

## POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIO-POLITICAL PROCESSES

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### MANAGEMENT OF POST-CONFLICT TERRITORY AS A FORM OF GOVERNANCE

The article explores the management of post-conflict territory within the theoretical foundations of political management. The purpose of the article is to highlight the specific characteristics of the management of post-conflict territories that will make it possible to distinguish such management as a specific form of political management. The article considers the management of post-conflict territories taking into account the positions of the actors of post-conflict politics and their interests because the activity of the actors adds specific features to this management. Also in the article, the author refers to the comparison in terms of the scope and content of the concepts of “management of post-conflict territories” and “post-crisis management”. Comparing them, the author analyzes such important concepts for post-conflict management as political leadership and elections.

**Keywords:** management, post-conflict territory, actors, elections, leadership.

The policy of managing post-conflict territories is a new phenomenon for Ukrainian political science, largely driven by the real political situation in eastern Ukraine and the Crimea. Establishing political and legal order within the post-conflict territory requires a set of decisions and actions that characterizes not only their content but also the procedural aspect. Therefore, for the detailed characterization of a post-conflict territory, it is important not only to characterize the specific features of such a territory, but also to pay attention to the management context.

In order to conceptualize the policy of managing post-conflict territories as a meaningful category of political science, it is necessary to provide an informative description of the concept of “management” and its meaning for post-conflict territory.

Conflict by its nature destroys steady systems of governance, creates chaos and anarchy, or creates the preconditions for launching alternative governance mechanisms capable of resolving the conflict. In the example of the conflict in separate areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions as a type of prolonged conflict another form of administrative process may be observed. Without being constantly under the influence of military action, the separatist groups and the Russian Federation have created alternative systems of governance there, which to some extent allow the livelihood of these territories. However, when predicting the end of the conflict, it still becomes apparent that the management system created there must be destroyed and a new system must be built to achieve the goals of post-conflict policy.

Therefore, the development of management system for the post-conflict territory as a particular model of management becomes both a task and an integral process of the activity of actors in the post-conflict territory. In this article, the author will describe the management of post-conflict territories from the perspective of the task and process, as well as identify the main external circumstances and factors that may affect the process of post-conflict management.

To expose the concept of management in the context of the general research paradigm, the author proposes a complex concept of “management policy” as closely related to the concept of “public administration” in the meaning of the author of the concept, English civil servant Desmond Keeling. Desmond Keeling understood the public administration as the search for the best way to use resources to achieve priority public policy goals. Similar approaches to defining public administration are given by the United Nations Development Program, recognizing public administration as a field of practice and theory that is central to public administration and focuses on the internal activities of government agencies, in particular on management issues such as control, leadership, planning, organizational support, provision of information technology, personnel management, and evaluation of efficiency<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Босак, О. Публічне управління як нова модель управління у державному секторі. *НАДУ*. <<http://academy.gov.ua/ej/ej12/txts/10bozuds.pdf>> (2019, September, 17).

However, by defining governance in the post-conflict territory by the category of “public administration”, based on the definitions of public administration available in the scientific discourse, such management would be considered as exclusively the activity of the state institutions. At the same time, the concept of “policy” adds new meaning to the process of managing post-conflict territories.

In his analyze of the relationship between policy and governance, doctor of philosophy, professor Valeriy Rebkalo proposes to divide public administration as a branch of administrative work and policy as a sphere characterized by public policy making<sup>1</sup>. Such an approach can be supported by the theses of philosopher and sociologist Carl Mannheim that policy begins where there is no rationalization yet, where there is a need to decide in a situation that is not regulated by regulations<sup>2</sup>. This context is as close as possible to the situation in the post-conflict territory, which has the features of a transitional period and needs new solutions and responses to unforeseen events. Moreover, the management of post-conflict territory is politicized by the presence of not only the state and its institutions, but also international actors, former parties of the conflict, who have their own spheres of interest. Balancing these interests to achieve the goal of managing post-conflict territories can be fully characterized by the widespread interpretation of the politics as a form of power struggle.

Consequently, post-conflict territory management policy, as a form of management, combines the features of politics (the need for political decisions, the struggle for power and legitimization) and management (purposeful activity with a willful influence on an object to achieve the purpose of such management).

For a systematic analysis of post-conflict territory management policy as a form of management, the author proposes to characterize public policy actors who exert their influence on such management, and their activities.

**The first group of actors** includes the **government**, which, by the end of the conflict, gains control over the post-conflict territory and builds a system of governance here. The author proposes to include the entire vertical of the executive and local authorities in this group. The task of rebuilding the system of governance in the post-conflict territory will be common to this group, and therefore any conflicts within this group will become a separate political process, which in most cases will not be relevant to the past armed conflict in the sense of this work.

**The second group is international actors.** International actors provide the financial resources vital to rebuilding the territory, but they have their own beliefs about how it is advisable to rebuild post-conflict territory. Both of these positions put the government in a position of a controlled actor.

An integral part of politics is the **third group** of actors – **the public territorial collective**, whose activities are the most politically influential in the form of *civil society*. The activities and interests of civil society can take many forms, and to a greater extent it is civil society itself that becomes the object of influence of other actors. Therefore, the political component of the process of managing post-conflict territories is to gain the loyalty of this group, which is necessary and sufficient to retain power and, as a consequence, to prevent the resumption of the conflict.

Also important characteristic is the influence on the governance of the **fourth group**, to which the **opposing party of the conflict**, or several such opposing parties belong, that lose control levers of influence at the end of the conflict, but most often seek to regain them, and continue to have an influence on the politics on the post-conflict territory. The task of other groups is to maximize the separation of this group from management, because if they receive some managerial control in their hands, this group can restore conflict with the government.

The above system of actors and their interests make it possible to state that in the post-conflict period the government has every reason to assume the highest level of responsibility and to feel political pressure from all groups. At the same time, the lack of unity of leadership in post-conflict conditions threatens the totality of decisions and actions within the framework of post-conflict territorial governance policies that have a single purpose<sup>3</sup>.

Rivalry can take different scale and scope. Interagency rivalry is possible, for example, when special services refuse to share information. The efforts of international humanitarian organizations can be defeated by conflicts between various non-governmental organizations. Inter-organizational tensions are likely to be

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<sup>1</sup> Афонін, Е., Бережний, Я., Валевський, О. та ін. (2010). *Концептуальні засади взаємодії політики та управління*. Київ: НАДУ, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Манхейм, К. (2010). *Избранное: Диагноз нашего времени*. Москва: РАО Говорящая книга, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Вергилес, Э. (2001). *Анализ принципов управления Анри Файоля*. Москва: Московский государственный университет экономики, статистики и информатики, 17

the rule, not the exception of any political system.

The constructive principle of such an unstable system can be solely the principle of political networking. The implementation of this principle makes it possible to combine the efforts of different groups of actors in certain areas of public life<sup>1</sup>. By building a system of political networks, the government not only receives the benefits of cooperating with more resources than those available, but also legitimizes its own management activities and shares responsibility for the consequences of management decisions that may arise in such a system.

Therefore, it is important to involve international actors and civil society in certain areas of public life when building a post-conflict governance system. In any case, international actors will offer investment in civil society activities, so the government itself can propose a field to co-operate in government-friendly areas. The joint activities of international actors and civil society, for example, can be effective in building information gathering systems to prevent unstructured governance, when information is freely or accidentally disseminated and may have a negative impact on the governance system. The interaction of international actors and civil society on the economy can also be successful – civil society, with the financial and resource support of international actors, can administer small and medium-sized business support programs.

Returning to the characterization of the political field on post-conflict territory as a system of transition from a state of chaos to a state of stability, the management of post-conflict territory becomes more effective with the implementation of the Weber's concept of bureaucracy. In the post-crisis environment, when most institutions recover from the conflict, the regulation of each bureaucratic level and the written and clearly regulated document flow<sup>2</sup> will be an understandable method that does not encroach on democratic procedures but, on the contrary, ensures them. Such activity requires considerable human resources, but for some time this resource may be provided on a volunteer basis by the emotional uplift of the population due to the end of the conflict. After a certain period of time it will be possible to switch to new managerialism, and there will be no need to maintain such a personnel system.

In general, the management of post-conflict territories as a category of political science and management analysis intersects with the concept of post-crisis management. In academic discourse, crisis means a stage of dysfunction in the normal development of the system. Analyzing the genesis of the conceptualization of the concept of "crisis" in political science, Scandinavian political science researcher Professor Palle Svensson synthesizes the various concepts of crisis formed by Ekkart Zimmermann, Sidney Verba and Scott Flanagan and defines crisis as a combination of challenges that can lead to destruction or structural changes of a fundamental nature<sup>3</sup>.

The concept of "crisis situation" in the context of this article also correlates with the concept given in Ukrainian Legislation. For example, the Strategic Defense Bulletin, adopted and operated from 2012 to 2016, defined crisis situations as being identical to the notion of a "military-political crisis" as a condition characterized by the extreme aggravation of a regional or international military-political situation, in which the possibilities of resolving disputes by peaceful means are exhausted, and the real threat of using military force is growing. During a crisis (military-political crisis) there is an intensification of political, military confrontation of the parties, forced military preparations, deliberate demonstration of force, application of various political and economic sanctions, use of other actions. The crisis situation (military-political crisis) has stages of growth, exacerbation and damping, the course of which can occur with different intensity and depends on the specific conditions of the military-political situation<sup>4</sup>. The current Strategic Defense Bulletin, although using the concept of "crisis", does not define it.

Researchers of public management Arjen Boin, Paul't Hart, Eric Stern and Bengt Sundelius analyze crisis management policy and identify three signs of crisis – threat, uncertainty, urgency<sup>5</sup>. Such signs are fully subject to conflict in the concept of this study. Taking into account that the post-conflict period is identified

<sup>1</sup> Мельтюхова, Н., Корженко, В., Дідок, Ю. та ін. (2010). *Зарубіжний досвід публічного адміністрування: методичні рекомендації*. Київ: НАДУ, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Грабар, Н. (2017). Бюрократія як суспільно-політичний феномен: генезис теорії та можливості інтерпретації в сучасних державно-управлінських практиках. *Вісник НАДУ при Президентіві України (Серія «Державне управління»)*, 3(2017), 18-21.

<sup>3</sup> Svenssen, P. Stability, Crisis and Breakdown: Some Notes on the Concept of Crisis in Political Analysis. *Scandinavian Political Studies, Bind 9 (New Series)*. <[https://tidsskrift.dk/%20scandinavian\\_political\\_studies/article/view/32537/30523](https://tidsskrift.dk/%20scandinavian_political_studies/article/view/32537/30523)> (2019, September, 16).

<sup>4</sup> *Стратегічний оборонний бюлетень 2012* (Президент України). *Офіційний сайт Верховної Ради України* <<https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/771/2012#n16>> (2019, September, 18).

<sup>5</sup> Boin, A., Hart, P., Stern, E., Sendelis, B. (2005). *The Politics of Crisis Management Public Leadership under Pressure*. New York: Cabridge University Press, 4.

as one of the stages of the conflict, post-conflict management can be a form of post-crisis management.

The characteristics of post-conflict management described above draw attention to the need for leadership as a feature that should characterize the power in such circumstances. If the government is unable to lead the governance processes in the post-conflict territory, other actors can take full advantage of the opportunity and fill the gap. It is especially difficult to operate in such a system where the international community requires democratic leadership, where incentives are given to coercion, the rule of law and morality, and policy effectiveness is a less significant indicator than adherence to basic human values.

Arjen Boin, Paul't Hart, Eric Stern and Bengt Sundelius determine the tasks that the leader should solve in a crisis. The first sign of leadership is understanding the crisis as it unfolds. Because crises tend to put a lot of pressure on key politicians and operational staff, information processing in a stressful environment is especially relevant for examining and understanding issues in a crisis. The stressful situation for the members of the management system does not necessarily impair performance if the load is balanced by a high capacity to overcome problems<sup>1</sup>.

In post-conflict conditions, it is often necessary to make choices that may in some way contradict the moral preferences of the subject of the political process. Therefore, having relevant experience and information about the problem will help to solve it more. In such circumstances, political networking as a form of responsibility sharing will facilitate faster decisions. It is also possible to implement educational and social programs for administrative staff that would increase resilience and form boundaries of responsibility.

The scientific literature on crisis management speaks of crises as a reason for decision-making. Leadership in post-conflict territory should be characterized by such ability, even though certain key decisions may lead to strategic or tactical failures. They affect the core values and interests of communities, and the cost of both "right" and "wrong" choices is high – socially, politically, economically and humanly; rather than non-crisis situations, they present genuine dilemmas that can only be resolved through compromise or "tragic choice" when all options open to the decision-maker incur a net loss. The choice must be made relatively quickly: there is pressure in time, whether that pressure is real or perceived as pressure, which means that some proven methods of preparation, delay and political fixing of difficult decisions cannot be applied<sup>2</sup>.

In such circumstances, the question arises of the relevance of elections in the post-conflict territory. The timing of post-conflict elections is an important element that needs careful consideration to minimize the risk of adverse outcomes.

Political liberalization and democratization of post-conflict states is an integral part of international post-conflict governance efforts. Election can be seen as the key and most effective tool for democracy. The position of international actors to hold fast elections after reaching a peace settlement is a relatively new phenomenon that can be understood in a historical context. Specialist in the international relations of the University of Ottawa Roland Paris notes that, for example, since the end of the Cold War, all UN peacebuilding operations have resulted in elections occurring within three years of the start of each mission, except those cases when ongoing conflict caused them to be delayed or canceled<sup>3</sup>.

The main purpose of the elections is the legitimate recognition of government in the territory. Democratic elections are widely regarded as the only legitimate way of establishing leadership. Therefore, the primary objective of elections in post-conflict territory is to establish leadership that is democratically elected by the people. An important element of the impact of elections on political processes in post-conflict territory is that the elections are recognized as free and fair and the result reflects the will of the people. If the primary objective is free and fair elections, then elections can be held as soon as conditions allow such elections to be held<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, we can conclude that holding early elections can be a favorable factor, because it accelerates the creation of conditions for the management of legitimate and democratically elected leaders.

However, this approach has its disadvantages. First, the category of good leadership is not the reason

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<sup>1</sup> Boin, A., Hart, P., Stern, E., Sendelis, B. (2005). *The Politics of Crisis Management Public Leadership under Pressure*. New York: Cabridge University Press, 18-21.

<sup>2</sup> Boin, A., Hart, P., Stern, E., Sendelis, B. (2005). *The Politics of Crisis Management Public Leadership under Pressure*. New York: Cabridge University Press, 44.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, R., Turner, M. At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict. *Democratija* 6. <[https://www.dissentmagazine.org/wp-content/files\\_mf/1389730980d6Turner.pdf](https://www.dissentmagazine.org/wp-content/files_mf/1389730980d6Turner.pdf)> (2019, September, 16).

<sup>4</sup> Paris, R., Turner, M. At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict. *Democratija* 6. <[https://www.dissentmagazine.org/wp-content/files\\_mf/1389730980d6Turner.pdf](https://www.dissentmagazine.org/wp-content/files_mf/1389730980d6Turner.pdf)> (2019, September, 16).

for the choice of the voter. Even elections, which are considered free and fair, polarize people and have the potential to encourage hate speech during the election campaign, to encourage violence, to exacerbate tension, to encourage the formation of favors based on personal preference of wartime, and so on. Thus, even if international assistance provides resources for free and fair post-conflict elections, appropriate institutions and mechanisms must also be put in place to prevent counter-productive efforts to build peace. Therefore, post-conflict elections and the need to conduct them depend on a number of political conditions, and their need must be assessed in each case depending on the situation.

Recognizing the importance of leadership in the management of post-conflict territories except elections, preference may be given, for example, to open competitions. One can apply for international technical assistance with a proposal for financial support for such a competition. The best financing model here could be to co-finance the maintenance costs of the vacancies resulting from the competition.

Collaborative programs and staff from other post-conflict recovery countries can be also effective. Such specialists will be more aware of the dilemmas of difficult choice and will be able to fulfill their tasks more effectively in the post-conflict period. Preference will be given here to middle-level managers who will be able to build a process but will not require political dividends from such work.

**Conclusion.** Thus, in terms of governance, activities in the post-conflict territory cannot be reduced to democratization processes. Setting up control requires a certain transition period during which systems must operate in a vertical model. Awareness of this fact calls for the need to develop a system of checks and balances at the start of post-conflict territorial governance that will allow the transition from the post-conflict phase of the conflict to a full regime of peaceful existence.

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