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TERRITORIAL ACCOMMODATION OF ETHNIC CONFLICT AND ITS NEXUS WITH POST CONFLICT STATE BUILDING AND PEACE

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of this paper is to try and find, in the literature, arguments- pro and con, insights on specific modalities and their risks and benefits, constraints, best practices and lessons learned whether territorial accommodation and/or power sharing is contributing to better ethnic conflict management, post conflict state building and enhancing sustainable peace; or not. Its conclusion is that the effects of territorial accommodation and self-governance autonomy on peace and security have been varying considerably among the federations of the countries in the world (like in Canada, Bosnia, Belgium, Russia, Spain, India, Ethiopia etc). Accordingly, there is no finalized strong consensus among the scholars in the field as to whether territorial self-governance for divided societies is a best strategy in resolving ethnic-conflicts and creating sustainable peace or not. Hence, the theoretical debates on territorial accommodation (self-governance) among the scholars, being accompanied by their respective empirical studies, have been prevalent and receiving the attentions of politicians, political scientists and others. In line with the arguments of the authors, there have been practical illustrations as the territorial accommodation/self-governance can be best strategy in resolving conflicts (example of India, Bosnia, Canada, Belgium); and to the contrary being a triggering and fueling factors of the ongoing or potential conflicts as in the case of the disintegration of the soviet union. The finding of the paper shows that; the design and adoption of territorial accommodation/self-governance is not an end strategy by itself. The practical implementations of genuine territorial self-rules should be realized; that in turn can recognize and achieve impartial, all-inclusive participation and sense of harmonized national ownership among the different ethnic groups of the federalized political system. The further research question of this paper will be conducting pertinent and sustainable further empirical studies to sufficiently address the reason "why different context of the countries over the world have been influencing the results of territorial accommodation/self-governance in line with ethnic conflict resolution and creating peace and stable state in different ways".

KEYWORDS

Territorial accommodation/Territorial self-governance; Ethnic conflict management; Post conflict state building and peace.

1. INTRODUCTION

Among ethnic conflict management mechanisms and practices, territorial accommodation is widely becoming the subject matter and agenda of academic debates among scholars in the field. Yet, there are still no simplified, universally accepted and harmonized conclusive stands on the usefulness of territorial accommodation of ethnic conflicts towards the establishment and enhancement of sustainable conflict settlements. The main arguments of the scholars are central in relation to the question of whether territorial accommodation is a viable strategy for conflict management or not. However, none of the scholars is able to supply a conclusion to end the debates regarding the pro and con of territorial accommodation of ethnic conflicts approaches. Rather, they have been providing sophisticated responses to the core issues persistently raised in the processes of the debate, which further have their own contribution to frame and shape further future research questions and related issue (Wolff, 2011).

Wolff (2011) articulated that whether there is an escalation to violence or not, conflicts in which territory is at stake present an alarming policy challenges to the governments of states in which they occur. Undoubtedly, these challenges are highly crucial for post-protracted violent civil war. Yet, territorial institutional accommodation and/ or power sharing is one of the solutions adopted for such territorial self-determination conflicts; regardless of the scale of their violence. Therefore, focusing on the range of territorial institutional designs adopted throughout the world for territorial self-determination conflicts, can offer a very useful standpoint on the designs available and the environment under which they are likely to be useful tools for settling the ongoing conflicts. The issues of territorial accommodation as the mechanisms of ethnic conflict management have been the theme of most scholars' debates in the field. Accordingly, the academic community is extremely divided over the issue of whether territorial approaches to conflict resolution in divided societies offer appropriate mechanisms to enhance sustainable peace and security; though there is consensus as it mitigates the disintegration of an existing state (Wolff, 2011).

2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

2.1 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this paper is to try and find, in the literature, arguments- pro and con, insights on specific modalities and their risks and benefits, constraints, best practices and lessons learned whether territorial accommodation and/or power sharing is contributing to better ethnic conflict management, post conflict state building and enhancing sustainable peace; or not. Particularly, the study attempts to identify and articulate the normative and conceptual debates among scholars in the field; in line with the contribution of territorial accommodation of ethnic conflicts (positively and negatively) to the efforts of ethnic conflict management, post conflict state building and enhancement of sustainable peace and security. It also pin points the main findings, policy implications and further research question.

2.2 QUESTIONS

Therefore, in order to realize its above objectives, the research question of the study is "how in the literature, the use of territorial accommodation of ethnic conflict has been adopted as a strategy for conflict resolution; management and for post conflict state building and sustainable security and peace?"

2.3 ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER

This paper has five sections. While the first section deals with brief executive summary, the second accommodates the introduction part. The third section is about the Objectives and research questions of the study, which are already presented in the above manner. The core part of the paper is section four, which is all about literature review. Main definitions and concepts of key terms, theoretical concepts and debates of territorial accommodation/territorial self-governance that embrace its merits, criticism; and practical illustrations of territorial accommodation are presented in section four. The final section pinpoints conclusions, main findings, policy implications and further research question.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 CONCEPTUALIZATION AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

3.1.1 Territorial accommodation, Territorial self-Governance and the notion of self determination

Territorial self-governance/Territorial autonomy is often perceived as an instrument of resolving inter-ethnic conflicts and managing the conflicts in a way that can ensure peace and security among the ethnic groups. It is also seen as a concession between a minority aspiring to realize self-determination and a particular

state defending its territorial integrity and boundaries. Though territorial accommodation/autonomy is widely advocated as a solution to ethnic conflicts and being a solution to many conflicts, there is reason to suspect that it can act as a catalyst of conflict under certain circumstances (Cornell, 2002).

Sunday (2005) defined that Self-determination is the right of ethnic and/or national groups to be an independent and sovereign under an umbrella of a given country. However, putting this definition in to practical implementation is often very difficult since the notion of self-determination can be understood in two different and conflicting ways. Thus, the idea that describes all ethnic groups should be entitled to self-determination and the notion that the state is sovereign over its territory can be seen as a paradox. Since the state is the legitimate territorial unit and simultaneously the notion of self-determination is a right exerted within this particular territory of the state, then incompatibility of interests will arise; which further can be potential for conflicts. Furthermore, though the international law provides the primacy for a state and its territorial integrity, the principle of self-determination has been criticized for fueling and deepening the conflicts among the groups, destabilizing the culturally divergent ethnic groups; and at the extreme point facilitating the fertile grounds for minority groups to have aspiration for secession (Sunday, 2005).

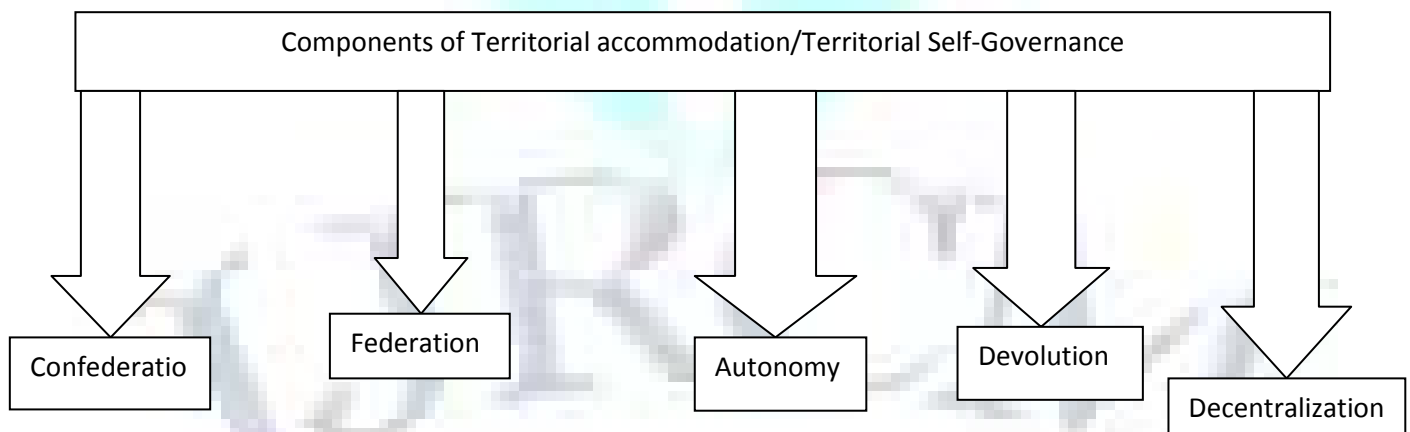
According to Wolff and Yakinthou ed. (2011), the issue of Self-determination struggle and claim; which is manifested by territorially concentrated groups about the actors, explicitly or implicit shows the primary choice for desire of self-government. These motives of the group may have divergent motives, which can range from demands for unification with another state, independent statehood, territorial self-governance within an already existing state, and non-territorial self-governance (or cultural autonomy). While the independent statehood and unification with another state are attributed to the claims for external self-determination, territorial self-governance and cultural autonomy (non-territorial self-governance) are claims for internal self-determination (Wolff and Yakinthou ed., 2011). Thus, from the viewpoint of traditional nation-state processes, the hindrances and bottlenecks created by the two categories of claims (external or internal) are significantly different. Though the notions of external self-determination claims has been putting a lot of pressures and threats to the political boundaries of the state, they do not challenge rather than some extent may even reinforce, the traditional nationalist realization of "one state-one nation". To the contrary, the internal self-determination claims of the national minorities' can highly challenge the basic principle of the contemporary territorial nation-state. Because, the minorities that strive for territorial self-governance are often considered as a group of peoples who are engaging in a competitive nation building that counters majority nation-building processes of a given country. Therefore, the notion of self-governance is the motive and needs of majorities in order to establish and enhance sustainable state stability and conflict regulation and management mechanisms. On the other hand, the issues of territorial self-governance has been become the question of realizing state legitimacy for which the minority groups are struggling for. Since there are high levels of demand with control over the institutions of government and cultural reproduction throughout the territory of the state by the national majorities, the minority groups perceive territorial self-governance as a counter instrument in which they can protect themselves from the domination of the majorities (Wolff and Yakinthou ed. 2011).

More importantly, the concept and the notion of Territorial pluralism/self-governance should be distinguished not only from group-based (non-territorial) autonomy, but also from territorial self-government based on 'administrative' or 'geographic' criteria, including regional components of the state's majority community. Thus, not every form of territorial self-governance is the same with that of ethnically fractioned societies. For example, the articulation and implementation of territorial self-administration in German or Austrian federal states are less relevant to territorial accommodation of ethnic conflicts either than to the Swiss confederation or than devolution in the UK. The process of regionalization in France has greater relevance than the application of the subsidiary basis to the local municipalities in Finland or Ireland; which cumulatively magnify, as there is a need to further define the concept of territorial self-governance/territorial accommodation (McGarry and O'Leary, 1990; McGarry, O'Leary and Simeon 2008).

Wolff (1990) described that there have been substantial theoretical and experiential problems and challenges in defining the concept of Territorial self-governance/territorial accommodation and as it is a strategy of conflict resolution and management. Significantly, most of the debates and discussions have been made among the scholars on the dimensions of—autonomy and federation. Specifically, autonomy is one of the most frequently used terms to explain territorial approaches to conflict resolution and management in fractioned societies. The word "autonomy" is also being employed in both cases of: I) an abstract functional sense in the context of governance arrangements; II) and as a practical demonstration of territorial self-governance at grass root levels—often at sub-state entity in a particular state. Simultaneously, there are empirical issues on the specific context of the regions and the countries (Wolff, 1990). Wolff and Yakinthou ed. (2011) defined territorial self-governance as:

"the legally entrenched power of territorially delimited entities within the internationally recognized boundaries of existing states to exercise public policy functions independently of other sources of authority in this state, but subject to its overall legal order and conceptually, this definition of TSG applies its meaning as a tool of statecraft to the specific context of conflict resolution in divided societies and encompasses five distinct governance arrangements—confederation, federation, autonomy, devolution, and decentralization".

From the above definition, the five modalities of territorial self-governance arrangements can be represented in the following diagram.



Source: Adopted from the conceptual definition of Wolff and Yakinthou Ed; 2011

According to Wolff and Yakinthou ed. (2011), the brief details of the modalities of territorial self-governance are presented in the following manner.

Confederation: It is an association of voluntary independent sovereign member states by treaty that delegate certain of their powers and other related issues to the common confederal government; in order to coordinate their policies in a number of areas, without constituting a new state on top of the member states. Under international law a confederation respects the sovereignty of its members and its constituting treaty can only be changed by unanimous agreement. Good examples are: I) Serbia and Montenegro by an agreement (term) of 2003-6 constitution though it was fully not realized in to practices; and II) Switzer land between 1291 and 1848; but in practices it resembles the application of federation than confederation.

Federation: It is the concern of constitutionally and/or institutionally designed sharing of political, socio-economic and other full powers among the regions of a particular country. In federation political system, constitutionally well-established lawful structure in the whole territory of a given state is divided into autonomous political units like regional states. In this type of political system each region has its own certain exclusive legislative, executive and judicial powers independently of the federal (central) government. The best examples of successful federations in the world include Canada and Belgium; and Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia are accommodated under historically failed federations.

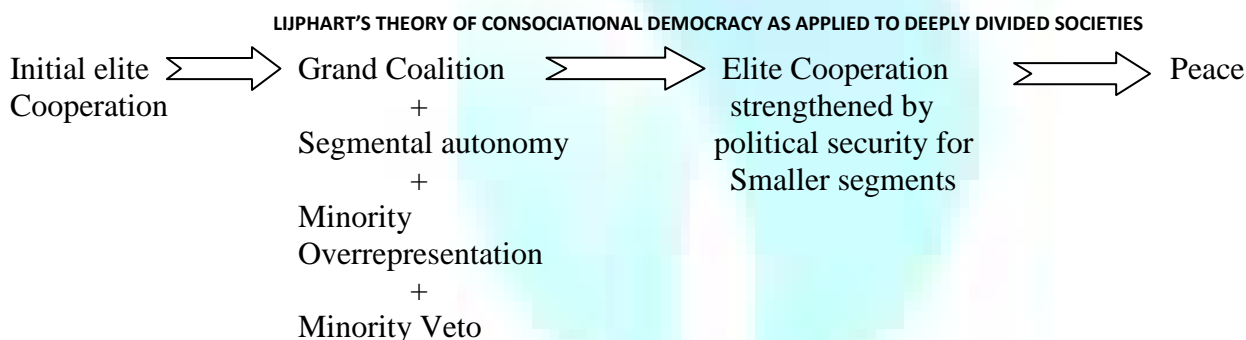
Autonomy: On the issues like power sharing and constitutional protection, autonomy is similar to that of federation political system/entities. But they have distinction in a sense that autonomy does not necessarily being accompanied by territorial sub-divisions across the entire state territory. In short, Autonomy is basically resembles a character of unitary states through empowering the subordinate or lower unities of the central government. While the classical examples of autonomy are: the Åland Islands (Sweden) and South Tyrol (Italy); the contemporarily ones are Bougainville (Papua New Guinea), Aceh (Indonesia), and Gagauzia (Moldova).

Devolution: One of the mechanisms of achieving the notion of territorial self-governance is the design and implantation of devolution. Though devolution has the same features with autonomy in all aspects, it is different in a sense that it has no strong institutionally backed legal protection as that of autonomy. Thus, devolution can be easily reversed since it is only applied with help of regular laws than strong constitutional laws. Most commonly known examples of devolution as a form of territorial self-governance are Spain and the United Kingdom.

Decentralization: It is the process of granting the executive and administrative powers to the local units from the central government through being guided by the principles of subsidiary. The notion of decentralization is rarely backed by the constitutionally designed laws and it is not normally accommodate the legislative competence. The application of decentralization as a means of conflict resolution and form of territorial self-governance includes Macedonia and Kosovo (Wolff and Yakinthou ed, 2011)

The main agreement and consensus among the above scholars (McGarry and O'Leary, 1990; McGarry, O'Leary and Simeon 2008; Wolff, 1990; and Wolff and Yakinthou ed, 2011); is that there has been a need for institutional arrangements to handle and address the conflicts among the divided societies. Thus, no lack of harmony among these scholars as there should be institutional design for settling ethnic conflicts among the fractioned societies. Furthermore, assigning the substantial powers to the self-governing units, financing them adequately for their successful responsibility discharges, clear demarcations of competences(powers) among the central and territorial entities and providing dispute resolution mechanisms can be embraced under the agreements of the authors; which can be backed by institutional reforms including constitutional designs. Another agreement of the authors is related with the concept and the notion of Territorial pluralism/self-governance. Thus, it should be distinguished not only from group-based (non-territorial) autonomy, but also from territorial self-government based on 'administrative' or 'geographic' criteria. Thus, no form of territorial self-governance is the same with that of ethnically fractioned societies. For example, the articulation and implementation of territorial self-administration in German or Austrian federal states are less relevant to territorial accommodation of ethnic conflicts either than to the Swiss confederation or than devolution in the UK. The process of regionalization in France has greater relevance than the application of the subsidiary basis to the local municipalities in Finland or Ireland; which cumulatively magnify, as there is a need to further define the concept of territorial self-governance/territorial accommodation (McGarry and O'Leary, 1990; McGarry, O'Leary and Simeon 2008).

According to the Lijphart's theory of consociational democracy, there are four most important pillars of the consociational democracy model. The first and most basic is *Grand coalition* of the political party leaders in which includes the segments of all societies. Under this pillar, all leaders of political parties have proportionate representation in the organs of governments; like in parliament and executive cabinets. The second is *segmental autonomy* that can be realized in the form of either ethnicity, religion, culture or other type of segments in which the sections of the society can decide on their own affairs. The third essential basic element of consociational democracy is *proportionality*; in which political and other civil service representation and government resource allocations to the different segments of the society can be achieved based on their relative ratio of population. The last is *minority vote* that can ultimately protect the minorities via creating political security, self-confidence and peace of mind for the minorities. In short, these four basic elements are the cornerstones of consociational democracy that may cure the inter-ethnic conflicts of the fractioned societies through accommodating their interests and paving the ways for harmonized sustainable peace; in the way it has been conceptualized in the following diagram (Sullivan, 2005).



(Source: adopted from Sullivan, 2005)

3.1.2 Ethnic conflict resolution and Management

Quinn (2008) stated that since the end of the Second World War only, 79 territorially concentrated ethnic groups had been engaged in armed ethnic conflicts to form their own self-governance and autonomy in the form of independence. This figure does not include the former colonies of Europe. For example, in 2006, there were 26 ongoing ethnic conflicts throughout the world while 55 ethnic groups were already pursued their self-governance goal with no violence mechanism. In addition, 44 ethnic groups were using both violence and non-violence means of struggling to realize their own territorial self-governance missions. Therefore, in the era of twenty first century, there have been more than 120 ethnic groups that have been striving for their territorial accommodation; which may be manifested in the form of cultural and territorial autonomy either to form independent statehood or unification with another state(Quinn, 2008). Before trying to see what the ethnic conflict resolution and management is, it is necessary to look at the conceptual definition of ethnic conflicts. Gurr (1994) defines ethnic conflict as a situation in which groups define and articulate themselves in line with their own ethnic criteria and make claims on behalf of their mutual motives against the particular state and/or against other political and administrative leaders. Edmond (2002) also stated that severe ethnically based conflicts are generally based on elements of a group's historical memory; fear of physical insecurity, and upon perceived or real discrimination, inequalities, or inequities among the ethnic groups.

Therefore, any effort which tries to find the ways of addressing these problems through divergent mechanisms is termed as ethnic conflict resolution and management. In other words, Ethnic conflict resolution and management is the process of establishing and enhancing the capacity of political institutions to contain the ethnic conflicts in the appropriate mechanisms, routines and procedures (Cohen, 1997). Thus, ethnic conflict resolution and management can be designed and put in to practices through accommodating all groups in the processes of formulating and implementing public policies and programs in multi-dimensional sectors to build trust among the constituent ethnic or nationality groups of the country. These all can in turn engender a sense that government is credibly committed to respecting and protecting the rights of all groups (Cohen, 1997; Edmond, 2002). In addition, it has been stated that realizing and securing the commitment of political leaders to social justice, establishing a government that is transparent and honest in eyes of all ethnic groups, and making sure that the political system operates according to the doctrine of democracy, good governance, impartiality and rule of law can go a long way toward an effective and sustainable conflict resolution, management and peace-building (Edmond, 2002).

Though the majority of African states have sovereignty after their independencies; their leaders have been suffering from lack of properly designing and practicing their responsibilities to govern the people in such a manner that protects the rights of all nations, nationalities, peoples and citizens via creating trust and legitimacy in the views of all ethnic groups as a whole.

3.1.3 Post conflict state building and peace

This sub-section deal with the arguments and corresponding ideas of some scholars on post conflict state building and peace enhancements. Particularly, post conflict state building and peace concepts, as well as related ideas are discussed in this section in the following manner.

The arguments and ideas of the different authors on the issue of post conflict state building and peace have identical standpoints. For instance, while Brinkerhoff (2005) identified three interlinked post conflict government reforms as Reconstituting legitimacy, re-establishing security and rebuilding effectiveness, Hamre and Sullivan (2002) presented four elements that have accommodated the issues described by Brinkerhoff (2005) which shows as they have similar ideas. However, Hamre and Sullivan (2002) have proposed additional conceptual elements of post conflict state and peace building packages (i.e. Justice and reconciliation; and security). In the same manner, the conceptual elements presented by World Bank (which is reconstructing of the socio-economic environments of the society to its normal status and further enhancements, and reconstruction of favorable conditions for peace time society) have direct linkages with what Hamre and Sullivan (2002) and Brinkerhoff (2005) are presented. Hence, there are no contradictory ideas in the conceptual variables discussed by the above three authors rather than complementing and supporting each other. On the other hand, Hartzell and Hoddie (2007) have come up with differentiated conceptual components, which have similarities with consociational democratic power sharing and power dividing reforms. Hence, the authors stated that the more the power sharing and power dividing among the divergent ethnic groups in line with the four dimensions of state power(i.e. political, military, economic and territorial), the more conflict settlements and state building will be stable and sustainable. The detailed narrative conceptual arguments of the individual authors are presented below.

The issue of post conflict state building and peace is relevant with the failed and failing states. Before, we are going to see the pillars and conceptual framework of post conflict reconstruction in the form of building state and peace, it is better to understand the key features of a failed state (Brinkerhoff 2005).

According to Brinkerhoff (2005), a failed state is characterized by: I) a breakdown of order and law; in which the state has no more monopoly power over the protection of its citizens from violent conflict risks, II) when the state is unable to render the socio-economic facilities and other infrastructures to its citizens; and III) Lack of credibility from international community beyond the territory borders of the state. Hence, most of the failed and failing states have been more or less being featured by the three parameters mentioned in which they further demand post conflict reconstruction and state building efforts. Therefore, in order to overcome the basic characteristics of failed and failing states, three integrated and interrelated post conflict governance reforms. That means Reconstituting legitimacy, re-establishing security and rebuilding effectiveness (Brinkerhoff, 2005). The details are presented below.

RECONSTITUTING LEGITIMACY

Reconstituting legitimacy in post conflict comprises a package of government reforms starting from constitutional redesign and rule of law in a way that can realize the check and balance among the government organs. More importantly, promoting all inclusive participation, reducing inequalities among the citizens , combating corruption , introducing free and fair elections, delivering services via ensuring accountability should be included under the packaged activities of reconstituting legitimacy in post conflict peace and state building efforts. By doing so, government can further enhance its willingness and capacity to properly address the needs wants of its citizens; which in turn can lead to sustainable peace and development programs (Brinkerhoff, 2005).

RE-ESTABLISHING SECURITY

Re-establishing security contains the activities like: making primacy for creating peace, restoring security and stability, dealing with ex-combatants through planning and implementing DDR (disarmament, demobilization and re-integration). However, it should be known that without proper capacity building and enough preparation to restart the economy and creating employment opportunity, DRR would exacerbate the already ongoing violent conflicts via fueling the banditry and re-emergence of violent conflicts. Similarly, planning and implementing peacekeeping operation that will be accompanied by the humanitarian assistance and emergency reliefs should be incorporated in the processes of re-establishing security. Among all, re-organizing internal peace and security forces that have been backed by the community support should be designed and implemented. Specially, the police, militia, paramilitary and other private armed security forces can be trained, re-organized and play their front line in the process of re-establishing security in the country and building the state at hand (Brinkerhoff, 2005).

REBUILDING EFFECTIVENESS

The creation and enhancement of good governance is a key factor for the delivery and prevalence of public services, infrastructures, socio-economic facilities, communication networks and related activities. Therefore, in order to rebuild the effectiveness of the state, multisectoral programs should be planned and implemented through realizing all-inclusive participations. Thus, civic society, general public, non-governmental organizations and the government itself must cooperate with one another and play their respective roles as desired. To crystallize these issues, all stake holders-particularity, the government must avoid the cronyism and patronage arrangements of personalized political system via installing active involvements of its citizens. Besides, stabilizing the macroeconomic at sound level and ensuring fair wealth distribution among the citizens, achieving efficient utilization of scarce resources and fighting against corruption should be the components of rebuilding effectiveness of the states (Brinkerhoff, 2005).

Hartzell and Hoddie (2007), conceptualized that political, military, economic and territorial are the four dimensions of state power across which multiple power sharing and power dividing should be creation and implemented; as 'highly institutionalized negotiated settlement of conflicts. According to the authors, the more the power sharing and power dividing in line with these four dimensions of state power, the more conflict settlements and state building will be stable and sustainable. It is also indicated that among the four aspects of state power sharing and power dividing, territorial dimension is the most significant that helps to reduce risks of violence after civil wars. Nevertheless, territorial power sharing and power dividing may not be good strategy when the groups are not associated with a particular territory (Hartzell and Hoddie, 2007).

According to the World Bank (1995), the definition of post conflict reconstruction is highly concerned with the rebuilding of the socio-economic networks (frameworks) of the society at the risk of conflicts; and creating favorable conditions for a functioning of peacetime activities and frameworks that embrace governance and rule of law. From this definition, we can pinpoint two conceptual key elements. While the first component is reconstruction of the socio-economic environments of the society to its normal status and further enhancements, the second is concerning the reconstruction of favorable conditions for peacetime society; in which the institutional framework of governance and rule of law can be smoothly functioning (World Bank, 1995).

Beyond the reconstruction and enhancement of the socio-economic well-being, governance and rule of law, the definition of Hamre and Sullivan (2002) goes to the articulation of other elements. Thus, Justice and reconciliation; and security are the other two additional conceptual elements of their definition. According to the definition of Hamre and Sullivan (2002), contemporarily post conflict reconstruction consists of four distinct elements that have interrelated and interlinked package of pillared tasks. The brief details are as follows.

Security: It deals with all dimensions of the citizens' peace and safety. Specifically it strives for the restoration, re-existence and enhancement of stable and conducive peace of mind and environment for the socio- economic activities of the society; through creating and building legitimate and effective security institutions. The security accommodates the collective and individual freedom to do multidimensional activities in any sector without any fears and threats in a way that can lead to successful achievements and advancements in a sustainable manner. Therefore, the aftermath of immediate and large-scale violence as well as restoring the territorial integrity of the post conflict state to the normal situations and further ensuring the everlasting peace and security in the country should be taken as the springboard for the overall development and governance of the country (Hamre and Sullivan, 2002).

Justice and reconciliation: In concerns about the demand for establishing and building the efficient and effective formal and informal legal systems that can reverse humanitarian crises and disorders through resolving disagreements and grievances arising from the previous or ongoing violent conflict. Thus, designing and putting in to an effect of impartial and accountable legal system for present and future, reorganizing law enforcement apparatus that facilitate and support an open judicial system should be incorporated under the newly intended justice and reconciliation systems. These all requires have committing leadership roles, appropriate institutions and working procedures of justice and legal system that have been supported by law enforcement instruments like security and peace forces (Hamre and Sullivan (2002).

Social and economic well-being: It is addressing the core socio-economic needs and wants of the community at risk of violent conflicts. Thus, formulating and implementing the main facilities like health, sanitation, and education. Communication networks and other related infrastructures and laying the favorable

condition for all-inclusive emergency reliefs and ensuring sustainable development should be incorporated in the social and economic well-being of the societies. These all rounded multisectoral activities can be attributed to the efforts of creating and building socio-economic networks that have great contributions to stabilize the disorders and violence; through creating and building resilience institutions and societies (Hamre and Sullivan, 2002)

Governance and participation: The functions of government organs (legislative, judiciary and executive) should be participatory and all inclusive starting from the policy formulation up to their implementation processes onwards. More importantly, the government should have the legitimacy of public acceptance, cooperation and mutual unity of directions and active participations of all stakeholders in multisectoral activities. Hence, civic society, non-governmental organizations, community representatives, religious leaders and other concerned bodies should be involved in the effective political and administrative institutions; in a way that can realize sense of belongingness and commitments of the stakeholders. If so, the previous violent conflicts can be reconstructed through laying the encouraging environment for stable peace and security; in which the state and society can jointly further advance to sustainable development programs (Hamre and Sullivan, 2002).

3.2 THEORETICAL CONCEPTS, MERITS AND CRITICISMS OF TERRITORIAL ACCOMMODATION

Territorial accommodation (territorial self-governance); as a mechanism of ethnic conflict resolution and management; has been becoming the subject matter of debates among the scholars in the field. Particularly, the debates of academic community is extremely divided on whether the territorial accommodation in alienated societies is an appropriate strategy for conflict reduction and creating sustainable peace and security among the divergent ethnic groups (Wolff, 2011). McGarry and O' Leary (1990), stated that territorial self-government has been considered as an instrument of statecraft and a means of conflict resolution and management in divided societies. Particularly, it is pinpointed that when there are needs and interests of highly populated (dense) ethnic groups demand for self-determination, territorial self-governance is a crucial devise. According to these authors, to design and apply the territorial self-governance, concentrations of ethnic groups on specific geographical areas through having common motives and desires are preconditions. Therefore, territorial pluralism or territorial accommodation helps geographically concentrated national, ethnic, linguistic, or religious communities in way that they can claim for self-governance. However, designing and implementing territorial self-governance is not relevant for small sections of the community since it is infeasible and undesirable for such scattered and dispersed portions of people including immigrant communities (McGarry and O' Leary, 1990).

There have been a lot of debates on the issues of territorial accommodation/territorial self-governance. For instance, some authors like: Cornell (2004), Roeder (1991), Hale (2004) have similar arguments on the question of whether territorial accommodation is to be a good strategy to resolve conflicts or not. Hence, these authors argue that territorial approaches to resolve inter-ethnic conflicts in divided societies is not in a position to be cure for violent conflicts among the divergent ethnic groups. Rather, it has been fuelling and exacerbating the conflicts and to the extreme point promoting the needs and motives towards secession. To the contrary, authors like: Gurr (1993), Saideman et al (2002) and to some extent Wolff (2009), have identical stand point via arguing that territorial accommodation have been widely used in the contemporarily world and it reduces the level of violence among the conflicting ethnic groups. Particularly, Gurr (1993) Saideman et al (2002) conclude that territorial accommodation/territorial self-governance, which is usually used in the form of federalism, significantly mitigates the conflicts among different ethnic groups through accommodating the needs and wants of the groups. In between, the arguments of Brancati (2009), seems to have contradictory ideas since her arguments are not precise as that of other authors' arguments. She argues that the more territorial accommodation is decentralized, the more the number and strength of the regional political party will be which further promote conflicts among ethnic groups in the long run though it reduces the same in the short run.

Having seen the above condensed arguments of the scholars, in the following sub section, we look at the detailed debates of the authors in line with merits and criticisms of territorial accommodation/territorial self-governance; via accompanying it by practical illustrations.

3.2.1 Merits of territorial accommodation/Territorial self-governance

Gurr (1993) argues that as the fact on the historical evidence shows on the track of records, on average the inter-ethnic group conflicts and tensions can be minimized under political arrangements of regional autonomy, which can in turn radically reduce the violent conflicts among the competing ethnic groups. By supporting the arguments of Gurr (1993), Saideman et al (2002) stated that federalism type of political system, which has been backed by the granting of power and autonomy to the local groups (usually ethnic minorities), can highly help in resolving inter-ethnic violence and building the peace and states on the grass root levels. The research of these authors showed that, if the needs and wants of local ethnic groups are properly, fairly and impartially addressed through effective and efficient institutional reforms under territorial accommodation/autonomy, it can be an instrument in reducing conflicts among the groups and creating peace and sustainable securities of the countries at large. Lijphart (2004) also stated that for ethnically fractioned societies with the realism of geographically intense communal groups, self-rule in the form of decentralized governance; like federalism type of political system is a better way of building autonomy at grass root levels. Hence, Power sharing and self-government, parliamentary type of political system with the accompanying federalism or decentralization type of self-rule can be a good alternatives to accommodate the motives and desires of divided societies at regional and/or local areas (Lijphart, 2004). The implication of the arguments of these authors is that as far as the territorial accommodation and autonomy is designed and implemented in genuine, impartial and all-inclusive ways, it can further serve as a means of fostering national harmony, consensuses, sense of belongingness and comprehensive strategy for protecting the unity of territorial integrity and for building stable states. By supporting this idea, Wolff (2009) stated that in the contemporarily world, the notion of territorial accommodation and self-governance autonomy has been used as an instrument of resolving the ethnic conflicts and ensuring the sustainable peace and stability among the different competing ethnic groups. Gurr (2004) also agrees with this argument by pinpointing that if territorial accommodation and territorial self-rule is not granted to the geographically concentrated regional/local ethnic groups, then violent and armed ethnic conflicts will arise at the end of the day. Furthermore, the benefits of territorial accommodation as practical illustration have presented below.

Thus, there are empirical studies that crystallized as the territorial accommodations in the form of ethnic based federalism type of political system has successful met its presumed goals and objectives in counties of the world; like India, Canada and Belgium. Thus, Belgium, Canada and India are known by the good management of territorial self-governance disputes. These countries are best examples of territorial accommodation that have been resulting in effectiveness of avoiding violent conflicts through designing and implementing consociational power sharing democracy (Wolff, 2011). Since it can be practical experiences let us look at the Indian case briefly as example. In the academic analyses of the Indian ethnic based federalism, there are three reasons being given for its success (Louise and Magnus, 2008). Firstly, in the processes of designing and realizing of the Indian politics, there is no incompatibility between claiming an ethno-regional and national identity. Secondly, the India's huge diversity, the many crosscutting cleavages within and between subunits and ethnic groups; such as religion, language, caste, tribe; and the like are averting the cultural and social divisions to cumulatively reinforce each other through allowing for further mutual advancements, all inclusive harmonized approaches, flexibility and shifting alliances both between individuals and groups (Manor 1996). Thirdly, the resilience of the Indian federal system is by many explained by the strength of its parliamentary democracy, regular elections and the spread of democratic ideas that have led to increased political activism among the wider population, including marginalized groups (Dalits, other low castes, and Muslims). It has also enhanced the legitimacy of the central government and made it possible to justify a strong center, securing the unity and efficiency of the federation (Manor 1996).

3.2.2. Criticisms of territorial accommodation/Territorial self-governance

This sub section deals with the criticisms of some scholars on the issues of territorial accommodation/territorial self-governance with its accompanying practical illustrations in the following manner.

Based on the constructionist theory, Brancati (2009) argues that regional differences by itself cannot necessarily lead to the emergence of the regional political parties. Rather, it is decentralized (territorial accommodation/self-governance) type of political system that generates and promotes the regional political parties; which further in the long run can create and promote inter communal conflicts and secessionism through rewarding rebellion movements against the regimes of the federal (central) government. In another words, decentralization increases the number and capability of regional political parties; which in the short period mitigate conflicts among ethnic groups; through giving the ethnic groups power and control over their socio-economic and political affairs. However, in the long run, decentralization increases ethnic conflicts since the regional political parties will get strength and compete over power in a way that can ultimately promote secessionist movements. Therefore, territorial accommodation via the mechanisms of either decentralization or federalism can trigger and fuel conflicts and sentiments of secessionist movements through mobilizing the ethnic groups in the regions. Particularly, this is true on the grounds when

there are four structural important dimensions (Brancati, 2009). These four structural dimensions are: I) Number of regional representation in the legislative organ of the country, like in parliament; II) the number of regional legislatures; III) the system and steps in which selection of the upper house is represented; and IV) the design and sequence of regional and federal elections (Brancati, 2009).

The main argument of Brancati is that territorial accommodation/self-governance though decentralization will reduce conflict and secessionism in the short run; it may exacerbate inter-ethnic conflicts in the end since the number of regional political parties is radically increased. Thus, territorial accommodation or self-governance through empowering regional/local autonomy in the form of decentralization can reduce anti-regime rebellion while regional political parties increase the conflicts (Brancati, 2009).

Therefore, from the above argument of Brancati, I can derive the following conceptual mathematical equation and the accompanying graph.

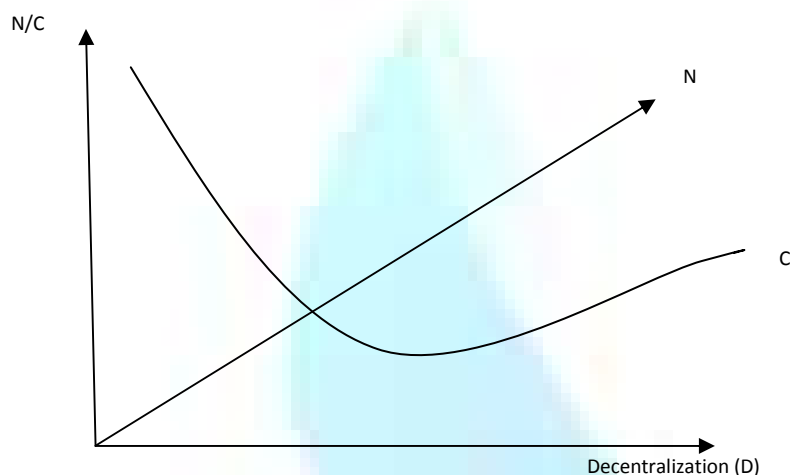
$$D = N/C$$

Where, D= Level of decentralized territorial accommodation/self-governance

N = number and strength of regional political parties

C = level of conflict among ethnic groups

Graphically, it can be represented as follows.



Source: adopted from the Brancati's (2009) arguments

From the graph, we can understand that as the level of decentralized territorial self-governance increases, the number and strength of regional political party increases, which indicates their direct correlations. On the other hand, as the level of decentralization increases, the conflict among the divergent ethnic groups will decrease in the short period because the number of the regional political parties in the short run will not be expected to increase drastically. However, in the long run, since the number of regional political parties is going to increase at the pace greater than the rate at which the level of territorial accommodation (decentralization) increases, definitely conflict and the secessionism movement of the groups will emerge and escalate to violent levels. Therefore, the design and implementation processes of territorial accommodation whether it is via decentralization or federalism, must balance the short and long-term effects; which the constitution writers, politicians and a scholars in the field should take in to considerations.

Contrary to the ideas of Gurr (2004) and Saideman et al (2002), Cornell (2004) argues that though territorial accommodation has been perceived as a good strategy for resolving inter-ethnic tensions and create sustainable peace among ethnic groups, the opposite is true on the practical realities of the world. Thus, the notion of providing a particular group autonomy that may be backed by institutional framework has been triggering and even exacerbating the ongoing and the outstanding conflicts among the conflicting ethnic groups. Specifically, under certain political conditions, the process of establishing and building autonomy for a particular ethnic group can be a fertile ground for further divisions and promote the motives of separation movements. More importantly, the ethnic group that secured autonomy may be even encouraged with engaging in against the federal (central) government in a collective manner (Cornell, 2004).

By supporting the arguments of Cornell(2004), Roeder (1991) also argued that after seven decades of the Soviet regime assumes power, the ethno politics which is known by Soviet federalism and ethnic mobilization had become disastrous in a sense that fueling inter-ethnic tensions as a weapon of disintegrating the USSR-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In another words, the suppression of ethnic identity and under the created self-rule republic autonomy of the regions in the soviet state has been promoting the conflicts among the ethnic groups in the areas (Roeder, 1991). Hale (2004) also expressed that ethno based federal states have high probability of being collapsed when the ethnic based territorial accommodation (ethnic based federalism) comprises a core ethnic region- a region that has superior population over the other ethnic groups. In other words, if territorial self-governance, which is manifested by ethnic based federalism does not institutionally divide the core ethnic region/s in to manageable sub autonomous groups under the federations, there are tendencies of promoting mass movements of the core dominant regions that further leads the regions in to the separation motives than ever before does (Hale, 2004).

The argument of Hale (2004), offers another extra perspective beyond the ideas of Cornell (2004) and Roeder (1991). That means, if the dominant groups are divided, it faces challenges and difficulties to mobilize and engage in to massive core-group-oriented collective actions, through minimizing the chance of violent ethnic conflicts. This in turn, gives the central government opportunities to take advantage of divisions within the core group and ultimately make the central government to be free and achieve strategies issues that can further realize territorial and state preservation; that accommodates bargaining, trust building, and/or coercion measurements. Hale (2004) conclude that paradoxically, the institutional divisions of the dominant ethnic groups can promote and consolidate the integration and unity of the federations. He also described as the Tanzanian and Belgian cases of complex ethnic power-sharing arrangements might be in a position to overcome the challenges and related bottlenecks allied with core ethnic regions. Nevertheless, as to the arguments of Cornell (2004), Roeder (1991), and partially Hale (2004), territorial self-governance/territorial accommodation is not a good strategy for ethnic conflict management in divided societies since it triggers and exacerbates the conflicts among the ethnic groups.

As an illustration of the above arguments in real practices, Cornell(2002) stated that though there is an ideology that territorial self-governance/autonomy can create harmony and unification of divergent ethnic groups, the Soviet State was facing the challenges of disputes under its hierarchical ethnic based federalism political system. For example, under the 15 main union republics that the union comprises, there had been above 30 autonomous regions and republics with the minimum levels of self-governance. Nevertheless, all minority ethnic groups were not addressed under the political system of the territorial self-governance rule; due to many factors among which the main reason is if the ethnic group in question was granted the opportunity of self-governance some elsewhere in the hierarchical ethnic based federalism. Hence, groups such as Russians in Kazakhstan, Tajiks in Uzbekistan, and countless others became so-called 'non-status' minorities despite their large numbers (Cornell, 2002). To some extent by supporting the argument of Cornell(2002), Wolff(2011) also described that though initially the dissolution of the Soviet Union occurred without the use of violence disputes, gradually it had been triggering a lot of territorial self-determination disputes; such as Moldova (Transnistria) and Georgia (Abkhazia and south Ossetia). Thus, territorial accommodation to this countries including Russia and Spain had been known by mixed results as long as the territorial self-governance in the countries have been accompanied by dispute violence that can be seen as challenges and threats(Wolff, 2011).

Furthermore, as an additional illustration, when we look at the Ethiopian territorial accommodation that is characterized by ethnic based federalism, it has threats, which are the opposite of the Indian experience (Louise and Magnus, 2008). Thus, the fundamental pillars of the Ethiopian political system since 1991 to date are dedicated to an isolated individual identity rather than rewarding and promoting the superior ones; to an overall national identity. Thus, ethnically based organizations and parties are consistently favored in the country which supports Brancati's (2009) arguments in practice. The basic argument of the Brancati (2009) is that even if territorial self-governance through decentralization decreases inter-ethnic conflicts in the short period, it fuels and exacerbates the conflicts since the number and overall capacity of regional political parties will drastically increase and compete in the long-term. Accordingly, in Ethiopia, major societal cleavages are partly crosscutting and partly overlapping and the ethnic divisions seem to absorb most of the controversies along other conflict lines. This means, conflicts between subgroups within the federation are channeled into ethnic lines, thereby "ethnicizing" social and economic cleavages through creating conflicts among the ethnic groups; which is compatible with the arguments of Brancati (2009). Therefore, ethnic federalism of the country (Ethiopian), seems to lack what the India's federation has; essentially through creating ethnic-centered all rounded competition, reciprocated distrust, offense and instituting tribal dynamics that could easily result in loss of human lives, injuries, disabilities, disintegration of socioeconomic networks and dysfunctions of normal activities of the societies in the areas (Louise and Magnus, 2008).

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

4.1. CONCLUSION

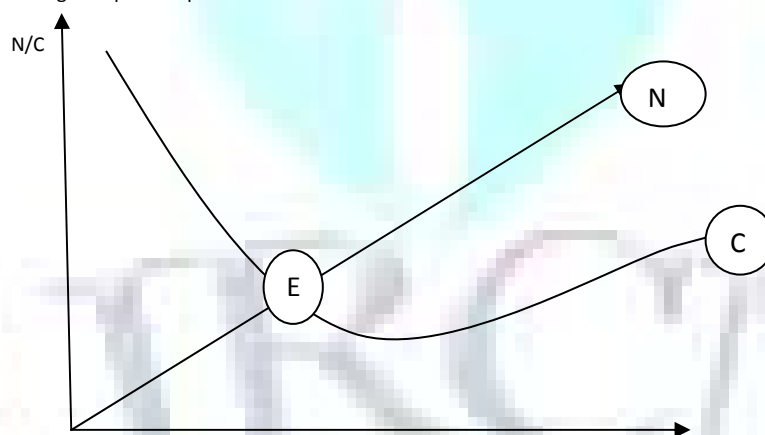
The effects of territorial accommodation and self-governance autonomy on peace and security have been varying considerably among the federations of the countries in the world (like in Canada, Bosnia, Belgium, Russia, Spain, India, Ethiopia etc). Accordingly, there is no finalized strong consensus among the scholars in the field as to whether territorial self-governance for divided societies is a best strategy in resolving inter ethnic-conflict and creating sustainable peace or not. Hence, the theoretical debates on territorial accommodation (self-governance) among the scholars being accompanied by their respective empirical studies, have been prevalent and receiving the attentions of politicians, political scientists and others. However, it seems that, all scholars have common understandings and agreements on the need of institutional arrangements (designs) to accommodate the motives and needs of conflicting groups; in a way that it can realize all-inclusive participations of divergent ethnic groups at grass root levels. The scholars also agree as there should be a call for further sound scientific researches on the issue.

4.2. MAIN FINDINGS

The main finding is that the theory and notion of territorial accommodation/territorial self-governance has mixed results both in conceptual debates and in practical illustrations; which further has been articulating and consolidating the arguments of the scholars in the field. Thus, while some authors argue against territorial self-governance through narrating as it triggers and fuels the ethnic conflicts than being cure, other authors argue for its best mechanism in resolving inter-ethnic conflicts in divided societies. In line with the arguments of the authors, there have been practical illustrations as the territorial accommodation/self-governance can be best strategy in resolving conflicts (example of India, Bosnia, Canada, Belgium); and to the contrary being a triggering and fueling factors of the ongoing or potential conflicts as in the case of the disintegration of the soviet union. Therefore, another main finding of this end of module paper is that the design and adoption of territorial accommodation/self-governance is not an end strategy by itself. The practical implementations of genuine territorial self-rules should be realized; that in turn can recognize and achieve impartial, all-inclusive participation and sense of harmonized national ownership among the different ethnic groups of the federalized political system.

4.3. POLICY IMPLICATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

Since there are no final universally simplified frameworks for Territorial accommodation/territorial self-governance, every efforts of designing and implementing the self-rule autonomy should be principally based on the specific realities of the countries; in which all of the ethnic groups can entertain their interests in the systems. However, any form of territorial self-governance should consider and address the following pinpointed issues. Thus: I) the size and number of the autonomous regions need to be reasonably equal to minimize the fears and the challenges emanated from the core dominant regions. II) In order to facilitate favorable environments for sustainable consociational power sharing and power dividing among the divergent ethnic groups via territorial accommodation, well-timed international interventions and the deployment of peacekeeping forces are crucial. III) Balancing the level of decentralized territorial self-governance with the corresponding strength and number of regional political parties in a way that can stabilize the security, peace and stability of the federal states. Bench marking on the conceptual debates of Brancati (2009), I recommend the hypothetical equilibrium level of decentralized territorial autonomy and the accompanying numbers/strength of regional political parties at "E" as follows.



4.4. FURTHER RESEARCH QUESTION

The further research question of this paper will be conducting pertinent and sustainable further empirical studies to sufficiently address the reason "why different context of the countries over the world have been influencing the results of territorial accommodation/self-governance in line with ethnic conflict resolution and creating stable state in different ways?"

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