des intervals irreguliers mais les deficits de Capacité identifiés ne sont Presque toujours pas utiliser pour informer les decideurs politiques.	L'évaluation de Capacité est toujours faite à des intervals reguliers et les lacunes identifiés sont utilisés pour informer les decideurs politiques.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
3.	Liens de consolidation de la paix de la société civile	**3a** quel est le Niveau de rapport entre la société civile et la consolidation de la paix?	Aucun rapport n'existe entre la société civile et la consolidation de la paix par ce que la société civile aggrave seulement les situations de conflit en provoquant le gouvernement	La société civile aide dans l'établissement de la paix mais n'a pas démontré une force adéquate dans le soutien de la paix et des démocraties transitionnelles comme le cas de la Guinée.	Il existe un rapport entre la société civile et la consolidation de la paix mais le secteur de la société civile à besoin de reconceptionner ses méthodes/stratégies pour renforcer la consolidation	Un rapport fort existe entre la société civile et la consolidation de la paix et le secteur de la société à demontré ce lien dans les différentes activités en soutient de la démocratie, la bonne gouvernance, la redevabilité, le respect des droits de l'homme, la	

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					de la paix	participation en gouvernance etc.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		3b quel est le Niveau de participation à la paix en Guinée associé aux activités de la société civile?	Les contributions de la société civile pour participer à la paix sont insignifiants d'où ne peuvent pas etre accorder une place sur la liste de contribuant majeurs.	La société civile a contribué a la paix en Guinée mais de tells efforts n'étaient pas documentés pour soutenir de telles demandes	Les efforts de contribution de la société civile à la paix en Guinée sont bien documentés mais ceci est fait a partir du soutient des partenaires externes, comme la société civile n'est pas assez forte pour réaliser de tel exploit	La participation a la paix est un résultat de l'engagement de la société civile dans le processus sans le quel aucune réalisation significative aurait été enregistré dans cette direction. Le secteur de la société civile est complètement mure pour avoir un impact même sans le soutien extérieur.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		3c Jusqu'à quel niveau la société civile contribue t'elle à la cessation des hostilités durant les	Les hostilités dans la sous région ont pris fin sans aucune contribution significative du secteur de la	Les étapes de campagne, de démonstration, de publication des visites et plaidoyer de la société civile à l'intention des public concernés par les	Les campagnes, les démonstrations, la publication les visites et plaidoyer etc. étaient faites par les organisations de la	Les campagnes, les démonstrations, les publications, les visites et plaidoyer etc. était délibérément initié par le	

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	Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
		années de guerre ?	société civile.	hostilités dans la sous région mais ces activités étaient plutôt faites d'une manière non planifié	société civile pour ramener les parties en conflit à la table de négociation. mais cela était souvent fait par les partners externes	secteur de la société civile sans le soutient extérieur pour faire appel à l'attention du monde les hostilités dans la sous région comme un moyen de s'assurer d'un règlement négocié	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		3. d. Jusqu'a quel point le secteur de la société civile peut mobiliser d'autres secteurs pour soutenir le processus de consolidation de la paix	Le secteur de la société manque la competence de mobiliser d'autres secteurs pour soutenir la consolidation de la paix	Le secteur de la societe civile a la capacité de mobiliser d'autres secteurs pour la consolidation de la paix mais, ceci est rarement fait.	La societe civile a souvent mobilisé d'autres secteurs en soutient de consolidation de la paix mais, de telles tentatives sont à peine documentés.	La société civile a souvent mobilisé d'autres secteurs en soutient de la consolidation de la paix et de tells efforts sont documentés.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
4	**Liens Institutionnel et International**	**4a** quel est le niveau de partenariat entre le secteur de la société civile avec les	Il n'y a pas de partenariat pertinent qui existe entre le secteur de la société civile et les acteurs externes dans la	Le partenariat mutuel existe mais il n'est pas aussi fort pour impacter positivement le processus de gestion de conflit	Le secteur de la société civile a bénéficié immensément d'un partenariat externe mais de	Le secteur de la société civile a bénéficié immensément d'un partenariat externe et de tel partenariat compte pour la force	

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Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
	acteurs externes (international) dans la gestion des conflits en Guinée?	gestion des conflits	dans la sous région	tel partenariat ne peut pas etre traduit dans un impact concret du processus de gestion de conflit	de la société civile dans la gestion de conflit dans la sous région	
	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
	4b quel peut etre le niveau de partenariat entre le secteur de la société civile avec les acteurs externes (international) dans la gestion des conflits en Guinée?	Le secteur de la société civile peut etre Partner avec les acteurs externes dans le domaine du financement des programmes et activités	Le partenariat dans le domaine de renforcement de capacité et soutien logistique peut renforcer les capacités du secteur pour gérer le processus de paix et faire un impact.	Le secteur peut etre Partner avec les acteurs externes dans le domaine de la publicité, le financement, le soutien institutionnel et le renforcement de capacité	Le secteur peut etre Partner avec les acteurs externes dans le domaine du financement, le renforcement de capacité, le soutient institutionnel et logistique, la publicité, le suivi et évaluation de ses activités le rapport et liens institutionnelles etc.	
	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
	4c Jusqu'a quel point la société civile est Partner avec les institutions locales dans la gestion de conflit?	Le secteur est vu comme une distraction à la gouvernance d'ou n'est pas digne d'aucun partenariat institutionnel local	Les institutions locales comme les établissements de business coorporées ont demontré un intérêt de partenariat mais l'état	Les opportunités de partenariat avec les institutions locales existent mais pas fort	Les opportunités de partenariat fort existent et l'état a autant fournit un environnement opérationnel pour permettre a	

	Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
				n'a pas fournit un environnement favorable pour de tel engagement		de tel partenariat de prospérer	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		4d. Jusqu'a quel point, et a quel domaine spécifique, le secteur de la societe civile peut etre partenaire à l'Etat et aux institutions locales dans la gestion des conflits?	Le secteur est vu comme une distraction à la gouvernance d'ou n'est digne d'aucun partenariat institutionnel local.	Les institutions locales comme les établissements d'entreprises d'affaires ont demontré l'internet de partenariat mais l'Etat n'a pas fourni un environnement favourable pour un tel engagement.	Le secteur peut etre partenaire aux institutions étatiques dans les domaines de la publicité, permettant la bonne gouvernance et la sensibilisation.	Le secteur peut etre partenaire à l'Etat et les institutions locales dans les domaines de renforcement de capacité, la publicité, le suivi et evaluation de ses activités, le rapport écrit et les liens institutionnels etc.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
5	**Menace à la consolidation de la paix**	**5 a** Jusqu'a quel point la circulation des armes légères et petit calibre est une menace pour la consolidation de la paix?	Le désarmement et la démobilisation incomplète a laissé des armes dans les mains des ex-combattants mais ceci ne peut pas poser de sérieux défis a la consolidation de la paix	La circulation des armes légères et petit calibre est en soit une menace pour la consolidation mais la loi interdit l'utilisation de telles armes en tant que résultat diffusion de la force de telles armes dans les mains des	L'inhabilité gouvernementale pour Completement balayé l'excès des armes en circulation constitue une importante menace a la consolidation de paix et le simple fait que de telles	L'inhabilité gouvernementale pour fournir du travail et alternés les moyens de subsistance font que les ex-combattants sont des outils prêt dans les mains de ce qui peuvent les payés pour leurs services. Couplé à ceci, les	

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				propriétaires.	armes sont dans les mains des personnes qui amènent l'objectif de la paix sous une sérieuse menace	armes dans leurs mains signifient que la paix dans la sous région est sous une sérieuse menace	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		5b Jusqu'a quel Niveau l'instabilité dans les autres pays membres du MRU est une menace pour la consolidation de la paix en Guinée?	La Guinée est un état souverain et malgré sa contagieuse instabilité frontalière avec les autres états membres cela a peu d'impact sur le pays	L'instabilité dans d'autres états membres du MRU peut menacer la paix en Guinée mais due au Contéxte de partage culturel, l'impact est négligeable.	La paix et la stabilité de la Guinée ne peuvent etre atteint en isolement.	L'instabilité dans beaucoup d'état membres du MRU signifie instabilité en Guinée. Ceci par ce que dans le passé les conflits spécialement au Liberia et en sierra Leone ont montré des milliers de refugiés migrant en Guinée et posant clairement un défis de sécurité	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					

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	Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
		5c Jusqu'a quel point la mauvaise gouvernance est elle une menace pour la consolidation de la paix?	La mauvaise gouvernance peut seulement stimuler les actions de mass du publique mais cela ne peut pas etre une menace a la consolidation de la paix.	La mauvaise gouvernance pourrait avoir des mauvais attributs mais pas au point de menacer la consolidation de la paix.	La mauvaise gouvernance incite les actions de mass pour rehausser la bonne gouvernance et ce processus à quelques éléments aggravant le conflit qui menacent la consolidation de la paix.	La mauvaise gouvernance compte pour beaucoup de soulèvement dans le monde aujourd'hui et est une puissante menace à la consolidation de la paix.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		5d. Jusqu'a quel point les actes de mauvaise gestion sont dans le secteur de la societe civile une menace à la consolidation de la paix?	Il n'ya pas de tells actes de mauvaise gestion qui existe dans le secteur de la societe civile	La mauvaise gestion existe dans le secteur de la société civile mais cela ne peut pas menacer le processus de consolidation de la paix en Guinée.	Les Actes de mauvaise gestion existe dans le secteur de la société civile et ont insignifiment affectés le role du secteur dans la consolidation de la paix.	Les Actes de mauvaise gestion existe dans le secteur de la société civile et ont souvent signifiment affectés le role du secteur dans la consolidation de la paix.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
6	**Le rôle de la**	**6a** Jusqu'a quel point le secteur de la société civile	Le secteur de la société civile n'a pas un rôle spécifique à jouer dans le processus de la	Les activités de la société civile sont directement liées pour stimuler la bonne gouvernance et	Les activités de la société civile sont directement liées pour stimuler la bonne	Les activités de la société civile sont directement liées pour stimuler la bonne gouvernance	

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	Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
	société civile dans la consolidation de la paix	peut avoir un impact sur le processus de consolidation de la paix?	consolidation de la paix	la consolidation de la paix mais ces activités sont verticalement et horizontalement isolées	gouvernance et la consolidation de la paix et ces activités sont menées d'une manière cohérente mais ne donne aucune place pour apprendre les leçons	et la consolidation de la paix et ces activités sont menées d'une manière cohérente et fournisses des opportunités pour les leçons apprises pour informer sur les stratégies de reconception	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		6b Jusqu'a quel point, les fonctions de suivi, de protection, de plaidoyer, de socialisation, de cohésion social intergroupe, de facilitation etc. peuvent renforcer la consolidation de la paix?	La société civile a accomplit d'importantes fonctions utiles mais ces fonctions individuellement ne peuvent pas avoir un impact sur le processus de consolidation de paix dans la direction d'un changement positif	La société civile a accomplit d'utiles fonctions mais ces fonctions peuvent seulement avoir un impact sur le processus de consolidation de paix dans un cadre démocratique.	La société civile fonctionne quand elle est mise en œuvre collectivement aide à renforcer le processus de paix par ce que elle promouvoit la législation, rehausse la livraison de service etc.	Le secteur de la société civile fait le suivi des activités et programmes du gouvernement, protéger les masses de l'abus, de l'oppression et démenti les droits rudimentaires par l'état, facilité le dialogue entre les parties en conflit, éduque les masses sur la responsabilité civique et engagement. Ces activités posent collectivement la fondation pour la consolidation de la paix	

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	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
	6c Jusqu'a quel Niveau l'environnement soutien les engagements de la société civile ?	L'environnement est très hostile aux engagements de la société civile	Malgré les efforts de la société civile en s'assurant des opérations efficaces, l'état n'a vue aucun mérite dans l'engagement de la société civile.	L'état n'a pas développé une confiance adéquate dans le secteur de la société civile pour la permettre un libre et favorable à l'environnement opérationnel	L'environnement soutient Completement les engagements de la société civile depuis que l'état voit le partenariat de la société civile se renforcer mutuellement	
	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
	6d. Jusqu'a quel point et quel role spécifique le secteur de la societe civile a joué dans la gestion de conflit dans l'UFM?	Le secteur de la societé civile n'a joué aucun role dans la gestion du conflit dans l'UFM.	Le secteur a soutenu la gestion du conflit dans l'UFM mais son soutien n'est pas specifique et est insignifiant.	Le secteur a soutenu la gestion du conflit dans l'UFM mais ses documents ne sont pas bien documentés.	Le secteur soutien spécifiquement la gestion de conflit dans l'UFM à travers le plaidoyer, la reconciliation, la publicité, service rendu, repatriation, rehabilitation et reintegration.	

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		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
7	**Communication des recherches**	**7a** Jusqu'a quel point les recherches de l'engagement de la société civile sont communiqués ?	Les recherches issues des engagements de la société civile ne sont pas toujours communiquées	Les recherches sont souvent communiquées des organisations de la société civile avec moins d'insistance sur les personnes ressources externes.	Les recherches sont souvent communiquées aux partners externes qui financent les programmes et activités de l'organisation	Les recherches sont disséminés a travers le media (électronique et écrit), la publication, les rencontres publiques et conférences, l'internet, les personnes aussi bien que les partners de donneurs	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		7b Jusqu'a quel point les recherche de la société civile sont pertinentes aux processus politiques?	Les recherches sont considérées a etre remplit de préjugés donc ne sont pas crédible pour la considération politique	Les recherches sont considères utiles et crédible mais pas de moyens définit communiquant de telles recherches au politiques appropriées	Les recherches sont considérés utiles et crédible pour une politique de formulation basée sur la prévue mais le secteur de la société civile manque la capacité technique demandée pour donner suite.	Les recherches considérés utiles et crédible ont souvent été utilise pour informer sur les politiques de formulation basées sur l'évidence	

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		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		7c Jusqu'a quel Niveau les données/résultats de communication sont une stratégie majeure du secteur de la société civile?	La communication des données/résultats n'est pas considérer comme un élément critique dans la stratégie d'opération du secteur de la société civile	La communication de données est considérée comme une partie de la stratégie opérationnelle du secteur mais il n'est pas une stratégie clées	La communication de données est considéré comme un élément central du secteur de la société civile mais les moyens de réalisation de l'objectif de communication n'est pas bien définit	La communication de données est une stratégie central du secteur de la société civile et les moyens de réalisation des objectifs de communication de recherches sont bien définit dans le document opérationnel.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		7d Jusqu'a quel point les recherché des interventions des OSC sont partagées entre la societe civile et les communautés en Guinée?	Les recherches à partir des interventions des OSC individuelles sont des reserves exclusives de telles OSC.	Les recherches à partir des interventions des OSC individuelles sont seulement partagés avec les financiers.	Les recherches à partir des interventions des OSC individuelles sont partagés parmi les communautés de la société civile mais pas de manière systématique.	Les recherches à partir des interventions des OSC individuelles sont systématiquement partagés parmi la communauté de la societé civile en Guinée.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre					

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		opinion sur la question					
8	**Perspectives et défis du secteur de la société civile**	**8a** Jusqu'a quel Niveau le secteur de la société civile est elle équipé face aux défis du future?	La société civile n'est pas équiper à partir d'indications disponibles pour faire face aux défis du future	Le secteur de la société civile a demontré une forte capacité pour résister au défis du future mais semble etre alourdi par un financement inadéquat et insensibilité de l'environnement opérationnel.	Le secteur de la société civile est positionné pour les défis futures mais a besoin de plus de soutient dans les domaines de renforcement de capacité, les liens institutionnel et international , le traçage d'information et de communication et les leçons apprises basées sur les meilleures pratiques mondiales.	Les leçons apprises des interventions de la société civile dans le processus de démocratisation ont stratégiquement préparé le secteur pour les défis du future.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		8b jusqu'a quel Niveau le secteur de la société civile réfléchit d'une manière critique sur son travail comme un moyen d'apprentissage de lesson	Le staff se rencontre pour discuter des progrès et des fois des problèmes et solutions. Ces rencontres ne sont pas régulières.	Le staff se rencontre régulièrement pour discuter des progrès, des questions, des problèmes et solutions mais cela n'est pas fait dans une atmosphère ouverte et réflexion	Le staff peut discuter ouvertement et sévèrement sur ce qui ne va pas mais cela peut etre fait régulièrement ou systématiquement. Les	Le staff se rencontre régulièrement pour réfléchir ouvertement pour critiquer et discuter des questions attendus, des problèmes et leçons apprises pour le future.	

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	pour la préparer pour le future ?		critique et la réaction ne se produit pas.	réactions critiques et apprentissage sont stimulé mais pas constamment.	Reaction critique et apprentissage sont stimulés.	
	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
	8c Jusqu'a quel point le secteur de la société civile facilite t'elle les opportunités d'apprentissage pour ses membres ?	Les membres reçoivent des formations occasionnelles.	Les opportunités d'apprentissage sont fournit pour les membres mais il y a un mise au point que l'apprentissage est facilité et principalement a travers une stimulation externe des personnes	Les opportunités d'apprentissage sont crées pour les individus et les groupes de staff. Le staff reflète diverses opinions et attitude envers l'apprentissage mais le secteur de la société civile est entrain consciencieusement de développer beaucoup plus de culture d'apprentissage parmi les membres.	Les acteurs de la société sont motivés pour demander des opportunités d'apprentissage pour eux même de façon interne et externe. Ils ont des plans de formation et de développement et les opportunités d'apprentissage informel sont créer et saisi a travers un arbitrage, le suivi sur la formation du travail pour préparer ses membres pour le future.	
	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					

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		8d. Jusqu'a quel point et dans quel domaine specifique le secteur de la societe civile peut agir differement pour mieux se preparer pour le future?	Le secteur de la societe civile est déjà preparé pour le future.	Excepté pour un partenariat glacial entre l'Etat et les OSC, le secteur est équipé pour le future.	Pour mieux le preparer pour le future, le secteur aura à éviter la corruption interne dans la gestion de ses affaires.	Le secteur sera mieux équipé pour le future s'il peut interieurement généré les fonds, renforcer les opportunités de partenariat pertinent et rehaussé ses capacities et staffs.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
9	**Localisation et synergie**	**9a** Jusqu'a quel point la location des organisations de la société civile affecte t'elle ses capacités a contribué au processus de paix ?	La localisation des organisations de la société civile a peu ou pas d'impact significatif sur la capacité de la société civile à contribuer aux processus de consolidation de paix	La localisation est une contrainte majeure sur la capacité des organisations de la société civile à contribuer au processus de consolidation de paix	La localisation a un impact sur la capacité des organisations de la société civile a contribue au processus de paix mais la localisation a ses propres avantages.	La localisation a un impact sur la capacité des organisation du secteur de la société civile pour contribuer a la consolidation de la paix mais ces impact sont diffusés a travers le partage d'information adéquate avec les OSC dans les centres urbains	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		9 b Jusqu'a quel point les organisations de la société	La localisation ou domaine d'opération des organisations	Les centres urbains fournissent une motivation pour une	Les organisations de la société civile basées dans	Les organisations de la société civile basées dans les centres	

Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
	civile sont basées dans les centre lieu mieux équipés pour contribuer au processus de consolidation de la paix que ceux des zones rurales?	de la société civile n'est pas une raison de performance ou de manque de performance	meilleure intervention de la société civile que les centres ruraux mais aussi expose les acteurs de la société civile à plus de danger.	les centres urbains ont plus d'opportunité pour le renforcement de capacité que celles basées dans les centres ruraux.	urbains ont l'avantage d'activé étroitement avec les personnes ressources critiques et ceux qui peuvent influencer politiquement plus que ceux qui sont basées dans les centres ruraux. de telles interactions renforcent donc leur capacité d'intervention	
	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
	9c Quel est le Niveau de partage d'information entre les organisations de la société civile au Niveau rural et les centres lieux?	Pas ou peu de partage d'information existe entre les organisations de la société civile dans les centres urbains et les centres ruraux.	Le partage d'information existe mais pas souvent documenté	Le partage d'information existe mais une coordination efficace du processus n'est pas mise en place.	Le partage d'information est encouragé et en réalité est en pratique comme il y'a des méthodes définis de collecte et de partage d'information entre les organisations de la société civile basées dans les centres urbains et les centres ruraux.	
	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre					

	Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
		opinion sur la question					
		9d. Jusqu'a quel point l'emplacement est une issue dans le role de la societe civile pour la consolidation de la paix?	L'emplacement n'est pas un probleme dans le role de la société civile en consolidation de la paix.	Les OSC sont surtout basées dans les zones rurales et les impacts de leurs activités sont resentis nationallement.	Les OSC en Guinée sont surtout basées dans les zones urbaines mais les impacts de leurs activités sont resentis nationalement.	Les OSC sont surtout basées dans les zones urbaines et leurs activités sont Presque concentres sur le developpement dans les zones urbaines.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
10	**La démocratie comme une precondition pour la consolidation de la paix**	**10a** Jusqu'a quel point la démocratie est elle une pré condition pour la consolidation de la paix?	La démocratie a peu ou pas d'impact sur le processus de consolidation de paix.	La démocratie est essentielle mais pas une composante indispensable du processus de consolidation de paix.	La démocratie est nécessaire pour la consolidation de la paix mais le secteur de la société civile n'a pas Completement exploité les opportunités fournit par elle pour renforcer la paix.	Pour que la paix soit consolidée, la démocratie doit d'abord etre enraciné comme démocratie. Fournir les ingrédients nécessaires pour la bonne gouvernance et la gestion de conflit et coexistence pacifique	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					

Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
	10b Jusqu'a quel point la le secteur de la société civile peut elle contribuée au processus de démocratie ?	Le secteur de la société civile a peu ou pas de contribution au processus de démocratie.	Le secteur de la société civile est un conducteur critique du processus de démocratie mais les efforts du secteur ne sont pas coordonnés.	Le secteur de la société civile est un conducteur critique du processus de démocratie mais l'impact de ses interventions dans le processus n'est pas mesurable	Le secteur de la société civile contribue au processus entier de la démocratie a travers l'éducation civique, le suivi des programmes et politiques du gouvernement, la redevabilité et la transparence aussi bien que le suivi du processus électoral pour la crédibilité et l'équité.	
	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
	10c Jusqu'a quel point le système de gouvernement (démocratie ou militaire) dans les autres Etats membres du MRU peut affecter le processus de consolidation de la paix en Guinée.?	Le système de gouvernement en pratique dans les autres états membres du MRU a peu ou pas d'impact sur le processus de consolidation de paix en république de Guinée	Le système de gouvernement en pratique dans les autres états membres du MRU a une influence mais, pas assez profonde pour affecter le processus de consolidation de paix en Guinée	Le système de gouvernement en pratique dans les autres états membres de l'union affecte le processus de consolidation de paix en Guinée mais les tendances et ampleure de l'impact n'est pas souvent documenté.	L'histoire a montré que Le système de gouvernement en critique dans les autres états membres du MRU affecte le processus de consolidation de paix en Guinée comme le type de processus de gouvernance dans le MRU est mutuellement renforcé.	

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	Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		10d. Jusqu'a quel point la democratie peut affecté negativement le role de la société civile dans la consolidation de la paix?	La democratie n'a aucun impact negatif sur le role de la societe civile dans la consolidation de la paix.	Sous un regime democratique, les OSC tendent a etre imprudent dans leurs strategies et declaration d'ou le processus de gouvernance genante.	Les OSC sous des regimes democratiques sont plus interessés en rendez-vous et leurs activités sont ajustés à impressionner l'Etat à cet égard. Cela a privé l'Etat d'une société civile très active d'ou compromettant la democratie.	Les OSC tendent à utiliser l'espace creer par la democratie pour unitilement injurer l'Etat et ses institutions a cause d'improbable regime militaire, les guaranties democratiques et la liberté d'expression.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
11	**Collaboration interstate**	**11a** Jusqu'a quel Niveau les organisations de la société civile dans les autres états membres de MRU collaborent pour assurer la consolidation de la paix?	Il n'y a peu ou presque pas de collaboration significatif entre le secteur de la société civile a travers les états membres du MRU pour assurer la consolidation de la paix.	Le secteur de la société civile a travers les états membres du MRU collabore dans le domaine du partage d'information mais le processus n'est pas souvent documenté	La collaboration existe entre les organisations de la société civile des états membres du MRU dans le domaine de partage d'information mais elle n'est pas utiliser pour informer sur les stratégies basées sur l'évidence.	La collaboration existe entre les organisations de la société civile des états membres du MRU spécialement dans le domaine de partage d'information et la force de telles collaborations informes les leçons apprises et les	

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Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
					revues de stratégies basées sur une preuve	
	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
	11b quel est le niveau processus de paix atteint en Guinée vis-à-vis des autres états membres de MRU?	Il n'y a pas de Niveau significatif de réalisation de paix en Guinée comme dans les autres états membres du MRU	Comme d'autres états de l'union, la Guinée a atteint une paix fragile mais pas de processus de consolidation définit.	La paix est Completement atteinte et consolidée en guinée que d'autres états membres de l'union comme un résultat n'a pas besoin de plus de consolidation	Il y a un super Niveau de paix en Guinée que dans les autres états membres de l'union par ce que tous les autres états membres ont connu l'expérience d'une forme de conflit majeur ou autres. La guinée n'a pas connu aucune expérience de conflit prolongé.	
	Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
	11c jusqu'a quel point le secteur de la société civile soutient le secteur de la sécurité des états membres du MRU pour mener le partage de renseignement et	Il y a peu ou pas d'interface entre le secteur de la société civile et les secteurs de la sécurité pour assembler les renseignements et partage d'information travers les états	Le secteur de la société civile soutient le secteur de la sécurité dans l'assemblage des renseignements et partage d'information à travers les états membres du MRU mais les processus de soutien ne sont pas	Le secteur de la société civile soutien le secteur de la sécurité en assemblage de renseignement et partage d'information a travers les états membres du MRU mais de tels	Le secteur de la société civile soutien le secteur de la sécurité en assemblage de renseignement et partage d'information et de tels soutien a renforcé la situation de sécurité du MRU et améliorer la	

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	Element clé de recherché	Questions de Performance (y compris pour quoi / pourquoi pas?)	Limité 1	Etre developpé 2	Fonctionnant partiellement 3	Completement efficace 4	Explique la raison (pourquoi / pourquoi pas) et idées pour une meilleur amélioration. Ajouter s'il vous plait d'extra papier si l'espace est inadéquat.
		d'information?	membres du MRU	souvent documentés.	soutient n'a pas ete traduit dans une collaboration de renseignement rehaussé parmi les états membres de l'union	coopération inter état	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					
		11d. Jusqu'a quel point les gouvernements de l'UFM sont entrain de travailler pour soutenir une approche sous regionale pour la consolidation de la paix?	Il n'y a pas d'éfforts conscients par les gouvernements de l'UFM pour soutenir une approche sous régionale à la consolidation de la paix.	Les gouvernements de l'UFM peuvent toujours faire fonctionner au niveau de leur pays individual en soutenant le processus d'édification de paix.	Il y a des efforts fourni par les gouvernements de l'UFM pour forger une approche sous-régionale à la consolidation de la paix mais, il n'y a aucune volonté politique proportionnelle pour conduire le processus.	Les gouvernements de l'UFM ont, à travers l'UFM forgé une stratégie de bonne gouvernance et de cooperation économique comme un moyens envers le rehaussement d'une bonne gouvernance et le renforcement du bien etre économique des citoyens.	
		Entré 1,2, 3 ou 4 dans une colonne pertinente qui reflète mieux votre opinion sur la question					

Appendix X.

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CONFIRMATION OF TRANSLATION

</div>

UNIVERSITY OF CALABAR
CALABAR - NIGERIA
Department of Modern Languages & Translation Studies

Vice-Chancellor
Prof. James Epoke
B.Sc. Hon. (UNN), M.Sc. (London), Ph.D (Lagos)
E-mail: epokejames@yahoo.com
Telex: 65103 Unical, Calabar
Telegram: Unical, Calabar

P.M.B 1115, Calabar
Cross River State
Nigeria

Head of Department
Dr. Bassey Oben
(B.A. (Hons), Ph.D. (Cal.)
Dip. d'Etudes Françaises (Besançon)
E-mail: basseyoben1@yahoo.com.
Telephone: +234 803 0946 701

Our Ref:..........UC/MLT/047

Date:..August 15, 2013

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN
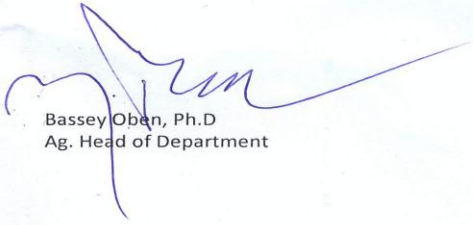
CONFIRMATION OF TRANSLATED WORK FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES:
RE: OBI NDIFON NEJI

This is to attest that I have gone through the document entitled "Assessing Civil Society Capacity to Consolidate Peace in Guinea", as well as its translated rendition in French as "Evaluation de la Capacité de la Société Civile pour Consolider la Paix en Guinée".

I understand that the document, Interview Guide as well as the Focus Group Discussion Guide are meant to facilitate respondents input into the bearer's research for the award of a Ph.D in Peace and Conflict Studies.

I can confirm that the French rendition of all the cited documents is a fair translation of the English originals. I make this attestation as a professional in the field to guide any authority that might require this fact to accept it as true and correct.

DEPARTMENT OF MODERN
LANGUAGES & TRANSLATION STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF CALABAR, CALABAR
H. O. D.
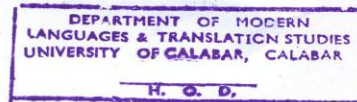
Bassey Oben, Ph.D
Ag. Head of Department

Appendix XI.

DATA CODING SHEET

RESEARCH AREA	REFERENCE	ORGANIZATION	AVERAGE SCORES	PERCENTAGE SCORES	CUMMULATIVE SCORES
DATA CODING SHEET					
RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 1					
Threats to peace	5a-d	Mano River Women Peace Network **(MARWOPNET)**	3	75%	12
		The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women **(NCGRW)**	2.8	70%	11
		Equal Rights for All **(ERA)**	2.3	58%	9
		Guinean Organization for Human Rights **(GOHR)**	2.5	63%	10
		National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action **(NIRPA)**	2.5	63%	10
		Association of African Professionals of Communication **(AAPC)**	2.3	58%	9
		Rural Radio of Guinea **(RRG)**	2.8	70%	11
		National Platform of United Citizens for Development **(NPUCD)**	2.8	70%	11
		Association For the Well Being of Communities and Development (AWCD)	2.5	63%	10
		West Africa Network for Peacebuilding **(WANEP)**	2.5	63%	10
RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 2					
Civil society-peace consolidation nexus	3a-d	Mano River Women Peace Network **(MARWOPNET)**	2.5	63%	10
		The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women **(NCGRW)**	3	75%	12
		Equal Rights for All **(ERA)**	2.3	58%	9
		Guinean Organization for Human Rights **(GOHR)**	2.5	63%	10
		National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action **(NIRPA)**	2.5	63%	10
		Association of African Professionals of Communication **(AAPC)**	2.3	58%	9
		Rural Radio of Guinea **(RRG)**	2	50%	8

		National Platform of United Citizens for Development (**NPUCD**)	2.3	58%	9
		Association For Community Wellbeing and Development (**ACWD**)	3	75%	12
		West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (**WANEP**)	2.3	58%	9
RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 3					
Civil society's role in peace consolidation	6a-d	Mano River Women Peace Network (**MARWOPNET**)	2.5	63%	10
		The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (**NCGRW**)	3	75%	12
		Equal Rights for All (**ERA**)	1.8	45%	7
		Guinean Organization for Human Rights (**GOHR**)	2	50%	8
		National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action (**NIRPA**)	1.5	38%	6
		Association of African Professionals of Communication (**AAPC**)	2.3	58%	9
		Rural Radio of Guinea (**RRG**)	2	50%	8
		National Platform of United Citizens for Development (**NPUCD**)	1.5	38%	6
		Association For Community Wellbeing and Development (**ACWD**)	2.5	63%	10
		West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (**WANEP**)	2.8	70%	11
RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 4					
Conditions and capacity for peace consolidation		Mano River Women Peace Network (**MARWOPNET**)	3.0	75%	12
		The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (**NCGRW**)	2.0	50%	8
		Equal Rights for All (**ERA**)	1.5	38%	6
		Guinean Organization for Human Rights (**GOHR**)	1.8	45%	7

		National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action (**NIRPA**)	2.5	63%	10
		Association of African Professionals of Communication (**AAPC**)	2.3	58%	9
		Rural Radio of Guinea (**RRG**)	1.5	38%	6
		National Platform of United Citizens for Development (**NPUCD**)	1.8	45%	7
		Association For Community Wellbeing and Development (**ACWD**)	3.0	75%	12
		West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (**WANEP**)	3.2	80%	13
OBJECTIVE 5					
Institutional and International linkages	4a-d	Mano River Women Peace Network (**MARWOPNET**)	2.5	63%	10
		The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (**NCGRW**)	2	50%	8
		Equal Rights for All (**ERA**)	3	75%	12
		Guinean Organization for Human Rights (**GOHR**)	1.8	45%	7
		National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action (**NIRPA**)	2.3	58%	9
		Association of African Professionals of Communication (**AAPC**)	2	50%	8
		Rural Radio of Guinea (**RRG**)	1.8	45%	7
		National Platform of United Citizens for Development (**NPUCD**)	2	50%	8
		Association For Community Wellbeing and Development (**ACWD**)	3	75%	12
		West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (**WANEP**)	3	75%	12
OBJECTIVE 6					
Prospects and challenges for the civil society sector	8a-d	Mano River Women Peace Network (**MARWOPNET**)	2	50%	8
		The National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women (**NCGRW**)	1.3	33%	5

		Equal Rights for All **(ERA)**	1.8	45%	7
		Guinean Organization for Human Rights **(GOHR)**	1.8	45%	7
		National Institute of Research and Pedagogic Action **(NIRPA)**	1.3	33%	5
		Association of African Professionals of Communication **(AAPC)**	1.5	38%	6
		Rural Radio of Guinea **(RRG)**	1.8	45%	7
		National Platform of United Citizens for Development **(NPUCD)**	1.5	38%	6
		Association For Community Wellbeing and Development **(ACWD)**	2	50%	8
		West Africa Network for Peacebuilding **(WANEP)**	1.3	33%	5