

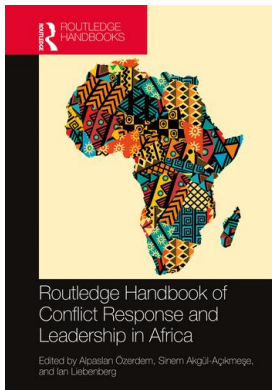
This article was downloaded by: 10.3.97.143

On: 10 Dec 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



Routledge Handbook of Conflict Response and Leadership in Africa

Alpaslan Özerdem, Sinem Akgül-Açkmece, Ian Liebenberg

The Evolution of Conflict Response

Publication details

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429318603-3>

Alpaslan Özerdem

Published online on: 15 Sep 2021

How to cite :- Alpaslan Özerdem. 15 Sep 2021, *The Evolution of Conflict Response from:* Routledge Handbook of Conflict Response and Leadership in Africa Routledge

Accessed on: 10 Dec 2023

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429318603-3>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

1

THE EVOLUTION OF CONFLICT RESPONSE

Management, resolution, and transformation

Alpaslan Özerdem

Introduction

With the end of the Cold War, civil war became the most common form of armed conflict, and liberal notions of peace have been actively adopted in major international peace-supporting activities since the 1990s. Although international peacebuilding activities rapidly increased in terms of their number, size, and forms, the activities were primarily initiated and led by international organizations and nation states from the global North (mainly European and North American). They were, therefore, firmly underpinned by the liberal notions of peace. As a result, the liberal prescriptions for peace were embedded in the conflict response programmes, whether they are peacemaking, peacekeeping, or peacebuilding operations.

Therefore, this chapter explores the conceptual understanding of those key phrases and responses to explain the conflict response's evolution since the early 1990s. Starting with a brief historical review on how conflict response has evolved in modern times, the chapter will focus on the three main types of conflict response: management, resolution, and transformation. In the following section, the purpose will be to link how these responses have been shaped and implemented in peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding operations. Finally, the chapter focuses on different types of actors in the evolution of conflict response.

Conflict response evolution in modern times

Historical evidence shows that it is never easy to mitigate armed conflicts and promote consolidated peace. Since the first modern forms of international peace-supporting activities appeared in the mid-19th century, peace processes have evolved in various ways seeking more effective methods of achieving their goals. Hence, while there is general agreement upon the broad definition of a peace process – a wide range of international, national, and local efforts to stop, minimize, eliminate, and transform violent conflicts – the detailed characteristics of peace processes vary according to the contexts in which the programmes are implemented. Although they may present similar features, each of these programmes has distinctive conceptual foundations and operation principles. Nevertheless, some key terms that identify such different forms of the peace process are either being used interchangeably or without drawing clear distinctions between them. Such conceptual ambiguity occasionally causes misunderstanding among field practitioners as well as academics.

The modern concept of conflict response and peace-supporting operations by the international community emerged in the 19th century, the ‘balance of power’ era. Besides mutual treaties, European states established common security codifications, institutions, and trade regimes to discourage slavery and piracy at sea, control their waterways, and promote postal and telecommunications services. As seen in the Ottoman Empire’s collapse, some European countries participated in external humanitarian intervention forms in the Balkans. However, their chief aim was to secure the order and stability of the international system. In the late 19th century, non-governmental organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) began to participate in humanitarian assistance to war victims and promote international humanitarian operations norms. In its aftermath, although no military action was conducted, the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919 extended the scope of cooperation in the international community.

With the establishment of the United Nations on 24 October 1945, a new era began. The 1945 UN Charter states that the UN is entitled to use “a set of techniques which it can use to secure the peaceful settlement of disputes, including fact-finding, good offices, conciliation, mediation and negotiation” and to use coercion and armed force “if necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security” (Miall et al. 1999: p. 34). The Korean War (1950–1953), in which armies from 16 nations participated, was a striking example of the UN’s collective security role.

In a further development, the UN began to intervene in several areas lying within the scope of the nation state’s domestic jurisdiction that was traditionally regarded as areas of strict non-interference. In such military interventions, three primary methods are used: peacekeeping-type activities (for example, in the Balkans, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent), peace enforcement action (Korea and Congo), and management of transition (Congo and Dutch West New Guinea) (Bellamy et al. 2004: p. 71). The UN (and other international organizations) could intervene only with the conflicting parties’ consent.

The first UN peacekeeping mission, involving military observers’ deployment to the Middle East to monitor the Armistice Agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbours, was authorized in 1948. Since then, the UN Security Council has approved peacekeeping missions in more than a hundred countries, with varying degrees of success. The form of the UN’s early interventions is frequently categorized as First-Generation Peacekeeping. Unarmed or lightly armed military forces conducted the UN’s early operations. Their main purposes were monitoring the implementation of a truce or creating a buffer zone between warring parties while peace negotiations took place. In this period, the UN peacekeeping missions strictly followed three guiding principles: involvement only with all parties’ consent at war, strict impartiality, and the use of force only for self-defence.

Nevertheless, the UN’s military interventions rarely achieved UN Security Council consensus due to the intense rivalry between the bipolar bloc coalitions. Moreover, many countries regarded the UN as an agency of the United States and did not consider it a neutral mediator. While the rivalry between the two global camps served to limit the number and the scope of collective actions conducted under the UN’s name, individual states such as the US and the UK played diverse roles in various international tensions in this period. As a result, UN officials, including former secretary-generals such as Dag Hammarskjöld and U Thant, opted to use ‘quiet diplomacy’ to encourage conflicting parties to join the negotiating table. For instance, the UN played a significant role as a mediator in cases such as the Cyprus conflicts (1967 and 1974), the war between Iraq and Iran, and the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan.

Regional organizations also began to get involved in attempts to resolve regional conflicts. For example, the Organisation for African Unity (OAU), which was established in 1963, played a significant role in African conflicts in both positive and negative ways. Sometimes the OAU provided military aid to rebels (e.g. independence movements against colonialism or anti-apartheid groups in South Africa) and actively promoted several projects helping the refugees of conflicts and natural disasters. Nevertheless, its failure to gain unilateral consent from member states to intervene in conflicting states hampered its ability to mediate in the region's internal conflicts. In some cases, high-profile individuals contributed to the peaceful resolution of conflicts. Some of these figures include Tanzanian President Nyerere in Burundi, former US President Jimmy Carter in the Middle East conflicts and the Emperor of Ethiopia in the Sudanese civil war. Another good example is the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group's political pressure on the South African government regarding its policy of apartheid.

The collapse of the Cold War system brought considerable changes to the international security arena: the disappearance of bipolar constraints (a new system), the emergence of NGOs (new actors), renewed interest in the mediation (a new motive), and international norms recognizing the need for international intervention (new norms) (Crocker et al. 1999). These changes led to the significant expansion of global peace operations – quantitatively, qualitatively, and normatively – and to a new conception of peacebuilding in the early 1990s.

In terms of quantity, peace interventions have increased in number in the post-Cold War period. The UN has conducted more peacekeeping operations in the five years from 1989 to 1994 than in the previous 40 years. In addition, the number of civil war cases being terminated through negotiation has increased. Concerning actors, the UN began to play a more active role from the early 1990s. An Agenda for Peace (UNSG 1992), which was announced by the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992, insisted that third-party intervention by the UN should change direction and shift its focus towards peacebuilding. The establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission at the UN in 2005 is, in this sense, a significant development. The Commission, which aims to coordinate post-conflict peace-supporting activities, clearly demonstrates the UN's more decisive commitment to peacebuilding.

In the post-Cold War period, the scope of peacekeeping has expanded to include second-generation operations engaged in “various police and civilian tasks, the goal of which is a long-term settlement of the underlying conflict” (Doyle 1996: p. 484). Furthermore, the scope of third-generation peacekeeping operations, which are also called “peace-enforcing” operations, has been extended “from low-level military operations to protect the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the enforcement of ceasefires and, when necessary, assistance in the rebuilding of so-called failed states” (Doyle 1996: p. 484). Third-generation operations are conducted under the mandate of Chapter 7 of the UN charter (collective security) and sometimes without the UN's consent.

UN peace intervention methods were also diversified during the 1990s. In addition to military forces' recruitment for peacekeeping operations, human resources were drawn from civilian police forces, diplomatic actors, and non-governmental professionals (Ramsbotham et al. 2005). Military interventions were supplemented by a range of projects such as emergency relief, institution (re)building programmes, economic rehabilitation, and community building.

In normative terms, the concept of liberal-democratic peace had been widely accepted as the post-war system standard (Carment and Rowlands 1998). Still, as the cultural issues involved in intervention attracted greater attention and came under greater scrutiny, new intervention types began to be considered. For instance, many external interveners began to adopt interactive conflict resolution methods, which employ “small group, problem-solving discussions between

unofficial representatives of identity groups or states engaged in destructive conflict that are facilitated by an impartial third party of social scientist-practitioners” (Fisher 1997: p. 239).

The collapse of the Cold War system widened the scope for cooperation between major powers. The Gulf War in 1991, in which the UN’s collective security force was deployed, was a notable example of this increased cooperation. In the process of consent building, the Soviet Union supported the US resolution authorizing force against Iraq. Moreover, in addition to the involvement of relatively neutral developed countries in Europe and North America in peace-supporting operations (including the Republic of Ireland and the Scandinavian nations), many Asian countries (Bangladesh, Pakistan, South Korea, India) and African nations (Nigeria, Ethiopia, Ghana) have actively participated in international peacebuilding since the mid-1990s.

The roles of regional organizations such as the African Union (AU, the successor of OAU), the Organisation of American States (OAS), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) became much more prominent in conflict intervention. In Africa, for instance, the AU has made great efforts to mediate conflicting parties by sending envoys to countries such as the Central African Republic (2003) and Zimbabwe (2005) in addition to peacekeeping operations in Burundi and Sudan. In Europe, while NATO has played significant roles in various military operations, from peacekeeping (e.g. operations in the former Yugoslavia in 1994) to direct military action (e.g. the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1995), the EU’s activities have focused on preventive diplomacy and post-war assistance.

In the context of the post-Arab Spring and recent civil wars in such contexts as Libya, Syria, and Yemen, the role of international and regional organizations and nation states and civil society actors have become even more complicated. The foundational premises of different conflict response types have now reached a significant stalemate because the overall international conjuncture is such that traditional conflict management and resolution tools have become defunct. The rise of new actors such as non-state-armed groups and private security companies in recent conflict zones, as well as the isolationism by such key actors as the US and the rising of populist politics across the world, has played a role in the emergence of different types of engagements between key conflict response actors.

Conflict management, conflict resolution, and conflict transformation

Conflict management

Conflict management is a conservative approach to peace operations. It refers to a set of strategies undertaken by third-party interveners to end a conflict and minimize its negative impact on people or the environment. As a response strategy, conflict management is often based on the assumption that human beings are by nature aggressive, and conflict will be an inevitable feature of society as long as people interact (Miall 2004). This realist view assumes that disagreements and violent conflicts are complicated, if not impossible to resolve. Hence, conflict management’s core aim is often limited to suppressing the outbreak and/or escalation of violence rather than addressing the underlying factors responsible for the conflict.

Several strategies are available for managing international and intrastate-armed conflicts. Each strategy is guided by one core principle: containing the violence and disruptive behaviour of the hostile parties in the conflict to a minimum. Since containment is a critical factor in conflict management, it is safe to conclude that such strategies should aim to separate fighting parties to reduce hostilities, provide safe corridors for humanitarian aid delivery, and initiate peace talks to end the conflict. Critical methods of peace-supporting activities until the late 1980s, such as mediation and traditional peacekeeping, are based on conflict management ideas.

Conflict resolution

Conflict resolution is a higher level of response than conflict management and is concerned with addressing the causes of conflict and building stronger, lasting relationships between competing groups. This approach is based on the assumption that a conflict typically comes out of contradictory views and/or interests of different actors and that such sources of conflict can be addressed. Hence, the approach includes conflict resolution operations endeavour to mediate the competing interests of warring parties by facilitating peace negotiation or de-escalating the risk of conflicts by alleviating extreme poverty or antagonism (Ramsbotham et al. 2005: p. 29).

A variety of coercive and non-coercive methods are employed for conflict resolution. Frequently used non-coercive methods include providing good offices for negotiation, rule-building for inter-party interaction, suggesting feasible common targets for competing parties, and transmitting information and diplomatic persuasion. When non-coercive methods do not bring about the expected outcomes, external interveners sometimes apply coercive economic and military incentives/pressure, which are more coercive.

Conflict transformation

The conflict transformation model adopts a more nuanced approach to the emergence and transformation of conflicts. Although both conflict resolution and conflict transformation assume that conflict sources can be addressed, conflict transformation pays attention to various social issues related to structural violence. The proponents of conflict transformation argue that conflicts originate from a series of social changes that lead suppressed or marginalized individuals/groups to challenge norms and structures. Accordingly, this approach tries to identify and resolve the broader social and political causes of conflict. The focus of conflict transformation, therefore, differs significantly from conflict management and conflict resolution and emphasizes the following:

- Relationship-centred (not content-centred) strategies
- Long-term (rather than short-term) processes, addressing cultural, contextual, or structural issues (including grievances and the root and immediate causes of conflict)
- Building or reconstructing relationships (interactions and networks)
- Creating or reforming structures (institutions or policies that govern people)

It should be noted that these terms are nevertheless interpreted in different ways and that no universally accepted definition of each term exists in the contemporary conflict response arena. Conflict resolution, in particular, is subject to definitional problems as it is one of the most commonly used terms to describe the process of bringing armed conflicts to an end. While it is sometimes used to distinguish between activities that aim to address the causes of conflicts and conflict management programmes, it is also understood as a general term that refers to third-party efforts to de-escalate armed violence. Recently, as the concept of post-conflict peacebuilding has become more prominent, conflict resolution has come to refer to the processes of de-escalating ongoing military conflicts as distinct from conflict transformation, which emphasizes longer-term efforts.

Peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding

While conflict resolution, management, and transformation emphasize peace activities' procedural aspect, peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding denote external interveners' approaches

to peace intervention. The distinctions among the notions of peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding are primarily determined by the types of methods that interveners choose to employ and their fundamental assumptions in such approaches.

Peacekeeping

In many cases, peacekeeping is used to denote a wide range of activities that often include peacebuilding and peacemaking operations. However, traditional definitions of peacekeeping specifically refer to the deployment of armed forces that aim “to end immediate violence and hostilities” (Chetail 2009: p. 1). Peacekeeping missions usually are mandated to maintain law and order, monitor ceasefire agreements, protect relief aid convoys, and propose disarming and demobilizing combatants. The missions, therefore, often focus on reducing the fighting on the ground by separating combatants. At the same time, plans are made for diplomatic efforts to end the conflict by promoting peace negotiations, brokering ceasefires, and maintaining transitional peace. In short, the main emphasis of peacekeeping is on halting the armed conflict. Such intervention took place only when the military factions consented to the operation.

Peacekeeping missions have been undertaken mainly by national/international agencies such as state military forces, the UN, and regional organizations. As most projects are politically sensitive, traditional peacekeeping operations require consent from the immediate parties to the conflict and usually rely on non-coercive and impartial means. Representative examples of peacekeeping are the operations undertaken by UN peacekeeping forces during the Cold War period (such as those in Cyprus and Lebanon). The fundamental task was to provide a buffer zone between two or more disputing military factions to reduce encounter/engagement chances.

More recently, unarmed civilian peacekeeping has been attempted by some civil society organizations as an alternative to military peacekeeping. These organizations usually take on the non-military parts of traditional peacekeeping operations, such as monitoring ceasefire agreements and playing advocacy roles for minority groups (e.g. protective accompaniment, media coverage to sure the implementation of ceasefire provisions) (Berghof Foundation 2012).

Peacemaking

As the limitations of traditional peacekeeping that mainly concern neutral intervention to sustain peace-supporting activities and reduce violence became apparent, more proactive operations to nurturing more peaceful conflict resolution were initiated. While peacebuilding mainly concerns a wider range of field practices, peacemaking is more about state-oriented activities focusing on diplomatic or policy-oriented programmes.

Thus, from a narrow perspective, peacemaking is typically defined as diplomatic efforts to encourage disputing parties to choose negotiation rather than violent conflict. Ratner’s definition is a good example that identifies peacemaking as “the diplomatic process of bringing the sides to a conflict together toward a settlement (both before and after the signature of any peace agreement)” (1997: p. 21). From a broader perspective, the concept of peacemaking occasionally includes ‘peace enforcement’. In the circumstances where combatants target civilians and commit human rights abuses, peacemaking mandates may be changed to include peace enforcement, which allows the use of threats or force to compel conflicting parties to negotiate. In such cases, further enforcement measures, such as economic sanctions and military interventions, are applied together with traditional diplomatic methods like mediation, arbitration, and judicial settlement.

Moreover, current peacemaking projects tend to aim to achieve Western ideals of peace. In particular, many peace agreements signed in the 1990s and 2000s are criticized as representing

international actors' views and interests. Many of these agreements are facilitated by Western third parties and include key ideas that are popularly supported by the mediators, either implicitly or expressed explicitly: "a monopoly over the use of force", "the rule of law", "the control of interdependence. . . limiting the inclination to use violence and force", "democratic participation", "social justice (welfare and rights)", and "a political culture of constructive and peaceful management of conflicts" (Young 2010: pp. 407–408).

Peacebuilding

In 1992, the UN produced its earliest definition of peacebuilding, as "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict" and described its purpose as "support for the transformation of deficient national structures and capabilities, and for the strengthening of new democratic institutions" (UNSG 1992: para 21). Later critical reflection on previous peacekeeping operations, which had tended to sustain the status quo in the society in which they had operated, gradually led to calls for projects that focused on longer-term social transformation, on addressing the fundamental causes, and on developing a more sustainable peace.

This new conception of peacebuilding challenged previous approaches towards security and peace "by taking people, rather than states, as the referent of security and by moving beyond a narrow focus on military security" (Tschirgi 2013: p. 197). Therefore, peacebuilding programmes aim to effect changes not only in social and institutional structures but also in people's behaviour and perception (Jeong 2005). In this sense, peacebuilding expanded the scope of peacemaking significantly by bringing a more comprehensive range of issues to international peace-supporting activities. Schmelzle and Fischer (2009) categorized such expanded missions into three areas: altering structural contradictions, improving conflict parties' relations, and changing individual attitudes and behaviour.

Two types of peacebuilding are commonly employed. The first type deals with the issues that emerge immediately after a ceasefire. In the aftermath of large-scale violence, a range of problems such as the demobilization of military forces, the establishment of state authority, the restoration of public services, and refugee resettlement require urgent attention. Peacebuilding programmes in this period, therefore, attempt to provide provisional methods of managing transitional periods. Once the war-torn society has achieved a relatively stable level of peace, peacebuilding programs' focus can shift to addressing the fundamental sources of the violent conflict and pursues longer-term social structure transformation.

Although they approach peace-supporting efforts from different perspectives, the ideas of peacekeeping and conflict management are very similar. Moreover, the core concepts of peacebuilding are highly consistent with the themes of conflict transformation. These terms and concepts were developed in similar periods. At the same time, peacekeeping was a dominant form of international peace-supporting activities when the concept of conflict management was utilized as a prominent theoretical foundation. After having a rapid expansion of its scope, the international peace operation is being developed into long-term peacebuilding based on the conceptual ground of conflict transformation.

Conflict response in operation

What, then, are the core components of the conflict response? What are the main issues addressed through the peace process? This section answers these questions focusing on the phases of conflict prevention, peace negotiation, and post-conflict peacebuilding. Although various methods

with different goals are generally employed in parallel, competition, force, and accommodation are more frequently used during the peace negotiation period, while cooperation is more commonly observed in the post-conflict phase.

Conflict prevention

Although the importance of conflict prevention measures had been emphasized since the 1950s, it was only in the 1990s that preventive actions were adopted as a critical element of peacebuilding. As identifying and addressing the signs of potentially violent conflicts as early as possible are central to these actions, major international organizations have promoted three main types of activity: early warning, preventive diplomacy, and peacekeeping operations.

Early warning refers to any initiatives that aim “to detect potential peace breaking issues or situations” (Ramcharan 2009: p. 235) so that external actors can implement relevant measures to reduce the risk. Specifically, it identifies “a) wars and armed conflict; b) state failure; c) genocide and politicicide; d) other gross human rights violations; and e) humanitarian emergencies caused by natural disasters” (Wulf and Debiel 2009: p. 5). Although the UN and other regional organizations (e.g. the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the African Union) developed their early warning systems and established networks for collaboration between 2000 and 2005, evaluating the likelihood of violent conflicts remains a challenge. In particular, precisely determining the moment when the threshold for the eruption of violent conflict has been reached – that is, “when parties to a conflict decide, or feel compelled to use or escalate violence to achieve their aims” – is a complicated task (UNSG 2011).

Preventive diplomacy is one of the most common measures employed by the UN and other external actors to “prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflict and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur” (UNSG 1992). Some of the UN’s traditional preventive diplomacy methods include (1) facilitating the good offices of the Secretary-General, (2) dispatching envoys, and (3) organizing unofficial groups of international leaders called ‘Friends of UN Secretary-General’ (UNSG 2011). The organization has recently established permanent regional offices in West Africa, Central Asia, and Central Africa and uses the offices for conducting proactive preventive diplomatic actions. Although such diplomatic measures have mediated a large number of potentially risky conflicts over the past decade, these ‘quiet successes’ are not widely reported by the media.

As previously discussed, *traditional (first-generation) peacekeeping* has been employed as another key preventive action measure. By dispatching non-aggressive military forces to act as a buffer between the conflicting parties, this measure is intended to reduce the frequency and intensity of the interaction between them.

Peace negotiation

Peace negotiation is a process that brings disputants together to negotiate their demands to end an ongoing military conflict. Although many definitions highlight different aspects of negotiation, there is a general agreement that negotiation is a process by which compromise is reached. Also, these definitions assume that negotiations have four core elements: board (set-up), players (important actors), stakes (issues and their salience for players), and moves (strategies and tactics) (Starkey et al. 1999). In short, no matter what specific forms they have, the actions that actors communicate to build a voluntary agreement can be defined as ‘negotiations’.

Negotiation in conflicts can be understood as one of the most competitive types of negotiation in the international arena for several reasons. When a war begins, actors believe that their

contradicting interests cannot be harmonised through non-violent means. Moreover, once a war starts and causalities occur on both sides, the level of a faction's trust toward its counterpart decreases dramatically. Even when leaders wish to negotiate, the rank and file are so filled with anger that they tend not to allow it. Under these circumstances, the actors in peace negotiations seek resolutions that can convince the warring factions to agree to end the war through peaceful means (for actors' strategies, see the "Main Actors in Conflict Response" section).

Hence, various ways to improve the effectiveness of peace negotiation have been suggested. First, some researchers seek the ways of changing the bargain to a 'non-zero-sum game' based on the assumption of actors' rationality. Some propose methods for finding a common interest among actors and manipulating the game so that it becomes 'interest-based bargaining'. For instance, Fisher and Ury suggest several effective ways to enable this to occur: "separate the people from the problem; focus on interests, not positions; invent options for mutual gain; and insist upon using objective criteria to judge the merits of possible solutions" (Starkey et al. 1999: p. 115). Axelrod (1990) argues that there are three interrelated features of cooperative negotiation: (1) negotiations need to be sequential games, (2) the gains that actors expect in the forthcoming games should be sufficiently large, and (3) reciprocity should be guaranteed.

In contrast, non-positivist theorists point to the critical role that cultural issues play in civil conflicts as causes, reflectors, amplifiers, or inhibitors. Firstly, cultural issues can be the direct cause of disputes. For example, in ethnic war, ethnic identity provides the fundamental motivation for violent resistance to the (perceived) discrimination of rival parties. Secondly, cultural symbols and narratives sometimes mirror tensions among groups. For instance, the religious parades in Northern Ireland serve to galvanize the anger of opposing sides. Thirdly, according to how the cultural expressions are used, they can be either amplifiers or inhibitors of conflicts. For example, although the parades in Northern Ireland are reflections of existing tensions, they may also cause subsequent tensions or violent reactions (Ross 2007). Non-positivist theorists maintain that understanding the cultural traits of actors is the first step towards a successful peace negotiation.

Post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding

Once a peace negotiation process succeeds in convincing belligerents to sign peace accords and to agree to a ceasefire, the promotion and maintenance of sustainable peace in the post-conflict period become central to the peace process. In this phase, the focus of peacebuilding is the programmes that are implemented to improve public security, promote economic recovery, facilitate social healing, and develop democratic institutions. Most contemporary post-conflict reconstruction programmes focus on establishing democratic political institutions and a market-oriented economic system (Jeong 2005: p. 2). This section briefly discusses major peacebuilding programmes from both short-term and long-term perspectives.

Some programmes aim to provide immediate support to re-establish social security and the building of social and economic systems in war-torn societies. The short-term management and recovery plans discussed during the political negotiation between disputing military factions are mainly concerned with restructuring the security, political, and public service sectors. Besides, international and local actors also make efforts to restore societies' social and economic dimensions that have been devastated by war. Examples of such initiatives are as follows:

The *disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of ex-combatants* (DDR) is a typical strategy undertaken to reform the security sector. Since overcoming mistrust is a crucial issue for successful DDR, various techniques are employed to build trust

both between the former rival combatants and between the factions and interveners, including exchanging reliable information, transparent inspection, and verifying the disarmament process, and acceptance of mutual security. Also, sufficient support for the rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-combatants into their societies (for example, emergency food aid, transitional allowances, skills training, health support, and cash grants) should be provided.

(Özerdem 2009)

Providing *interim security* during the transitional period is another critical issue. Since the majority of the security forces formerly under the control of warring factions will have disarmed or demobilized by this point, the transitional period is prone to experiencing a security vacuum, especially given that few national leaderships or international interveners possess the capabilities to provide transitional arrangements for the control of the security dimension. As a result, disarmed former combatants, returning refugees, and other people have been victimized by remaining security forces or other militias in many cases (Call and Stanley 2003).

Attempts to *protect and enhance human rights* are also made in most peacebuilding programmes. For those who have been subject to severe violence and indignity, having confidence in exercising their political, economic, and civil rights is an essential but complicated issue. Together with judicial, security, and political support (e.g. enhancing law enforcement on human rights violations, promotion of disciplined criminal proceedings, effective control of security officials and political campaigns on human rights), social and psychological support (e.g. rebuilding social capitals, creation of work opportunities, and provision of psychological treatment) are essential elements of human rights protection.

Transitional authorities control the administration during the interim period between the ceasefire and the first general election and play significant roles in preventing violent conflicts. Power-sharing (consociationalism) and autonomy acknowledgement (federalism) are two key ideas that have been applied in most of the political transition projects in post-conflict societies during the 1990s and 2000s. While power sharing aims to provide mechanisms through which the parties can work as equal partners during the interim period and pursue coexistence in the post-election phases, the objective of autonomy acknowledgement is to grant specific levels of power to regional or ethnic groups (Jeong 2005).

Since protracted wars significantly damage the conditions for economic activities, *economic rehabilitation and development* are high-priority goals. Recovery of basic infrastructures such as buildings, roads, ports, and electricity can be made in a relatively short period. However, it takes much longer to address both the destruction of human capital due to massive displacement and deaths and the weak and inefficient national institutions managed by untrained public servants. In addition, the existence of a patron–client system nurtured by a war economy is often another significant barrier to the development of a post-conflict political economy.

Regarding the social dimensions of peacebuilding, *refugee resettlement and land transfer* are two of the most prominent issues. As the sudden influx of many returning refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) will have a massive impact on post-conflict societies, a cautiously designed repatriation plan is necessary. Nevertheless, the relatively short-term resettlement plans of previous peacebuilding projects and the interim authorities' lack of capacity have led to insufficient support for both refugees and impoverished local communities. Land transfer is a core means to assimilate refugees and other war-affected people into a 'productive life'. However, as land rights are often a significant factor in many of the belligerents' initial decision to engage in long-term military struggle, the redistribution of land has frequently been a barrier to the implementation of peace accords.

Health services (e.g. disease control and children's immunization) are also a particular challenge in post-conflict societies because the demand for medical treatment usually far exceeds available supplies. Nevertheless, since health care is a common issue for all former military factions and has no direct relation to the political power structure, it may provide an opportunity for the opposing parties to begin to associate and collaborate more closely. For instance, while sharing the same health infrastructure and undertaking the same health training, they can rebuild inter-communal communication.

Conflict transformation and stable peace

Many peace operations in the early 1990s ended upon the completion of the reconstruction projects set out in peace accords. As the concept of peacebuilding has grown in prominence, programmes for long-term social transformation and reconciliation have been included in most peace operations in the 2000s. A representative example of the various types of a programme being undertaken to pursue stable peace is *reconciliation*, which is “a process of mutual accommodation comprised of acknowledgement of past wrongdoing and contrition for the perpetrators in exchange for forgiveness offered by the victims” (Jeong 2005: p. 156). By acknowledging the past and reconciling former enemies, conflict transformation enables both victims and perpetrators of misdeeds to move on to future-oriented activities and reduce the possibility of violence resuming. In many peacebuilding processes, truth recovery schemes have been adopted as a core step in the reconciliation process. In many cases, however, various issues related to “amnesties, partial involvement of former combatants, and compensation” have diminished the processes' effectiveness (Darby and Mac Ginty 2003: p. 195).

Attempts are also generally made to *transform political, security, and judicial institutions*. These reforms are usually intended to reduce the social cleavages or ethnic tensions caused by violent conflicts and develop democratic systems for social representation and protection of human rights. For instance, security sector reforms tend to pursue the ‘military merger’ of all the opposing parties' military forces into a single army and the development of a new sense of identity (Arnson and Azpuru 2003). In cases where government armies have committed serious human rights violations during the war period, armies' size tends to be significantly reduced to reduce military power (Call and Stanley 2003). In terms of political transformation, efforts are made to replace the old patron–client relationships (which had sustained the former factional leaders) with democratic representation systems at the national and local levels.

At the local level, *community development* has been an important goal of many programmes run by international organizations, local governments, and NGOs. Local populations are encouraged to reconsider their strengths and devise development strategies that rely on their skills and resources (Jeong 2005). Moreover, social capital such as peasant groups' informal networks, local self-help loan systems, and micro entrepreneurship are promoted by external peacebuilders.

As the first phase of DDR programmes that focused on disarmament and demobilization came to an end, the longer-term reintegration of ex-combatants into society became a principal goal of DDR. In fact, due to insufficient reintegration support, many demobilized ex-combatants have caused severe social problems or have been re-recruited as soldiers. With this in mind, a wide range of vocational skill training, effective insulation from military groups from other countries, credit programmes, and self-help systems within ex-combatants' communities have/are being attempted in many countries. These programmes generally aim to deal with “the motivation and determination of former combatants themselves”, “the acceptance and support of the

community”, and “the facilitation of measures provided for employment and income generation” (ILO 1995, cited in Özerdem 2009: p. 21).

Main actors in conflict response

When, until the end of the Cold War, the traditional concept of conflict management and peacekeeping dominated international peace-supporting activities, the actors involved in the processes were also somewhat limited. Although many prominent non-governmental organizations such as Oxfam, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), and ICRC were active, most peacekeeping operations were decided and operated by the UN and a few nation states (mainly the members of the UN Security Council). Nevertheless, parallel to the rapid expansion of the scope of international peacebuilding during the 1990s, the types of peacebuilding actors significantly diversified by including regional and intrastate actors with different areas of expertise. Gradually, the NGOs and local communities have become core actors who can effect real societal transformation.

Intergovernmental organizations

At the conflict resolution stage towards ceasefire or de-escalation of conflicts, the UN has been the most vigorous actor in peace negotiation processes. As a mediator, it has provided the primary momentum and opportunities for talks in peace processes in El Salvador, Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, the Central African Republic, Tajikistan, and Western Sahara (Wallenstein 2007). The UN’s legitimacy as an impartial, external actor helped the organization to play relatively influential roles in these operations. However, the UN’s impartiality and autonomy have not always played positive roles in peace processes. Doyle confirms that many smaller non-Western states have doubted the impartiality and neutrality of the organization (and of the Security Council particularly) (Doyle 1996: pp. 485–486). Moreover, critics have also noted that the UN frequently lacks operational efficiency and relies heavily on member states’ financial, military, and human resources (Crocker et al. 1999).

While the UN has long been a key actor in peace mediation processes, regional organizations’ roles are becoming more prominent in post-conflict peacebuilding processes. Several regional organizations, including NATO in Europe and ECOWAS in Africa, sometimes play critical roles in peace negotiations. Increasing numbers of cases are dealt with by regional security organizations. Examples include NATO’s intervention in the war in Kosovo, the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) intervention in Liberia (consisting mainly of Nigerian military forces), and the intervention by the International Military Advisory Team (IMAT), led by the British army, in Sudan. While some organizations, including the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Europe, were intentionally established “to bridge the divide in an existing conflict and provide a venue for discussion and dialogue”; others, like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Organization of American States (OAS), and ECOMOG, were founded on broader shared interests (Ramsbotham et al. 2005: p. 149).

The roles of the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU) are particularly prominent in the post-Cold War period. As the UN has increased its reliance on regional organizations in conflict resolution, both the EU and AU have been key actors in many regional conflicts. In recent years, the AU has played a more significant role and has moved towards conflict prevention and early response strategies, and the EU has expanded its concerns outside Europe to other parts of the world.

Both international and regional organizations employ a wide range of strategies to de-escalate military conflicts, including military measures (to deter opposing forces), constitutional measures (to promote democratic politics), governance measures (to enhance the capability of local government and society), and financial measures (to construct infrastructure). By adopting the concept of conflict transformation, these actors may achieve considerable success in conflict de-escalation and prevention. For instance, the OSCE High Commissioner's intervention in Estonia significantly reduced the risk of armed conflict by transforming the economic policies favouring the Russian-speaking communities and introducing an electoral system that allowed cross-ethnic voting.

Nation states

Many of the interveners are national states with centralized power structures. This section focuses mainly on regional hegemons, former colonial or ideological powers, and concerned neighbours among the various actors.

Regional hegemons: Actors in this category intervene in civil wars in neighbouring states “in order to press their own claims to territory, economic benefits or access to natural resources, or support the socio-political ambitions of allies” (Bellamy and Williams 2010: p. 44). Examples include Russia in Georgia and Nigeria in West Africa. Although they exhibit strong enthusiasm and have adequate power, these actors are highly likely to be partial to certain factions and may be motivated to pursue narrow national interests. Since the collapse of the global bipolar system in the late 1980s, the role of regional hegemons has been increasing. South Africa's mediating role in recent internal conflicts in neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe demonstrates the enhanced and complicated functions of regional hegemons in conflict resolutions. Many regional hegemons such as China, India, and the US are also global powers.

Former colonial/ideological powers: Many Western countries that had previously colonized the states also intervene in civil wars. In the Cold War period, a few hegemonic states also participated in civil war peace processes. Since former colonial powers “have close economic, political and social ties with their former colonies” (Bellamy et al. 2010: p. 44) and Cold War hegemons strongly supported developing states, they had relatively strong leverage. Most peace processes in the Cold War era and some in the post-Cold War period (including the UK in Sierra Leone and France in Rwanda) provide examples of these close ties and leverage. More recently, these countries have created several value-based groups such as the Community of Democracies and have restructured the role of institutions like the Council of Europe, in which members closely cooperate in peacekeeping activities.

Concerned neighbours: If the countries neighbouring the states in a civil war are vulnerable to the war's impact, they often try to intervene. As Ramsbotham, Miall, and Woodhouse put it, civil wars “have external effects on the region through the spread of weaponry, economic dislocation, links with terrorism, disruptive floods of refugees, and spill-over into regional politics when neighbouring states are dragged, or the same people straddle several states” (2005: pp. 98–99). As a result, states tend to be deeply concerned about their neighbours' security issues and try to minimize the external effects of their neighbours' violent conflicts. However, despite their strong desire to resolve the disputes, in many cases, they cannot intervene effectively and are therefore unable to contribute significantly to the resolution of the conflicts.

Development and humanitarian organizations

Although their material resources are much smaller than those of state actors, development and humanitarian agencies are actively involved in most contemporary peacebuilding processes

(particularly the activities conducted in the post-conflict phases). Of the various external peace supporters, the NGO practitioners have initiated and sustained the programmes in a manner most suited to the concept of conflict transformation. Many NGOs have operated development programmes in sectors ranging from landmine disposal to consultancy on national police reform.

Due to the sheer number of organizations working in a wide variety of fields, it is impossible to generalize their roles; however, support for refugees in politically unstable areas, reintegration of ex-combatants, rehabilitation of economy, and the capacity building of local communities are some examples of their activities. For instance, Oxfam facilitated talks in Northern Kenya between local elders and set the codes of honour and conduct to promote communication and reconciliation between the nomadic pastoral communities and agricultural communities, which have experienced intense conflicts.

In many cases, NGOs can develop a more comprehensive understanding of the root causes of the conflict and work more closely with local people due to their relatively smaller sizes and local-based networks and working environment. While it is clear that they also experience various problems/challenges, NGOs have proven their capabilities in developing bottom-up conflict transformation programmes (e.g. facilitating workshops between different tribal groups, mediation of local conflicts, and cross-cultural understanding).

Civil society and private sector

In conflict management and conflict resolution perspectives, civil society's contributions and the private sector to peacebuilding have been underappreciated in academic discourse until recently. International interveners facilitate peace processes, and national leaders or military factions participate in the processes by using their material and non-material resources, with civil society playing a passive role. Some of the case studies employing these perspectives even go so far as to doubt the existence of meaningful civil society. In conflict transformation theories, however, it is the local actors themselves who "have the greatest responsibility, and the greatest opportunity, for transforming their own conflicts" (Miall 2004: p. 14). Hence, projects based on the notion of conflict transformation have tried to place local people at the centre of their implementation and to reflect local needs. Nevertheless, an exaggerated expectation of local communities and their ability to play the leading role may cause serious problems. Previous experience shows that underdeveloped communities are vulnerable to local patrons or demagogues and that this increases the risk of the resumption of conflict (Fischer 2006).

Finally, past peacebuilding processes demonstrate that the private sector's role is particularly significant in economic regeneration. In addition to creating jobs, private companies sometimes address conflict causes by providing alternatives to conflict-related employment (for example, the narcotics industry or the weapons trade). Moreover, as the idea of 'corporate social responsibility' became more prevalent, more private companies began to take actions that are intended to have a positive impact on their societies through exercising their economic influence, relatively large financial resources, skilled workforce, and their connections at all levels of society. Occasionally, private companies contribute to facilitating peace negotiations (Carbonnier 2009). Nevertheless, the private sector remains a minor contributor to peacebuilding, and its contribution is made in indirect ways.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the history and development of conflict response since the early 20th century and introduced many key concepts and procedures that underpin the peace process. The

chapter articulated some of the key terms used in conflict response, including conflict resolution, conflict management, conflict transformation, peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding. It also looked at the core actors' roles in contemporary peacebuilding activities. The exploration reveals that conflict response characteristics have changed significantly in terms of their frequency, actors, the scope of activities and purposes, and especially so in the post-Cold War period. Moreover, the priorities in international peace-supporting activities have been developed in various ways over the past several decades.

In particular, the emergence of two new themes – peacebuilding and conflict transformation – has determined the unique features of contemporary international peace activities implemented since the late 1990s. Moving beyond the cessation of conflicts, people began to think about transforming the post-conflict 'no war, no peace' situation into a state of consolidated peace. Moreover, by shifting the focus of activities to the community and individual levels, international peacebuilding actors identified many conflict-related issues that had been frequently neglected, including psychological trauma, local culture, roles of leaders, human needs, and external impact intervention. Such transformation of the theoretical ground accordingly made significant shifts in the focus of field practice from deterring violence to addressing the causes of conflicts. New types of actors (e.g. non-governmental organizations, civil associations, and local community leaders) also began to play important roles. Therefore, a wide range of conflict response strategies have been developed through the leadership of such actors as nation states and international organizations (macro level) and civil society organizations, community-based organizations, and community leaders (meso and micro levels).

References

- Aranson, C. and Azpuru, D. (2003) 'From Peace to Democratization: Lessons from Central America', in *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence, and Peace Processes*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Axelrod, R. (1990) *Evolution of Cooperation*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Bellamy, A. and Williams, P. (2010) *Understanding Peacekeeping*. London: Polity.
- Bellamy, A.J., Williams, P. and Griffin, S. (2004) *Understanding Peacekeeping*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Berghof Foundation (2012) *Berghof Glossary on Conflict Transformation: 20 Notions for Theory and Practice*. Berlin: Berghof Foundation.
- Call, C.T., and Stanley, W. (2003) 'Military and Police Reform after Civil War', in *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*. Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Carbonnier, G. (2009) 'Private Sector', in *Peacebuilding and Post-conflict Reconstruction: A Practical and Bilingual Lexicon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 245–255.
- Carment, D. and Rowlands, D. (1998) 'Three's Company: Evaluating Third-Party Intervention in Intra-state Conflict', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(5): 572–599.
- Chetail, V. ed. (2003) *Peacebuilding and Post-conflict Reconstruction: A Practical and Bilingual Lexicon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crocker, C.A., Hampson, F.O. and Aall, P.R. (1999) *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Darby, J. and Mac Ginty, R. eds. (2003) *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Doyle, M.W. (1996) 'Strategies of Enhanced Consent', in *Preventing Conflict in the Post-communist World*, edited by Chayes, A. and Chayes, A.H. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution: 483–506.
- Fischer, M. (2006) *Civil Society in Conflict Transformation: Ambivalence, Potentials, and Challenges*. Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management.
- Fisher, R.J. (1997) 'Interactive Conflict Resolution', in *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*, edited by Zartman I.W. and Rasmussen, J.L. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press: 239–272.
- Jeong, H. (2005) *Peacebuilding in Postconflict Societies: Strategy & Process*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Miall, H. (2004) *Conflict Transformation: A Multi-dimensional Task*. Berlin: Berghof Foundation.

- Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O. and Woodhouse, T. (1999) *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. London: Polity Press.
- Özerdem, A. (2009) *Post-War Recovery: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*. New York and London: IB Tauris.
- Ramcharan, B.G. (2009) 'Peace Process', in *Post-conflict Peacebuilding: A Lexicon*, edited by Chetail, V. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 228–244.
- Ramsbotham, O., Miall, H. and Woodhouse, T. (2005) *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Polity.
- Ratner, S. (1997) *The New UN Peacekeeping: Building Peace in Lands of Conflict after the Cold War*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Ross, M.H. (2007) *Cultural Contestation in Ethnic Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schmelzle, B. and Fischer, M. eds. (2009) *Peacebuilding at a Crossroads? Dilemmas and Paths for Another Generation – Berghof Dialogue Series No. 7*. Berlin: Berghof Foundation.
- Starkey, B., Boyer, M.A. and Wilkenfeld, J. (1999) *Negotiating a Complex World: An Introduction to International Negotiation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Tschirgi, N. (2013) 'Securitization and Peacebuilding', In *Routledge Handbook on Peacebuilding*, edited by Mac Ginty, R. London: Routledge: 197–210.
- UNSG (1992) *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping (A/47/277 – S/24111, 17 June 1992)*. New York: United Nations.
- UNSG (2011) *Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results*. UN doc. S/2011/552. New York: United Nations.
- Wallensteen, P. (2007) *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. London: Sage Publications.
- Wulf, H. and Debiel, T. (2009) *Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanisms: Tools for Enhancing the Effectiveness of Regional Organisations?* Crisis States Working Papers Series No. 2. London: Destin Development Studies Institute.
- Young, N.J. ed. (2010) *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.