

# Peacekeeping and International Conflict Resolution



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*Cover Photo: UN Photo #587609 by Isaac Billy. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon visited the Tamping site of the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), in Juba, where the UN protected approximately 20,000 civilians displaced by the fighting between government and rebel forces. 06 May 2014.*

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# Peacekeeping and International Conflict Resolution

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## Foreword by the Series Editor

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Welcome to the e-learning course *Peacekeeping and International Conflict Resolution*. I am pleased you have enrolled. The course author, Professor Tom Woodhouse, has written this course to provide the student with a fundamental understanding of the field of conflict resolution in both theory and application. Through 10 well-structured lessons, this course will acquaint the student with the most important topics related to conflict resolution.

Grasping the theories and practical considerations behind international conflict resolution and peacekeeping is paramount in today's complex world. The intractability of the Syrian Civil War, the world's most lethal war at the moment, has exhibited the challenges practitioners of international conflict resolution face. The massive humanitarian crisis caused by this war has political and societal consequences which are yet to be seen. Armed conflicts in additional regions in the Middle East, Africa, and other areas reflect the tumultuous state of current affairs. Each year seems to add to the list of conflicts and, in some cases, these conflicts go on generation after generation.

Yet, every day, peacekeepers of many forms do what is possible at the local level to resolve disputes peacefully, contain the scope and level of violence, and seek resolution of deep-rooted conflicts. NGOs provide humanitarian aid to those who are in need. Diplomats work toward negotiating peaceful agreements to end conflict. Civilian police maintain order and protect civilians where they can. These actors all play important roles in international conflict resolution.

By completing this course, the student will gain a better understanding of the nature of conflict, the role of culture in conflict, concepts of conflict resolution, early warning, peace settlements, and post-conflict peacebuilding.

I wish you every success in your study of the material in this course and in your endeavours following the completion of the course.

Sincerely,



Harvey J. Langholtz, Ph.D.

Executive Director of the Peace Operations Training Institute

## Foreword by the Author

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Peacekeeping has become the prominent intervention strategy for managing and resolving post-Cold War conflicts in the global community. However, because of the increasingly complex threats to international security, peacekeeping responses have become much more elaborate. They have become functionally more diverse (including conflict prevention, humanitarian assistance, human rights monitoring, electoral monitoring, demobilization and rehabilitation, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction), with the composition of missions developing accordingly (including military and civilian peacekeepers, humanitarian personnel, inter-governmental, governmental, and non-governmental actors).

The new demands being made on peacekeeping and the multifaceted character of contemporary operations call for greater attention to be paid to the training and preparation of anyone involved in a peacekeeping operation. One essential component of the training and preparation is a better understanding of conflict and its resolution. Past peacekeeping experience clearly demonstrates that to be successful, international actors require an awareness of the nature and relevance of Conflict Resolution theory and practise to their work, from policy-making above to activities on the ground. This new edition of the course substantially revises the original version published in 2000. The revisions are presented in the form firstly of a comprehensive chronological update, showing the world of UN peacekeeping as it was at the date of revision, with numbers deployed, and missions established between 2000 (the date of publication of the first edition of this course) and those currently in the field. Lesson 4 on conflict dynamics also provides comprehensive coverage of conflict data with statistics on conflict location, intensity, and type, as well as information on how to keep up-to-date with the ever-changing dynamic of conflict.

Secondly, the revisions cover the continued development of peacekeeping doctrine, theory, and practise in relation especially to the role of conflict analysis and resolution in peacekeeping over the same period. Within this evolution of peacekeeping, new policies and practises have emerged which have embedded conflict resolution capacity even deeper into the core of peacekeeping. These innovations include the emergence of the UN Peacebuilding Commission, operational from 2006 and connecting UN peacekeeping with more long-term and sustainable post conflict recovery: the emergence of the idea of human security and the Responsibility to Protect norm, which may generate new complex challenges of conflict resolution for peacekeepers; the reforms of peacekeeping which ensued following the recommendations of the Brahimi Report from 2000; the emergence of cultural projects supported by peacekeepers; the increasing attention paid to making peacekeeping operations more gender-sensitive following the passing of UN SCR 1325; and speculation about new modes of peacekeeping appropriate for twenty first century conflicts, necessitating higher standards of training in conflict resolution for peacekeeping personnel. Students of this new edition of the course will also notice the impact of information and communication technology on peacekeeping and conflict resolution. Throughout the course, tools and resources available online are recommended.

## Aim

The overall aim of this course is to provide the student with a basic understanding of the field of Conflict Resolution and its application—theoretically and practically—to peacekeeping intervention in contemporary international conflicts.

## Scope

The course explores the emergence and development of the academic discipline of Conflict Resolution and its relation to the evolution of peacekeeping. The contributions of Conflict Resolution theory and practise to peacekeeping practise are identified early on and considered throughout the course. The nature of conflict and the dynamics of contemporary conflict are defined, along with the key concepts and techniques for resolving conflict. The course explores the significant areas that will improve responses to today's complex emergencies, including conflict analysis and mapping, early warning and conflict prevention, contingency and complementarity approaches, interagency coordination, post-conflict peacebuilding and reconciliation, cultural understanding, and gender awareness.

—Professor Tom Woodhouse, 2015.



View a video introduction to this course at <http://www.peaceopstraining.org/videos/376/peacekeeping-and-international-conflict-resolution-introduction/>.

## Method of Study

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*This self-paced course aims to give students flexibility in their approach to learning. The following steps are meant to provide motivation and guidance about some possible strategies and minimum expectations for completing this course successfully:*

- Before you begin studying, first browse through the entire course material. Notice the lesson and section titles to get an overall idea of what will be involved as you proceed.
  - The material is meant to be relevant and practical. Instead of memorizing individual details, strive to understand concepts and overall perspectives in regard to the United Nations system.
  - Set personal guidelines and benchmarks regarding how you want to schedule your time.
  - Study the lesson content and the learning objectives. At the beginning of each lesson, orient yourself to the main points. If possible, read the material twice to ensure maximum understanding and retention, and let time elapse between readings.
  - At the end of each lesson, take the End-of-Lesson Quiz. Clarify any missed questions by re-reading the appropriate sections, and focus on retaining the correct information.
  - After you complete all of the lessons, prepare for the End-of-Course Examination by taking time to review the main points of each lesson. Then, when ready, log into your online student classroom and take the End-of-Course Examination in one sitting.
- » ***Access your online classroom at***  
***<[www.peaceopstraining.org/users/user\\_login](http://www.peaceopstraining.org/users/user_login)>***  
***from virtually anywhere in the world.***
- Your exam will be scored electronically. If you achieve a passing grade of 75 per cent or higher on the exam, you will be awarded a Certificate of Completion. If you score below 75 per cent, you will be given one opportunity to take a second version of the End-of-Course Examination.
  - A note about language: This course uses English spelling according to the standards of the Oxford English Dictionary (United Kingdom) and the United Nations Editorial Manual.

### **Key Features of Your Online Classroom »**

- Access to all of your courses;
- A secure testing environment in which to complete your training;
- Access to additional training resources, including multimedia course supplements;
- The ability to download your Certificate of Completion for any completed course; and
- Forums where you can discuss relevant topics with the POTI community.

## LESSON

## 1

# The Emergence and Development of the Field of Conflict Resolution



UN Photo #650990 by Cia Pak

*"The goal of peace operations is not military victory. The conflict is the enemy, rather than specific enemy forces." -Richard Rinaldo (1994), US Army Field Manual 100-23: Peace Operations*

## In this lesson »

Section 1.1 Historical Background of Conflict Resolution

Section 1.2 The Relationship Between Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping

## Lesson Objectives »

- Trace the origins of the field of Conflict Resolution;
- Identify the key pioneers and institutions that have contributed to the development of conflict resolution theory and practise;
- Discuss methods and processes of conflict management advocated by these contributors;
- Define the relationship between the academic field of Conflict Resolution and the practise of peacekeeping;
- Summarize the contributions that conflict resolution theory and practise offer to the practise of peacekeeping;
- Begin reflecting on conflict and conflict resolution experiences in conflict situations and peacekeeping environments.



In celebration of the 70th Anniversary of the United Nations, an event was held in Rejaf East, outside of Juba, to commemorate the occasion. In recent months, the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) troop contingents have been active in collaborating with the local community on projects such as farming, basketball court construction, and other beneficial activities. During the occasion, United Nations agencies offered services, demonstrations, and educational materials to attendees. Children at the UN Day celebration. 24 October 2015. UN Photo #651332 by JC McIlwaine.

## Introduction

In this lesson you will be introduced to the historical origins and development of the academic field of conflict resolution, beginning with the origins in peace research and the first institutional developments in the 1950s and 1960s. Recent debates and ideas are reviewed, and the relevance of conflict resolution ideas to peacekeeping is defined.

### History of Peacekeeping »

To learn more about the history of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, take the Peace Operations Training Institute course titled, *The History of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations During the Cold War: 1945 to 1987* <<http://www.peaceopstraining.org/courses/history-of-peacekeeping-194587/>>.



View a video introduction of this lesson at <<http://www.peaceopstraining.org/videos/377/the-emergence-and-development-of-the-field-of-conflict-resolution/>>.

## Conflict Resolution

As well as being a set of techniques for the resolution of conflict by a third party, Conflict Resolution is an applied academic study that has been defined over the past 50 years and has come of age in the post-Cold War era. It has been informed by a variety of academic disciplines, including international relations, economics, development studies, law, psychology and psychotherapy, management, communication studies, anthropology, sociology, and peace research. Based on the assumption that conflict can be a catalyst for positive personal and social change, conflict resolution focuses on preventing, decreasing, stopping, or transforming violent conflict using peaceful, non-violent methods.

### Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping

The academic study and practise of conflict resolution has much in common with the role of peacekeeping in international conflict management. At about the same time that the field of Conflict Resolution was emerging at the height of the Cold War, Dag Hammarskjöld and Lester B. Pearson were defining the basic principles of peacekeeping. These principles were to guide the work of one of the first peacekeeping operations, the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I), created in response to the Suez Canal crisis in the Middle East in 1956. Both areas have developed a common interest in the dynamics and resolution of conflict and are underpinned by many of the same concepts and principles. Despite a history of “mutual neglect” between the field of Conflict Resolution and the practise of peacekeeping, recent attempts have been made to merge the theory and practise of conflict resolution and peacekeeping.

## Section 1.1 Historical Background of Conflict Resolution<sup>1</sup>

In this section, the historical evolution of the field of Conflict Resolution is outlined and individuals who have contributed strategically to the subject are identified. The discussion is not exhaustive; many others have played important roles. In the later stages of development, a number of critical perspectives have further enhanced the field.

### Precursors: Before 1945

The failure of the variety of peace, socialist, and liberal internationalist movements to prevent the outbreak of the First World War motivated many people to develop a “science of peace” that would provide a firmer basis for preventing future wars. Prominent here were the early empirical studies of war and conflict conducted in the inter-war years by Pitrim Sorokin, Lewis Fry Richardson, and Quincy Wright.

#### Pitrim Sorokin

Sorokin was a Professor of Sociology in Russia, but following a dispute with Lenin in 1922, he left for the United States. There he founded the Department of Sociology at Harvard in 1930. The third volume of his four-volume *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, published in the late-1930s, contained an analysis of war, including a statistical survey of warfare since the sixth-century BC. Both Wright and Richardson would later refer to Sorokin’s work.

1) See Miall, Ramsbotham, and Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Cambridge: Polity Press (Third edition, 2011), Chapters 2 and 6.





From left to right: Shirin Pakfar, Political Affairs Officer of the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS); Jonas Westerlund, Jan Eliasson's Special Adviser; Jan Eliasson, United Nations Special Envoy for Darfur, Pekka Haavisto Senior Advisor of Jan Eliasson; Ahmed Rufai Abubakar, African Union (AU) Senior Political Affairs Officer; and Nita Yawanarajah, UN Political Affairs Officer for Darfur Peace Agreement. At extreme right is Bashua Abiodun, Head of Political Affairs in UNMIS. 06 July 2007. UN Photo #148894 by Fred Noy.

## Mediation »

The picture on the left depicts a meeting of the UNMIS (United Nations Mission in the Sudan) Joint Mediation Support Team, which demonstrates cooperation between the UN and the African Union (AU).

### Lewis Fry Richardson

Richardson was born into a prominent Quaker family in England. He worked for the Meteorological Office, but served from 1913 to the end of the war with the Friend's Ambulance Service in France. His experience in the war, along with his background in science and mathematics and his growing interest in the field of psychology, led him to research the causes of war. The first product of this research was an essay in 1919, "The Mathematical Psychology of War", in which what is now known as his "arms race model" first appeared. He compiled a catalogue of every conflict he could find information on since 1820, and by the mid-1940s, he had collated his studies. However, they were not published until after his death when Wright (with whom Richardson had entered into correspondence in his later years) and other academics succeeded in having them published in two volumes (*Arms and Insecurity* and *Statistics of Deadly Quarrels*) in 1960. His work inspired the formation of the Richardson Institute of Peace and Conflict Research in London.

### Quincy Wright

Wright was Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago from 1923, becoming Professor of International Law in 1931. An enthusiastic advocate of the work of the League of Nations in the 1920s and 1930s, and later of the United Nations, he produced his monumental work, *A Study of War*, after sixteen years of comprehensive research. This study was one of the first attempts to make an empirical synthesis of the variety of factors related to the historical incidence of war. In 1970, a committee of American scholars nominated him for the Nobel Peace Prize.

### Other Precursors

Elsewhere, pioneering work was being done which would later enrich Conflict Resolution. Prominent here was the thinking of Mary Parker Follett in the field of organizational behaviour and labour-management relations. Advocating a "mutual gains" approach to negotiation (associated with what



*Abdalmahmood Abdalhaleem Mohamad (centre), Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Sudan to the United Nations and Vice President of the sixty-fourth session of the General Assembly, convenes the Assembly's special session in observance of the 65th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. He is flanked by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (left) and Muhammad Shaaban, Under-Secretary-General for General Assembly Affairs and Conference Management. 06 May 2010. UN Photo #435724 by Evan Schneider.*

was later called “integrative bargaining”) against the traditional concession/convergence approach (associated with “distributive bargaining”), she anticipated much of the later problem-solving agenda. (This will be further discussed in Lessons 2 and 3.)

Initiatives in other fields also contributed to the future of interdisciplinary study of conflict resolution: in psychology, frustration-aggression theories of human conflict and work on the social-psychology of groups, in political studies, the analysis of political revolution; in international studies, the functionalist approach to overcoming the realist win-lose dynamic of competitive inter-state relations through cross-border institution-building (e.g., creation of the European Union). Accounts and analyses of pacifist and non-violent objectives and strategies have also influenced and defined the formation of the Conflict Resolution field. For example, the historical traditions of pacifism, such as those contained in the beliefs of Quakers, Mennonites, and Buddhists and the ideas of Gandhi, have enhanced the academic understanding of violent conflict and peaceful alternatives.

### **Foundations: The 1950s and 1960s**

The historical evolution of Conflict Resolution gained momentum in the 1950s and 1960s, at the height of the Cold War, when the development of nuclear weapons and conflict between the superpowers seemed to threaten human survival. A group of pioneers from different disciplines saw the value of studying conflict as a general phenomenon with similar properties, whether it occurs in international relations, domestic politics, industrial relations, communities, families, or between individuals. However, they were not taken seriously by some. The international relations profession had its own understanding of international conflict and did not see value in the new approaches as proposed. The combination of analysis and practise implicit in the new ideas was not easy to reconcile with traditional scholarly institutions or the traditions of practitioners such as diplomats and politicians.

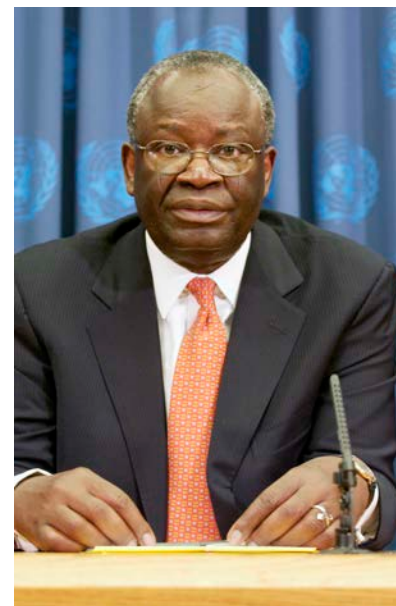
Yet, the new ideas attracted interest and the field began to grow and spread. Individuals in North America and Europe began to establish research groups, formal centres in academic institutions and scholarly journals to develop these ideas. (The first institution of peace and conflict research was the Peace Research Laboratory, founded by Theodore F. Lentz in St. Louis, Missouri, after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.) The field also began to develop its own subdivisions, with different

groups studying international crises, internal wars, social conflicts, and techniques ranging from negotiation and mediation to experimental games.

### **Kenneth Boulding and the Journal of Conflict Resolution**

Boulding was born in England in 1910. Motivated personally and spiritually as a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers), and professionally as an economist, he moved to America in 1937, married Elise Bjorn-Hansen in 1941, and began with her a partnership which was to make an important contribution to the formation of peace and conflict research. After the war he was appointed Professor of Economics at the University of Michigan. There, with a small group of academics, (including the mathematician-biologist Anatol Rapoport, the social psychologist Herbert Kelman, and the sociologist Norman Angell), he initiated the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (JCR) in 1957, and set up the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution in 1959.

Boulding's publications focused on the issue of preventing war, partly because of the failures of the discipline of international relations. His book, *Conflict and Defense*, advanced the thesis of the decline of the nation state, while *Perspectives on the Economics of Peace* argued that conventional prescriptions from international relations were unable to recognize, let alone analyse, the consequences of this decline. If war was the outcome of inherent characteristics in the sovereign state system then it might be prevented by a reform of international organization, and by the development of a research and information capability. Data collection and processing could enable the advance of scientific knowledge about the build-up of conflicts, to replace the inadequate insights available through standard diplomacy. For example, in the first issue of the JCR, Wright contributed an article proposing a "project on a world intelligence centre", which demonstrated Richardson's influence, whilst anticipating what has more recently been called "early warning" and "conflict prevention".



*Ibrahim Gambari, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, addresses correspondents on the role of civil society in the prevention of armed conflict, today at UN Headquarters. 22 July 2005. UN Photo #83688 by Eskinder Debebe.*

### **Johan Galtung and Conflict Resolution in Northern Europe**

The emergence of peace and conflict research in Scandinavia is notable, most remarkably in the influential work of Galtung. His output over the past 35 years has been phenomenal and his influence on the institutionalization and ideas of peace research seminal. Galtung, a Norwegian, became visiting Professor at Columbia University in 1958, returning to Oslo in 1960 to help found a unit for research into conflict and peace at the University of Oslo—the precursor to the International Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). He was also the founding editor of the *Journal of Peace Research*, launched in 1964.

Galtung developed the distinction between direct violence (e.g., children are murdered), structural violence (e.g., children die through poverty), and cultural violence (i.e., whatever blinds us to this or seeks to justify it). We end direct violence by changing conflict behaviours, structural violence by

removing structural injustices, and cultural violence by changing attitudes. To this can be added his further distinction between negative peace and positive peace, the former characterized by the absence of direct violence, the latter by also overcoming structural and cultural violence as well. Another influential idea attributed to Galtung is the conflict triangle (discussed in Lesson 2). He was also the first to make an analytical distinction between three tasks that could be undertaken by the international community in response to conflict: peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. These categories were also used (but with revised definitions) in Boutros-Ghali's Agenda for Peace (1992) to describe the differences between intervention operations employed at different stages of conflict.

Further emergence of peace research institutions in Europe during the 1960s was widespread. In 1962 the Polemological Institute was formed in Groningen, Holland; in 1966 the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) was opened to commemorate Sweden's 150 years of peace; and in 1969 the Tampere Peace Research Institute was formed in Finland.

### **John Burton and a New Paradigm in International Studies**

Burton was born in Australia in 1915. Following his studies at the London School of Economics from 1938, he joined the Australian civil service, attended the foundation conference of the United Nations in San Francisco, served in the Australian Department of External Affairs, and served as High Commissioner in Ceylon. After a research fellowship at the Australian National University in Canberra, he was appointed to a post at University College London in 1963. His appointment coincided with the formation of the Conflict Research Society in London, of which he became the first Honorary Secretary.

Whilst a diplomat, Burton became dissatisfied with traditional diplomacy and began to advocate bringing together multidisciplinary insights about conflict at the international level from a much broader perspective than the formal international relations field. He broke away from the sociological tradition of regarding conflict as dysfunctional, instead seeing conflict as intrinsic in human relationships. His ideas about how to better handle conflict were influenced by systems theory and games theory as means of analysing the options available to conflict parties. An early product of this initiative was the publication of *Conflict in Society*.

This was linked to attempts to coordinate international study through the formation of an International Peace Research Association (IPRA), which held its first conference in Groningen, Holland (1965). At the same time, Burton began to develop his theories about the use of controlled communication, or the problem-solving method, in international conflict (discussed in Lesson 3). This led to the formation of the Centre for the Analysis of Conflict at the University College, London (1966) under the Directorship of Burton.

Burton later spent a period at the University of Maryland, where he assisted Edward Azar with the formation of the Center for International Development and Conflict Management. Azar and Burton developed the concept of protracted social conflict, an important part of an emerging theory of international

conflict, combining domestic-social and international dimensions and focusing at a hybrid level between interstate war and purely domestic unrest. This model anticipated much of the re-evaluation of

### **International Peace Research Association (IPRA) »**

To learn more about IPRA, visit: <[www.iprapeace.org](http://www.iprapeace.org)>.

international relations thinking that has occurred since the end of the Cold War.

What made it possible to unlock these intractable conflicts for Burton was the application of human needs theory through the problem-solving approach. Needs theory holds that deep-rooted conflicts are caused by the denial of one or more basic human needs, such as security, identity, and recognition. The theory distinguishes between interests and needs: interests, being primarily about material goods, can be traded, bargained and negotiated; needs, being non-material, cannot be traded or satisfied by power bargaining. However, non-material human needs are not scarce resources (e.g., territory, oil, minerals, and water) and are not necessarily in short supply. With proper understanding, conflicts based on unsatisfied needs can be resolved.



*In the late 1970s war and civil strife had devastating effects on Kampuchea, causing hundreds of thousands of people to flee their homes and seek food and refuge in neighboring Thailand. UN relief agencies and cooperating independent groups responded to the crisis by helping to establish refugee camps along the border and taking in food, medical supplies and other essentials. Some Kampuchean refugees living in crowded conditions along the Thai-Kampuchean Border. 1979. 01 January 1979. UN Photo #31683 by Saw Lwin.*

### **Constructions: The 1970s and 1980s**

By the early 1970s, Conflict Resolution had defined its specific subject area. It was attempting to formulate a theoretical understanding of destructive conflict at three levels, with a view to refining the most appropriate practical responses. Firstly, at the interstate level, the main effort went into translating detente between the superpowers into formal win-win agreements. Secondly, at the level of domestic politics, the focus was on developing expertise in Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) (e.g., family conciliation, labour, and community mediation). Thirdly, between the two, and the most significant development in the 1970s and 1980s, was the definition and analysis of deep-rooted conflicts (or “intractable conflicts” or “protracted social conflicts”), in which the distinction between international and domestic level causes was seen to be blurred. (These types of conflict will be described in Lesson 4.) This period also saw the first attempts to apply the problem-solving approach to real conflicts.

#### **The Harvard School: Problem Solving and Principled Negotiation**

Three groups of scholar-practitioners were involved in the development of the theory and practise



B. Lynn Pascoe, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, addresses a Security Council meeting on mediation and settlement of disputes. 21 April 2009. UN Photo #386375 by Jenny Rockett.

of problem-solving, initially referred to as “controlled communication”: a group based at the University College, London, a group at Yale University and, later, a group at Harvard University. The first attempts to apply the problem-solving method were in two workshops organized by the London group in 1965 and 1966. They were designed to address the conflicts between Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia, and between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus, respectively. One of the facilitators of the second workshop was Herbert C. Kelman, a leading social psychologist who formed the Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Harvard. He went on to become the leading practitioner-scholar of the problem-solving method over the next thirty years, specializing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Kelman’s series of Arab-Israeli interactive problem-solving workshops (1974-91) had an important influence on the eventual conclusion of the Oslo Accords in 1993.

Harvard has continued to be at the forefront of the study of negotiation and conflict resolution. The Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School involves a consortium of academic centres and draws from a range of disciplines; it also produces the *Negotiation Journal*. A significant development within the programme is the principled negotiation approach, which distinguishes between positions (i.e., concrete demands) held by the parties and their underlying interests. It has been popularized through Roger Fisher and William Ury’s best-selling title *Getting to Yes*. In a recent survey, David Curran has shown that peacekeeping can be defined as a two-tiered approach in terms of conflict resolution: on one tier is the macro-level of politics where peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts are made; on the other is the micro-level, where peacekeepers work to facilitate settlement and to resolve disputes in the field at local level. Deborah Goodwin (who leads negotiation training for the UK Army at the Royal Military Training Academy, Sandhurst), and whose book *Soldier Diplomats* is the definitive text on the use of negotiation skills by military peacekeepers, applies the ‘interest-based negotiation’ approach developed by the Harvard Negotiation Project for the training of military personnel. In essence, by following four key areas—people (separating the people from the problem), interests (focusing on interests, not positions), options (generating a variety of possibilities before deciding what to do), and criteria (insisting that the result be based on some objective standard), peacekeepers can be trained in a method of dealing with disputes at both the macro and micro levels. We return to this in our section of training for peacekeepers.<sup>2</sup>

2) Goodwin, D. *The Military and Negotiation: The Role of the Soldier Diplomat*, London, Cass, 2005; and Curran, D. (2013) ‘Training for Peacekeeping:

### Adam Curle: The Theory and Practise of Mediation

Coming from an academic background in anthropology, psychology, and development education, Curle moved from Harvard to take up the first Chair of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford, UK (1973). Curle's academic interest in peace was a product of front-line experiences with conflict in Pakistan and Africa, where he not only witnessed the threats to development from the eruption of violent conflicts, but was increasingly drawn into the practise of peacemaking as a mediator.

From his experiences of the Biafran War in Nigeria, Curle felt a need to understand more about why these conflicts happened. He saw violence, conflict, processes of social change, and the goals of development as linked themes. His work, *Making Peace*, defines peace and conflict as a set of peaceful and chaotic relationships; peacemaking, therefore, consists of making changes to relationships so that they may be brought to a point where development can occur. Given his academic background, it was natural that he should see peace broadly in terms of human development, rather than as a set of "peace-enforcing" rules and organizations. For Curle, the purpose of studying social structures was to identify those that enhanced rather than restrained, or even suppressed, human potential.

Curle's work is an illustration both of the applied nature of conflict resolution and of the crucial link between academic theory and practise. *In the Middle* identifies four elements to his mediation process, inspired by the values of his Quaker practise, his background in humanistic psychology, and his field experiences: first, the mediator acts to build, maintain, and improve communications; second, to provide information to and between the conflict parties; third, to "befriend" the conflict parties; and fourth, to encourage what he refers to as "active mediation" (i.e., to cultivate a willingness to engage in cooperative negotiation). He developed the concept of "soft mediation", which later became "Track 2 mediation", or "citizens diplomacy". (See Lesson 3)

### *In the Middle*»

Access Adam Curle's work, *In the Middle: Non-official Mediation in Violent Situations* from Conciliation Resources here: <[http://www.c-r.org/downloads/mediation\\_curle.pdf](http://www.c-r.org/downloads/mediation_curle.pdf)>.

### Elise Boulding: New voices in Conflict Resolution

Boulding trained as a sociologist and was involved in the early work of the Michigan Centre, serving as Secretary-General of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) from 1964 and chair of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She was active in the promotion of peace research and education through the United Nations system, including projects with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), and the United Nations University. She introduced the idea of imaging the future—enabling people to break out of the defensive private shells into which they retreated, often out of fear of what was happening in the public world, and encouraging them to participate in peace and conflict resolution processes. The use of social imagination was placed within the context of what she called the 200 year present, i.e., we must understand that we live in a social space that reaches into the past and into the future.

She was also an early supporter of the idea of civil society—opening up new possibilities for a global

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Towards Increased Understanding of Conflict Resolution?', *International Peacekeeping*, 20:1, 80-97.



*The Security Council adopted resolution 1325 (2000), urging an enhanced role for women in preventing conflict, promoting peace and assisting in post-conflict reconstruction within United Nations operations. The resolution calls on all actors involved to adopt a gender perspective when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, and further calls on all parties to armed conflict to fully respect international law applicable to the human rights of women and girls, as civilians and as refugees. A general view of the meeting as the vote is taken. 31 October 2000. UN Photo #98193 by Milton Grant.*

civic culture that is receptive to the voices of people and cultural communities who are not part of the traditional discourses of nation-state politics. In doing so, Boulding anticipated many of the preoccupations of conflict resolution participants today (e.g., local communities, women). For Boulding, the next half of our “200 year present” (i.e., the next one hundred years from the 1980s) contains within it the basis for a world civic culture and peaceful problem-solving among nations, but also the possibility of Armageddon. The development of local and international citizens’ networks could be a way of ensuring that the former prevailed.

For Boulding, peace-making demands specific “craft and skills”, a peace praxis which must be taught so that more and more people begin to deal with conflict from an integrative standpoint. In the relationships that make up social and political life, as well as in the structures and institutions within which they are embedded, the success with which these skills are encouraged and operationalized will determine whether, in the end, we are “peace-makers” or “war-makers”.

### **Reconstructions: The 1990s**

The 1990s offered Conflict Resolution theory increasingly unexpected opportunities to make effective contributions to the resolution of contemporary deadly conflicts. With greater opportunity, however, has come greater critical scrutiny; conflict resolution ideas are being tested both at local and international levels. There are four linked areas where there has been innovative constructive criticism, and where conflict resolution work is being adapted accordingly. These issues will be discussed at length in Lessons 8, 9, and 10.



### Peacebuilding From Below

During the 1990s and at a gathering pace in the first two decades of the twenty first century, there was a significant shift away from “top-down” peacebuilding, whereby powerful outsiders act as experts, importing their own conceptions of conflict and conflict resolution and ignoring local resources in favour of a cluster of practises and principles referred to collectively as peacebuilding from below. The conflict resolution and development fields have come together in this shared enterprise. John Paul Lederach, a scholar-practitioner with practical experience in Central America and Africa, is one of the chief exponents of this approach. The priority for peacekeeping and conflict resolution is to develop widening participation and local ownership of peacekeeping deployments and to strengthen and balance the civilian content and capacity of missions with the core military composition typical of conventional peacekeeping. These developments are dealt with in Lesson 8. In the past two decades, also as part of this trend of wider participation and local ownership, efforts have been made to make peacekeeping open to more sensitivity to cultural values and diversity, including gender equality.



*Deputy Secretary-General Jan Eliasson (centre) greets Heraldo Muñoz, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile and President of the Security Council for January, at the Council's meeting on post-conflict peacebuilding. 14 January 2015. UN Photo #619286 by Devra Berkowitz.*

### Power, Participation and Transformation

A second area of constructive criticism is found at the interface between traditional conflict resolution approaches and critical social theory. Vivienne Jabri's work is an example. As both a sociologist and conflict resolution specialist, she views violent conflict as a social product and looks to structuration theory, with its recognition of the mutual dependency of agency and structure, to bridge the gap between the individualist and structuralist approaches. The danger of failing to incorporate a critical-theoretical approach is that attempts at conflict resolution will simply reinforce the unchallenged order that generated the conflict in the first place (including exclusion and domination). The result is that we continually resolve conflicts instead of developing a solution that will not reappear again or solutions that did not work the first time. These criticisms have been applied to the international community's peacebuilding efforts, as well as to international aid and development work. The perspective here further emphasizes

the process of conflict transformation, which refers to the longer-term and deeper structural, relational, and cultural dimensions of conflict resolution.

### **A Gendered Critique of Conflict Resolution**

This lesson has shown how Conflict Resolution as an academic project was created and institutionalized in a small number of centres, most of them set up by men who, consequently, constitute a majority among the exemplars (although, today the gender proportions may well be more equal). Number-counting is of less significance than the fact that women are usually the silent victims of violent conflict, yet they are often the main creators of new modes of survival and conflict resolution. The involvement of women in formal peace processes and negotiations has been very limited; they are largely excluded from high-level negotiations despite their active participation in local peace movements and peace-making initiatives. The exclusion of women from the discourse about new political structures defined in peace agreements, and the political process of negotiations determined at international level, may well be factors that perpetuate the exclusionist and violent discourses and institutions which contribute to the conflict in the first place.

### **The Culture Question**

In the last decade, the question of whether the Conflict Resolution field constitutes a truly global enterprise as its founders assumed, or whether it is based upon hidden cultural specifics that are not universal, has also been raised. Anthropological studies have long demonstrated the diversity of conflict expression and conflict resolution practise across cultures. This eventually led to a major controversy in the 1980s in the form of an explicit critique of Burton's universal human needs theory by anthropologists Kevin Avruch and Peter Black (Center for Conflict Analysis, George Mason University, USA). Others have also offered cultural perspectives in response to the "Western" assumptions of the field, including John Paul Lederach.

The expansion in peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding work in areas of conflict in the 1990s has propelled the culture question in Conflict Resolution to the top of the agenda. The presence of thousands of military and civilian personnel from numerous countries in conflict zones in all parts of the world, attempting to achieve common conflict resolution goals, has shown up glaring cultural discontinuities. In many cases, there has been no doubt about the extent of cultural ignorance and misunderstanding, or the inappropriateness of attempted conflict resolution approaches.

### ***Conflict Transformation* >>**

Access an abridged version of John Paul Lederach's work *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*, here: <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation>.

## **Section 1.2 The Relationship Between Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping**

### **Defining the Relationship**

Following the end of the Cold War, peacekeeping has become central to the international community's



*The African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) hosted a cultural and sports event in El Sereif, North Darfur, as part of its "We Need Peace Now" campaign. Spectators cheer following a horse race held as part of the cultural and sports event. 20 May 2014. UN Photo #589354 by Albert González Farran.*

response to many complex violent conflicts. It has taken on unfamiliar roles in prevention (UNPREDEP in Macedonia), intervention in active war zones (UNOMIL in Liberia, UNPROFOR in Bosnia, UNOSOM in Somalia), as well as post-settlement peacebuilding (ONUSAL in El Salvador, UNTAC in Cambodia, ONUMOZ in Mozambique). Consequently, it has become more common for Conflict Resolution theorists to refer to peacekeeping as an important instrument of positive conflict transformation. In this sense, peacekeepers (military and civilian) are increasingly required to use psychological and communications strategies over the use of military force. In the same way, one of the striking features of recent analyses by practitioners of peacekeeping has been the frequency with which they refer to the relevance of aspects of conflict resolution.

Although the end goals and objectives of peacekeeping may be defined as military (controlling and ending violence, securing the environment), humanitarian (delivering emergency relief), political (restoring legitimate government), and economic (assisting efforts for development), peacekeeping on the ground is essentially comprised of conflict management and communication activities. The original principles of peacekeeping (consent, impartiality, minimum use of force, and legitimate conduct) can only be observed by a closer integration of the communication and problem-solving strategies associated with conflict resolution into the doctrine and practise of peacekeeping.

It is noticeable how much of the military peacekeeping doctrine is suffused with the language of conflict resolution. This includes, for example, the peacekeeping doctrine of the British Army, *Wider Peacekeeping* and its doctrine for *Peace Support Operations*.<sup>3</sup> The same approach has been taken in the US doctrine covering peace support operations.<sup>4</sup> In 2008, the UNDPKO had produced a "capstone doctrine" entitled *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles And Guidelines*.<sup>5</sup> This new doctrine identified three 'success factors' which were correlated with effective peacekeeping, namely legitimacy, credibility, and the promotion of national and local ownership. These success factors are in turn related to the management of consent (based on the principles of impartiality, legitimacy, mutual respect, minimum force, credibility, and transparency), which is also a function of the techniques of promoting

3) British Army (1995), *Wider Peacekeeping*, Vol.5 of the British Army Field Manual, London: HMSO; and Permanent Joint Headquarters, *Peace Support Operations: Joint Warfare Publication*, 3-50, London: HMSO.

4) United States (1994), *Field Manual 100-23: Peace Operations*, Washington, DC: Department of the Army.

5) UN Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines-"Capstone Doctrine." This document can be found on the United Nations Peacekeeping Website, <<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/principles.shtml>>.

good communication, negotiation, mediation. These consent-promoting techniques constitute the “soft” skills and processes of peacekeeping—as opposed to the “hard”, or technical and military skills—designed to win hearts and minds.



*Bolivian United Nations peacekeepers distribute water and meals to the residents of Cité Soleil, Haiti. 15 January 2010. UN Photo #425125 by Marco Dormino.*

## SOURCES AND RECOMMENDED READING >>

Fetherston, A.B., O. Ramsbotham, and T. Woodhouse (1994), “UNPROFOR: Some Observations from a Conflict Resolution Perspective”, *International Peacekeeping*, 1(2): 170-203.

Miall, Ramsbotham, and Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Cambridge: Polity Press (Third edition, 2011), (Chapter 2, “Conflict Resolution: Foundations, Constructions and Reconstructions”, pp.35-62; Chapter 6, “Containing Violent Conflict: Peacekeeping”, pp.147-170).

Woodhouse, T. (1998), “Peacekeeping and the Psychology of Conflict Resolution”, in H. Langholtz (ed.), *The Psychology of Peacekeeping*, Westport, CT: Praeger, pp.153-66.

Woodhouse, T. and O. Ramsbotham (eds.) (2000), *Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution*. London: Frank Cass.

## Exercise: Reflecting on Experience »

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**Objective:**

To allow the student to begin exploring conflict and conflict resolution by reflecting on his/her own experiences in peacekeeping environments.

**Method:**

On your own, or with another individual(s), think of a challenging situation(s) that you have faced in the field.

**Consideration/Discussion:**

- » Did the situation involve other individuals or groups? If so, who?
- » What events led to the situation arising?
- » How did you behave in the situation?
- » Was your response appropriate or inappropriate, effective, or ineffective?
- » What were your strengths and/or weaknesses in the situation?
- » How could the outcome have been improved if you had known more or responded differently?

*No answers are provided for discussion questions. They are for reflection and consideration only.*

## End-of-Lesson Quiz »

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1. **Prominent to the development of the field of Conflict Resolution during the inter-war years were the early works of:**
  - A. Burton, Richardson, and Galtung
  - B. Sorokin, Richardson, and Wright
  - C. Azar, Burton, and Sorokin
  - D. Galtung, Richardson, and Wright
2. **The field of Conflict Resolution emerged at the same time as the basic principles of peacekeeping were being defined.**
  - A. True
  - B. False
3. **Kenneth Boulding's major contribution to Conflict Resolution was:**
  - A. Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)
  - B. Problem-Solving Workshops
  - C. Journal of Peace Research
  - D. Journal of Conflict Resolution
4. **John Burton's human needs theory is based on:**
  - A. Compromising needs through negotiation
  - B. Satisfying basic human needs through problem-solving methods
  - C. Enabling access to scarce resources
  - D. A set of peace-enforcement rules
5. **The first two problem-solving workshops were designed to address the real conflicts between:**
  - A. Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia
  - B. Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus
  - C. Israel and Palestine
  - D. Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland
6. **Herbert Kelman became the leading problem-solving scholar-practitioner, specializing in which conflict:**
  - A. Northern Ireland
  - B. India-Pakistan
  - C. Nigeria
  - D. Israel-Palestine
7. **List the four elements of Adam Curle's mediation process developed in In the Middle.**
8. **To encourage wider participation in peace and conflict resolution processes, Elise Boulding developed the concept of:**
  - A. Active mediation
  - B. Controlled communication
  - C. Imaging the future
  - D. Positive peace
9. **Peace praxis refers to:**
  - A. The skills to deal with conflict constructively
  - B. Pacifist approaches to violence
  - C. Campaigns against the development of nuclear weapons
  - D. The analysis of protracted social conflicts
10. **List three areas in which the theory and practise of Conflict Resolution may contribute to the practise of peacekeeping.**

*Answer Key provided on the next page.*

## End-of-Lesson Quiz »

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### Answer Key »

1. B
2. A
3. D
4. B
5. A
6. D
7. Build/improve communication, provide information, befriend, encourage cooperation
8. C
9. A
10. Any three from the following: understanding the nature of conflict; choosing appropriate intervention strategies; managing relations with conflict parties through negotiation; developing mediation skills; developing problem-solving skills; promoting reconciliation; facilitating cooperation, including interagency coordination; integrating intervention levels; handling politics of power; developing cultural awareness skills