

Chapter 2

Peacekeeping, Conflict Resolution, and the Role of Training

As the introductory chapter outlined, this book aims to understand the role conflict resolution plays in training programmes for military peacekeepers, and the ways in which training of military peacekeepers represents a further manifestation of the links between the two fields. In order to gain a solid conceptual base, this chapter examines where academic texts have noted the need for training in peacekeeping operations. What is drawn from such a survey is the first step towards a multi-levelled synthesis in order to locate where the call for increased conflict resolution training for peacekeepers is coming from, which is complemented by a survey of the ‘policy literature’ in United Nations documentation and practice, and practitioner and academic understandings of civil-military relations, negotiation and cultural awareness.

The military role in what is arguably a conflict resolution process has not always been welcomed. Gordenker and Weiss’s 1991 study of peacekeepers in disaster zones argues that ‘in the best of all worlds, use of the military should probably be avoided in disasters’. This is because, in their view, militaries care little about undermining local cultures and values, they do not make maximum use of available local infrastructures for managing and distributing aid, they increase dependence from the local population on external sources of assistance, they do not harmonize with local development efforts, and ultimately do not contribute to the resolution of conflicts (Gordenker/Weiss 1991: 10).

Moskos’ 1976 study of military peacekeepers in the UN force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) is also sceptical, but comes from the angle that militaries (or at least those he studied) already have sufficient training to intervene as third party peacekeepers (indeed, Gordenker and Weiss could actually look towards these arguments as justification of their scepticism about military involvement). Moskos’ research leads him to the conclusion that the level of training that military contingents receive makes little difference to their performance as peacekeepers, and notes that for the UNFICYP operation, each different nationality received a different level of training, from the most in depth (such as Canada and Sweden), to virtually no training at all

(such as the United Kingdom). However, this training had a minimal impact when compared with the learning process of the troops once deployed. Moskos adds:

It is important to stress the generalization that the constabulary ethic was primarily engendered by on-duty, in-the-field peacekeeping experiences. This is also to say that informal learning arising out of the field situation was a more determining factor in forging the constabulary ethic than was peacekeeping training prior to arrival in Cyprus (Moskos Jnr 1976: 96–97).

If anything, Moskos argues, the formulation of pre-deployment training for peacekeeping operations may ‘retard’ the emergence of a constabulary ethic amongst soldiers, and that it could lead to peacekeepers operating under false expectations of how they are accepted by the local population, or will lead troops to ‘believe the peacekeeping force will be fully efficacious in realizing permanent solutions’ (Moskos Jnr 1976: 134). Possibly this view can be understood in the context in which it was written: the UNFICYP case study was (and still is) a largely benign operation, and many of the tasks bestowed upon peacekeepers were in fact to keep belligerents apart along a designated ceasefire line. However, the ‘constabulary ethic’ that Moskos speaks about is still very much apparent in peacekeeping operations, so this argument must not be thrown away as a ‘dated logic’.

Nevertheless, linkages between the field of conflict resolution and the activity of peacekeeping have been well established, and the role of training military peacekeepers in the necessary skills for conflict resolution activities has been advocated by scholars. This chapter outlines this through looking firstly at the strategic level: where studies seek to outline where peacekeeping fits into the academic theory of conflict resolution. Here, work by Galtung, Fetherston, and Woodhouse and Ramsbotham will be outlined. It then examines how scholarship from the conflict resolution field has sought to reflect this engagement in the day-to-day activities of peacekeepers, particularly with regards to the skillset required for peacekeeping operations. Next, the chapter focuses specifically on where training in conflict resolution skills has been defined as a necessity in preparation of peacekeepers. Finally the chapter looks to how peacekeepers could be trained in such skills, utilising John Paul Lederach’s *elicitive approach* to training conflict resolution practitioners.

2.1 Wider Theoretical Approaches

To start, we look at where conflict resolution theory has interacted with peacekeeping operations on a theoretical level. Both initially conceptualised and developed in the decades following the Second World War, conflict resolution scholarship has increasingly investigated what role peacekeeping can play in wider theoretical frameworks.

Johan Galtung’s 1976 study looks to the incorporation of peacekeeping into more radical conceptions of peace. Galtung’s research considers that a basic dilemma for peacekeeping is distinguishing between, and reacting to, different *types* of violent

conflict. Peacekeeping, for example, can work effectively to deal with *horizontal conflicts*, which he defines as conflict between ‘equals with no element of dominance’ (i.e. between two states). However in conflicts where both parties are not equal (i.e. a conflict between the centre and periphery within a state), peacekeeping runs the danger of preserving a *status quo* as a result of intervening. Through containing the conflict and maintaining the *status quo*, the peacekeeping force is actually taking a side in the conflict (Galtung 1976a, b: 284). To illustrate this, Galtung outlines three ways which peacekeeping is conceptualised in the context of how it should react to *vertical conflict* (conflict between a strong centre and weaker periphery):

1. The *formalistic stand* (third party intervention which will handle any war in the same way);
2. The *let-it-work-itself-out stand* (with no third party intervention);
3. The *use-peacekeeping-on-the-side-of-peace stand* (where third party intervention seeks to remove both direct and structural violence).

Galtung rejects the first two approaches outright, and chooses to explore the third strand. Although he outlines problems in it, Galtung advocates the *use-peacekeeping-on-the-side-of-peace* approach, arguing that doctrines of non-intervention in the affairs of a state must be rejected, and that through rejecting these doctrines, peacekeeping operations would ‘unequivocally... break through these artificial walls called regions and states mankind has built around itself’ (Galtung 1976a, b: 286). He goes on to argue that:

A peacekeeping operation in a vertical conflict should be more like a one-way wall, permitting the freedom fighters out to expand the liberated territory, but preventing the oppressors from getting in (Galtung 1976a, b: 288).

Though set in the Cold War context, Galtung’s early attempts to conceptualise peacekeeping, and the possible role the activity could play in projects of peace, did establish a working understanding that the two fields could be interlinked.

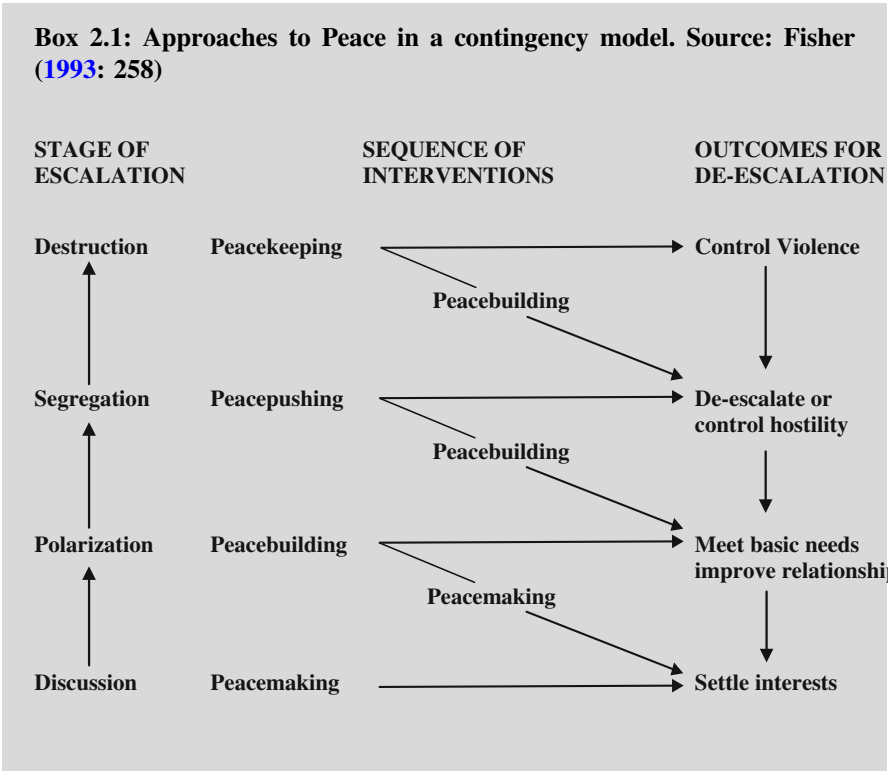
Betts Fetherston’s 1994 study ‘Towards a Theory of United Nations Peacekeeping’, takes a more instrumental approach, linking UN operations to theoretical work on contingency and complementarity models in conflict resolution. Fetherston suggests that existing definitions of peacekeeping were ‘inadequate’ because they ‘have not been placed within a larger framework’. From this, Fetherston attempts to offer a theoretical framework to ‘analyze the utility of peacekeeping as a third party intervention and as a tool of conflict management’ (Fetherston 1994a, b: 139–140). She further argues that:

It is not enough to send a force into the field with a vague notion that they should be impartial and help to facilitate settlement. To act as a third party in a protracted violent, polarized conflict is an extremely difficult and delicate task. Diplomats, academics and others who have acted in the capacity of a third party are generally well trained, highly experienced individuals with a good base of knowledge about the particular conflict. On the whole, peacekeepers have limited preparation and experience (Fetherston 1994a, b: 140).

Noting that peacekeeping operations represent a form of third party intervention (incorporating both conflict resolution and conflict settlement strategies), and that

there exists no framework for understanding when to intervene, (and how interventions can be effective), Fetherston links peacekeeping to Fisher and Keashly’s contingency model. Arguing that it ‘seems to offer the best possibility for a more effective management of conflict’ (Fetherston 1994a, b: 123), Fetherston uses this contingency approach as it offers a suitable ‘middle ground’ between those highly empirical forms of conflict analysis, and the school of thought which argues against any formulated analysis of intervention.

The contingency model, as outlined in Fisher and Keashly’s 1990 research, is a model devised to match third party intervention to certain characteristics of the conflict. Fisher and Keashly’s research outlines four main stages of a conflict: (1) Discussion, (2) Polarization, (3) Segregation, and (4) Destruction. From this, they match third party strategies to each stage. Stage 4 of this (destruction) is where peacekeeping is the strategy of choice, to ‘assist in the separation of the parties and the control of violence’. This is the first stage of intervention at the most destructive level, which aims to give space for other forms of third party intervention (Fisher/Keashly 1991). Fisher follows this up in his 1994 research which espouses the important role of peacebuilding as a bridge between peacekeeping and peace-making. Fisher’s diagram (in Box 2.1) helps to illustrate this



Thus, in order for peacekeeping to be effective in this model, Fisher argues that the sooner that the need ‘to control overt violence is followed by other interventions’, the better. Fetherston agrees with this assessment in her investigation and advocates that effective coordination must be made between the traditional security aspects and the civilian peacebuilding aspects of the operation. Without this, in Fetherston’s view, operations face ‘insurmountable odds’ of moving beyond controlling violence and maintaining a *status quo*¹ (Fetherston 1994a, b: 150).

Within this framework, peacekeeping can be visualised in a two-tiered approach. Firstly peacekeepers ‘working in the area of operation at the micro-level facilitating a more positive atmosphere’, and secondly peacekeeping operations ‘cooperating and coordinated with peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts at the macro-level’ (Fetherston 1994a, b). Fetherston suggests that peacekeeping can play a valuable role in the successful resolution of conflicts by creating an environment that is conducive to a further resolution of conflict (much like the important role of pre-negotiation). She finds that:

Co-ordinating peacekeeping at the micro-level at least begins the groundwork of what might be called a ‘pre-resolution’ or a ‘pre-peacebuilding’ phase. This has taken the form of coordination of local level resolution processes, either at the initiative of local people or at the initiative of the peacekeepers (Fetherston 1994a, b: 151–152)

Examples of such local level resolution initiatives were observed in both Namibia and Cyprus, where efforts went beyond ‘dealing with one specific problem at one point in time and tried to establish a longer-term process which would deal with future problems’, thus linking up the micro- and macro-level of peacekeeping (Fetherston 1994a, b: 157). As shall be seen later in the chapter, the important of training peacekeepers in particular skills is paramount for this model to function.

Scholarship from Tom Woodhouse and Oliver Ramsbotham also highlights the growing trend of conflict resolution scholarship focusing on peacekeeping. Their 1996 study *Terra Incognita: Here be Dragons*, applies Azar’s Protracted Social Conflict theory (Azar 1990) to contemporary conflict. From this, Woodhouse and Ramsbotham noted that peacekeeping operations were being increasingly deployed in *International-social conflict*: a conflict neither purely inter-state, not intra-state, but somewhere between the two. Using this framework, Woodhouse and Ramsbotham’s response to the failures of peacekeeping deployments in Bosnia, Somalia, and Rwanda was to advocate the use of the ‘middle ground’ between peacekeeping and peace enforcement (Woodhouse/Ramsbotham 1996).

Ramsbotham/Woodhouse’s (2001) edited publication *Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution* was published at a time when the UN itself was reassessing its peacekeeping architecture. Released during this time of transition and uncertainty, the book reflects on the current debates underscoring peacekeeping operations by stating that ‘the future of UN peacekeeping will depend on the capability and willingness to reform and strengthen peacekeeping mechanisms, and to clarify its role in conflict resolution’ (Woodhouse/Ramsbotham 2000: 3).

¹This argument is also analysed in Chap. 5, which deals with civil-military relations.

Thus, the authors argue, the purpose of the collection is to ‘consider the contribution that conflict resolution can make’ in the development of future peacekeeping practices. The book offers the viewpoints of academics who apply conflict resolution theory to peacekeeping practice, and ‘experienced military peacekeepers seeking to enrich peacekeeping by uses of conflict theory’ (Woodhouse/Ramsbotham 2000: 6). *Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution* provides a number of contributions spanning the spectrum of international conflict resolution efforts from prevention to peacekeeping to peacebuilding, and provided a crucial contribution as it solidifies links made between the two fields. The publication includes Stephen Ryan’s contribution which advocates the important role of military peacekeeping in the early stages of the peacebuilding enterprise. This built on earlier work by Ryan, which argues for more thought to be put towards creating comprehensive peace strategies, and identifies that in a range of areas (the provision of security for returning refugees, humanitarian relief, civilian projects, and election monitors), there is a recognised need for the military to work closely with non-military components. This importance, Ryan asserts, shows peacekeepers ‘acting less like a conflict manager and more like a midwife at the birth of a new society’ (Ryan 2000: 40).

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall’s *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* has continued to treat peacekeeping in the wider framework of conflict resolution. First published in 1999, this major contribution to the field of conflict resolution incorporates peacekeeping practice as part of international efforts to alleviate conflict and facilitate positive peacebuilding (Ramsbotham et al. 1999). Writing in their 2011 edition of the book, Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall argue that:

we reiterate that the new field of conflict resolution and the new enterprise of UN peacekeeping were born in the same decade – the 1950s – and from the outset shared a similar agenda. The central aim of Peacekeepers has not been to defeat a national enemy, but to support peace processes, protect civilians and fulfil legitimate international mandates. Even when traditional military combat capabilities are required, the overall use and intention of such capabilities is to enhance peace (Ramsbotham et al. 2011: 170).

In looking forward to the ‘next stage’ of how conflict resolution theory can incorporate UN peacekeeping operations, Woodhouse and Ramsbotham look towards ‘cosmopolitan peacekeeping’ (Woodhouse/Ramsbotham 2005). This approach is strongly linked to broader work undertaken by Woodhouse, Ramsbotham and Miall on cosmopolitan conflict resolution, defined as ‘the need for an approach that is not situated within any particular state, society or established site of power, but rather promotes constructive means of handling conflict at local through to global levels in the interests of humanity’ (Ramsbotham et al. 2011: 265). Building on cosmopolitan scholarship from authors such as Held (1995), Kaldor (2001), as well as Archibugi (1995), the cosmopolitan conflict resolution project itself is ‘driven by the deep logic... that only full engagement with emerging non-western and non-northern practices and norms can... fulfil the original aspirations of the founders of the [conflict resolution] field’ (Ramsbotham et al. 2011: 226).

Regarding cosmopolitan peacekeeping, the UN is seen as being both a ‘manifestation of clear progress having been made over the last sixty years from a conflict resolution perspective and as central to aspirations for further progress in the future’

(Ramsbotham et al. 2011: 272). Woodhouse and Ramsbotham identify the continued rise in deployed peacekeepers (from below 25,000 between 1999–2000, to over 100,000 between 2010–2011 (Perry/Smith 2013: 3)), as showing a commitment by the international community to peacekeeping as a ‘vital instrument in pursuing conflict resolution goals internationally’ (Woodhouse/Ramsbotham 2005). However, they argue that there exists a requirement for a ‘reconstructive agenda’ to be considered at global and local levels of peacekeeping governance to better allow it to handle violent conflict in a constructive manner. Woodhouse and Ramsbotham make this point by arguing that initiatives at international (through the creation of UN peacekeeping operations), regional (the EU and AU Peace and Security Architecture), sub-regional (through the sub-regions of the African Standby Force), and national (in certain states becoming ‘lead nations’ of peacekeeping interventions) levels have had a degree of success in operationalizing cosmopolitan norms. However, on a global level, initiatives such as the incorporation of UN standing forces, and reform of the UN’s decision-making frameworks are necessary. On the ‘local level’, Woodhouse and Ramsbotham outline the necessity of ‘CIMIC and Community Liaison and Mediation Programmes’, centred on interaction with a multitude of local voices and actors, (a key factor in projects of cosmopolitan conflict resolution) (Woodhouse/Ramsbotham 2005: 143).

Woodhouse follows this work on in an article with Curran (Curran/Woodhouse 2007), which investigates the emergence of a cosmopolitan ethic at the regional level through the emergence of the African Union’s (AU) standby brigades and conflict prevention network. The authors find that African developments to create standby brigades (in particular policy following the Joint G8–African Union Plan to Enhance African Capabilities to Undertake Peace Support Operations) can be conceptualised in a cosmopolitan framework. Curran and Woodhouse argue that the emergence of thinking and institutional capacity in Africa takes theorizing about peacekeeping closer to a cosmopolitan ethic, based on safeguarding Human Security (Curran/Woodhouse 2007: 1070).

The linking of peacekeeping to theories of conflict resolution has thus developed, with cosmopolitan peacekeeping representing the latest stage in this cross-over. This theoretical expansion has opened up the conceptual space for other, more focussed studies of how the experiences of peacekeepers and peacekeeping operations fit into a conflict resolution framework. Importantly, if peacekeeping is to be seen as a conflict resolution process, then those that undertake peacekeeping—the peacekeepers—should be viewed as potential conflict resolvers.

2.2 Operationalising the Theory: The Peacekeeping/Peacebuilding Links

To return to Galtung, informing his wider theoretical work was research into the day-to-day activities of UN peacekeepers. Galtung’s survey of Norwegian peacekeeping troops stationed in Lebanon and the Congo in 1976 asked soldiers their

opinions on ‘how UN forces should be better able to carry out their job?’ In response, troops asked not for ‘better military training’, but for ‘better police training’, and a number of the soldiers felt that they ‘should be better informed about the conflict’, as well as being ‘better trained in dealing with people from other countries’ (Galtung 1976a, b).

On the other hand, Galtung’s study also reveals that although soldiers felt that they needed the skills outlined above to facilitate closer relations with the local population, they found that better arms and equipment were just as critical in bringing about success in a peacekeeping operation. Thus Galtung reasons that soldiers felt that their military role was ‘inadequate’ for the closeness needed with the population in low temperature situations (where this closeness would be needed to really understand the social and human conditions of the deployment area), and their level of arms was inadequate for situations when there was a high likelihood of combat: peacekeepers were sat uncomfortably in the middle. This logic leads Galtung to believe that the peacekeeping troops were in fact not asking to be ‘disarmed military forces’, but ‘armed police forces’. He observes that:

On the one hand there is a relatively clear minimum role definition in terms of guard and observation duty, keeping the parties apart with a very modest display of arms, showing behaviour rather than attitude. On the other hand there is another type of role: being involved, being apart and party to the entire conflict system, showing attitude as well as behaviour, but trying to mediate and trying to help build a new social structure encompassing the antagonists. The former role is possible but not very effective, the second is very effective but not possible (Galtung 1976a, b: 278).

Diehl, Druckman and Wall’s analysis of peacekeeping operations offers a more quantitative approach to understanding the differing roles of peacekeepers (Diehl et al. 1998), yet links to some of the issues raised by Galtung. Reflecting on the peacekeeping experiences of the 1990s, the authors find that in addition to conflict control mechanisms, peacekeeping had been extended to take account of peace-building and peacemaking. This in turn leads to an increased emphasis on mediation, facilitation, consultation, conciliation, and communication: important parts in the ‘modern peacekeepers toolbox’ (Diehl et al. 1998: 36). Their study goes on to scale the interrelationships between different peacekeeping functions, noting that each peacekeeping operation,² has a ‘mix and match’ of different skills. For example, some operations will have a higher emphasis on observation and monitoring, others would have increased emphasis on the restoration of civil institutions. The majority of skills that are inherent in these operations are non-traditional skills, and the minority of the overall skills needed are drawn from military and combat fields.

Wall and Druckman expand on this in 2003, through their examination of the importance of mediation in peacekeeping operations. This is done through an analysis of factors influencing and constraining peacekeepers in mediation scenarios

²The 12 types outlined were: traditional peacekeeping; observation; collective enforcement; election supervision; humanitarian assistance during conflict; state/nation building; pacification; preventative deployment; arms control verification; protective services; intervention in support of democracy.

with groups in conflict zones, based on interviews with U.S. and Canadian officers who had recently returned from peacekeeping duty in Bosnia, where interviewees were asked to recount a situation where they had to mediate a dispute. The results reveal a high number of mediation situations. In the first round of interviews (34 peacekeepers), 100 % reported mediations; the second round (16 peacekeepers) 63 %; and the third round of interviews (79 peacekeepers), 55 % reported having a mediation experience (Wall/Druckman 2003). Each account was logged and put into a table (outlined in Box 2.2 below). From this, the authors find 28 different reactions to mediating the dispute. Only in three of these cases did the reaction involve the threat of force or the preparation to use force (cases entitled ‘threaten’, ‘set security’, and ‘force’) (Wall/Druckman 2003: 693–705).

Box 2.2: Peacekeepers Mediation techniques (taken from Wall and Druckman’s analysis on Mediation in Peacekeeping Missions). Source: Wall/Druckman (2003)

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| <i>Meet separately:</i> | Peacekeeper meets with disputant separately. |
| <i>Listen to disputant’s side:</i> | Peacekeeper has disputants state their points. |
| <i>Argue for concessions:</i> | Peacekeeper argues for or proposes a specific concession or agreement point or negotiates a compromise. |
| <i>Gather information:</i> | Peacekeeper collects or asks for information from the disputants or others and does research to obtain information. |
| <i>Educate/advise:</i> | Peacekeeper educates, persuades, or advises on disputant as to how he or she should think or act. |
| <i>Have third party assist:</i> | Peacekeeper offers or gets third party’s assistance for the disputants or the peacekeeper and also gathers information or advice from the third party. |
| <i>State other’s point of view:</i> | Peacekeeper presents or argues other disputant’s point of view and asks a disputant to see the other disputant’s point of view. |
| <i>Meet together with disputants:</i> | Peacekeeper meets together with disputants or puts them together. |
| <i>Apologize:</i> | Peacekeeper has one disputant apologize or acknowledge his or her faults. |
| <i>Peacekeeper assists:</i> | Peacekeeper personally offers or gives assistance and takes a specific action. |
| <i>Relax:</i> | Peacekeeper makes specific statements to calm the disputants. |
| <i>Break time:</i> | Peacekeeper stops the quarrelling and has disputant rest. |

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|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Peacekeeper's data:</i> | Peacekeeper provides objective data about the dispute or the environment. |
| <i>Threaten:</i> | Any threat from the peacekeeper. |
| <i>Criticize:</i> | Peacekeeper criticizes a disputant's person, attitude, and behaviour or uses a specific label (e.g., "You are rude."). |
| <i>Call for empathy:</i> | Peacekeeper enhances the other disputant or calls for respect of the other; peacekeeper puts a positive face on the other disputant, noting he or she is a good person. |
| <i>Cite dependency:</i> | Peacekeeper expresses similarities or interdependence in disputants' goals, fates, and needs (includes mentioning personal costs of disagreement and benefits of agreement). |
| <i>Have drink with disputants:</i> | Peacekeeper has a drink with the disputants prior to agreement. |
| <i>Analyse the disputants:</i> | Peacekeeper analyses disputants and grasps each disputant's characteristics. |
| <i>Example:</i> | Peacekeeper cites example or similar case. |
| <i>Praise disputants:</i> | Peacekeeper praises the disputant who is being addressed. |
| <i>Quote law or rule:</i> | Peacekeeper quotes a specific law or rule that is relevant to the dispute. |
| <i>Written agreement</i> | Peacekeeper has disputants sign a quasi-legal written agreement governing their future behaviour. |
| <i>Separate disputants:</i> | Peacekeeper separates the disputants. |
| <i>Call higher authority:</i> | Peacekeeper communicates with his headquarters to report information or ask for advice. |
| <i>Set security:</i> | The peacekeeper takes steps to establish security for himself or his troops. |
| <i>Force:</i> | The peacekeeper uses coercive force in some manner. |
| <i>Monitor:</i> | Peacekeeper observes the disputants, their interaction, or factors in the environment. |

The vast majority of responses focus on non-traditional skills, and a first glance of these techniques would highlight a number of conflict resolution techniques, including conflict analysis (through the technique of 'analyze the disputants'),

negotiation ('Meet together with disputants'), active listening ('listen to the disputant's side'), and conflict de-escalation ('relax', 'break time', 'have drink with the disputants'). This framework therefore offers a clear outline of how conflict resolution skills are utilised in an operational environment. Wall and Druckman's analysis does however find that not all of the techniques on this list are compatible with operating orders given to peacekeepers, and many were an ad hoc reaction to specific circumstances. Out of the original 28 techniques, 14 remained after an examination of the operating orders for the particular missions.³

This broadening of studies into peacekeeping practice, backed up by wider theoretical approaches that situated peacekeeping in conflict resolution frameworks has led to studies which outline the importance of training military personnel in conflict resolution skills. With peacekeepers being placed into environments where increased non-traditional skills are essential, the role and form of training becomes the more important.

2.3 The Training Dimension

Betts Fetherston's approaches to peacekeeping (outlined above), which looked to link peacekeeping to conflict resolution processes, emphasises the importance of providing training in 'contact skills' to military peacekeepers. In this, there are two types of contact skills—skills in conflict resolution, such as mediation, negotiation, and conciliation, and the skills important for effective cross-cultural interaction. Fetherston emphasises the importance of these contact skills for deployed peacekeepers, arguing that the 'essence of peacekeeping as a third party intervention must be contact skills' (Fetherston 1994a, b: 219). She adds:

It is through the use of communication skills, methods of negotiation, facilitation, mediation, and conciliation that peacekeepers de-escalate potentially violent or manifestly violent situations and facilitate movement toward conflict resolution. Non-contact skills are functional and differ depending on the specific mandate of the specific mission. It is also the case that contact skills require more time and effort on the part of the trainer and the trainee (Fetherston 1994a, b: 219).

Fetherston's findings show that there is a lack of training in contact skills for military peacekeepers, and where these skills are covered, it is usually a minimal contribution (so minimal, that Fetherston questions its usefulness). Her findings also support the view that there is great importance in 'providing specific training to effect a shift from a military to a peacekeeping attitude and to learn and practice contact skills' (Fetherston 1994a, b: 217). Moreover, Fetherston outlines a contradiction in the justifications for this lack of contact skills training for peacekeeping operations.

³The cut down list is: separate disputants, meet separately, meet together with disputants, listen to a disputant's side, gather information, have third-party assist, relax, have a break, threaten, quote law or rule, call higher authority, force, monitor, and set security.

She finds that although there is recognition of the third-party role played by peacekeepers, it is widely believed that junior levels already have these skills, thus not justifying the need for specialist training. Much of this is due to a fundamental contradiction in peacekeeping operations, where military peacekeepers keep ‘distance’ from the conflict parties, yet have to demonstrate ‘closeness’ in their third party conflict resolution based roles (Fetherston 1994a, b: 223). These findings echo Galtung’s conclusions (from his study of Norwegian peacekeepers outlined above), which also illustrated the difficult position of peacekeepers in a conflict zone.

Fetherston’s work goes on to examine training initiatives for the Canadian Forces, Irish Defence Forces, and regional cooperation between Nordic Countries. Through examining these specific case studies, Fetherston reasons that the training for peacekeeping heavily overlaps training for traditional military roles, leaving the peacekeeper unprepared for his or her role as a third party intervener. More specifically, Fetherston outlines four key problems with the training approaches: firstly, a lack of standardization in programmes; secondly, a lack of coherence in training and in the development of training programmes; thirdly, a lack of evidence and research supporting training goals based on training needs; and finally, a lack of clear objectives and methodology which directly reflect a wider approach to the peaceful resolution of conflict and which are then related directly to peacekeeping activities (Fetherston 1994a, b: 203–208).

This work is supplemented by Fetherston’s 1994 article *Putting the peace back into peacekeeping* (Fetherston 1994a, b). In it, Fetherston outlines the importance of training for peacekeepers. She argues that a lack of training for peacekeepers means that the task that peacekeepers undertake in representing the international community’s message of ‘non-violent consensual conflict management’, becomes increasingly difficult. Although it appears dated in policy terms (the body of work being written twenty years before the publication of this book) Fetherston’s work is of key importance when framing this particular project. Her work establishes an important link between the micro-level issues such as military negotiation, civil-military relations, and ‘pre-peacebuilding’, with broader debates about the role and function of peacekeeping operations. Furthermore, through outlining contact skills, Fetherston defined a set of non-traditional techniques that are critical into the effective functioning of a peacekeeping operation. The longevity of Fetherston’s work will be apparent throughout this book.

‘Contact skills’ also appear in Paul Diehl (whose work with Druckman and Wall is outlined above) and Alexandu Balas’ study on peace operations. Diehl and Balas see military training for peacekeeping operations as one of ten challenges that face peacekeeping in the twenty-first century, and argue that the multifunctional nature of peacekeeping operations has meant that operations ‘depend for their effectiveness on a complex set of what has been referred to as ‘contact’ (more diplomatic) skills’ (Diehl/Balas 2014: 212). Arguing that if soldiers do not possess necessary skills, operations won’t be ‘effective at a micro-level and may jeopardize some macro-goals’. Such skills are defined by Diehl and Balas as ‘interpersonal and intergroup relations, communication, negotiation, and in the case of military operations, a mix of combat and political skills’ (Diehl/Balas 2014: 212).

Williams' 1998 study of peacekeeping and civil-military relations reflects on the nature of post-1990 deployments, and states that military training must be specifically geared to 'peacekeeping's demands', adding that appropriate military training and education is 'essential' if peacekeeping deployments are to be effective. In particular, Williams draws attention to the need to emphasise the 'softer aspects of military science', such as managing resources, civilian control and human rights and that peacekeeping units should be trained in humanitarian reporting and assessment, mediation and conflict resolution techniques (Williams 1998: 72). Williams also finds that lessons from Bosnia and Somalia have taught the valuable lesson that peacekeepers need to be better prepared for the cultural challenges faced in deployment areas. This can be rectified to some extent through peacekeepers being made aware of cultural norms of behaviour. Underlying this, Williams argued, was the 'importance of collaboration with civilians, both within missions and on their fringes' (Williams 1998: 73).

Studies also look towards the practical application of conflict resolution theory in training for military peacekeepers. Tillett's research argues for serious re-evaluation of training for UN operations, stating that for those preparing to undertake peacekeeping operations 'training in conflict resolution is essential' (Tillett 1996: 10). Informing this, Tillett argues, are a number of challenges which military peacekeeping personnel face. These include a lack of power to coerce, no way of easily identifying the status or power of the person with whom they are dealing, a limit to the amount of communication with the local population, and that they are 'subject to instructions which require them to act in a policing rather than a military role' (Tillett 1996: 3). Furthermore, he notes the considerable challenges that being deployed on a peacekeeping operation can pose to a soldier trained in traditional skills, and what is required in the soldiers' toolbox in order to meet such challenges. Tillett explains:

...[peacekeeping] involves the psychological change from an adversary to a pacific role; from confrontation to third party imposition. In peacekeeping there is no enemy: the object is to avoid hostilities, to improve communication between the parties, and to advance the process of reconciliation. This necessitates a full understanding of the causes of the conflict—political, military and economic—as well as the social and cultural environment (Tillett 1996: 3).

Tillett outlines a training scheme that Australian forces undertook to incorporate conflict resolution processes in order to prepare them for deployment. The training consisted of three components: (1) An introduction to conflict and conflict resolution; (2) the concept of analytical problem solving; (3) the application of the concept. In particular, Tillett focussed on incorporating John Burton's *Problem Solving* approach to the training. This was done through participants being asked to develop an inventory of potential conflict areas within the experience of peacekeeping operations, and then to identify and explore options for eliminating, minimising, or surviving each incident of conflict. This involved identifying appropriate resources, personal and interpersonal skills and support mechanisms. Tillett adds that this process was not just an exercise in developing a list of potential problems and their solutions: it gave 'the participants practical experiences in an analytical and (to use Burton's term) preventive approach to conflict resolution' (Tillett 1996: 6).

Deborah Goodwin also works extensively on training the military in non-traditional skills. In particular, her work specialises on negotiation skills for soldiers in the British military, whom she trains at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. Much of this has informed her work, especially on the emergence of the ‘Soldier Diplomat’, and the importance of negotiation skills (negotiation skills will be covered in the Chap. 4, with Goodwin’s work on the ‘soldier diplomat’ being investigated in Chap. 6). Goodwin underlines differences between the tasks of peacekeeping and war fighting, stating that emphasis is on ‘talking, liaising and negotiating one’s way out of a difficult situation’, as well as ‘building working relationships within an operational area’ (Goodwin 2005: 129), which indicates the need for ‘contact skills’ to look for non-violent solutions to conflict (negotiating out of a difficult situation) as well as for relationship building with civilian actors and NGOs in a deployment zone. Moreover, Goodwin finds that peacekeeping duties demands that soldiers have to modify pre-existing knowledge of conventional warfare. This means that soldiers can either adapt the knowledge, or ‘learn new, related skills’. This links to the argument put forward by Diehl, Druckman and Wall for an expansion of the peacekeepers ‘toolbox’, to incorporate a greater breadth of skills.

To a small extent Goodwin agrees with Moskos, by contending that pre-deployment training has its limitations when compared with actual deployment on the ground. However, she is clear in stating that there is an important role in training soldiers for peacekeeping purposes, in particular negotiation skills, arguing that good negotiation training ‘increases one’s ability to understand and handle human conflict and its resolution’ (Goodwin 2005). Goodwin goes on to say that:

Any pre-deployment training ought to replicate, as explicitly as possible, the mutability of the peacekeeping role and the emphasis on negotiating skills, tempered with military knowledge (Goodwin 2005: 137).

Goodwin is concerned that ‘speedy’ briefings in a deployment zone (with little preceding deployment) may result in soldiers entering a country with a limited knowledge of the culture, customs and even the political situation. Furthermore, a reliance on such briefings leaves soldiers with little or no practice in what she terms as ‘essential peacekeeping skills’, such as negotiation (Goodwin 2005: 136).

Goodwin’s work, like Fetherston, will appear again in this study. Both have made significant steps forward in progressing the links between peacekeeping and conflict resolution on theoretical and practical terms. The chapter will now look towards what could arguably be the next stage in the analysis of the linkages between peacekeeping and conflict resolution: the incorporation of John Paul Lederach’s Elicitive approach to training conflict resolution practitioners.

2.4 Incorporating the Elicitive Approach

Lederach's elicitive approach to conflict resolution takes on a much broader range of issues than training, but it is in models of training for conflict resolution where this book finds solid linkages. Although based on experiences of mediation training sessions with civilian groups, Lederach's work on theorising prescriptive and elicitive models provide a useful tool for interpreting what was observed, both in terms of training civil-military relations and other conflict resolution skills.

Lederach firstly distinguishes between implicit and explicit knowledge bases. When understanding conflict and conflict resolution, participants in a given setting will have either an implicit or an explicit knowledge and understanding of conflict. He finds that implicit knowledge refers to accumulated knowledge of how 'conflict operates in our given milieu of origin and how it is handled in our cultural context': how we have understood conflict from our own experiences (Lederach 1996: 44). Explicit knowledge, on the other hand, refers to a 'focussed, intentional effort to increase one's knowledge about conflict and how to handle it': where one actively seeks to gain further knowledge from a variety of sources such as studying, researching, training and focussed experience (Lederach 1996: 44–45). Understanding these two very different forms of knowledge is essential in order to understand how training processes work. Lederach suggests that both knowledge bases are present in a training session, and that the role of the two knowledge bases will vary in relation to the training model provided.

Lederach finds that training for conflict resolution comes in two distinct forms. Firstly, the prescriptive model, which 'assumes that the expert knows what the participants need' (Lederach 1996: 48–49). Here, the trainer/expert will bring 'packages' built around his or her specialised knowledge and experience in the field of conflict resolution. In this model, the knowledge flow is predominately from trainer to receiver, with the knowledge of the trainer being a 'key resource', which is transferred to participants, who attempt to emulate it. The benefits of such an approach:

lie in its capacity to outline and permit participants to interact with an approach to conflict resolution and to understand and master the particular strategies and techniques it entails (Lederach 1996: 51–52).

This interaction is useful to participants who wish to expand their knowledge of new models of conflict and conflict resolution. It also provides opportunity for 'new thinking, improving skills, and feeling more confident' about how to deal with situations of conflict (Lederach 1996: 58). Furthermore, Lederach finds that the training benefits from the considerable experience and knowledge gained from the trainer, whose techniques can also be useful in a number of settings and provide participants with concrete set of ideas and skills. In relation to pre-deployment training on peacekeeping, this can be related to the range of documents and guidance which outline different aspects of peacekeeping, key partners, institutions, and goals. Or in other words, the 'mapping' of the peacekeeping domain.

The elicitive approach, on the other hand, is centred on the implicit knowledge of the participants. This type of training is therefore based on how participants understand conflict and its resolution. The foundation of this is:

implicit indigenous knowledge about ways of being and doing is a valued resource for creating and sustaining appropriate models of conflict resolution in a given setting (Lederach 1996: 55).

Although this is different from the prescriptive approach, Lederach argues that the focus on indigenous knowledge does not exclude comparison with other models of conflict resolution. It in fact ‘brackets’ them, with the focus primarily on discovering ‘what people already have in place and already know about the strengths and weaknesses of their own models of conflict resolution’ (Lederach 1996: 56). It also does not blindly trust the participants’ knowledge over other models, as it is designed with a degree of trust in participants to ‘have the capacity and creativity to identify, name, critique, create, and recreate models that correspond to needs they experience and identify’. The role of a trainer in this scenario is more akin to a facilitator who ‘brackets’ his or her own experiences and techniques, in order to develop a ‘participatory process of discovery’ (Lederach 1996: 58). Lederach therefore outlines two distinct forms of training. Each of these forms possesses alternate roles for the trainer, the delivery, the focus on implicit and explicit knowledge, and the overall training model. The utility of Lederach’s model has been highlighted in approaches to cross-cultural approaches to conflict resolution education as assisting in developing ‘culturally appropriate conflict resolution processes that make sense to the participants and provide them with practical and useful knowledge and skills’ (Loode 2011: 72). However, it is an approach not specifically attached to the ‘conventional views of conflict resolution or prescriptive conflict transformation that can often be found, for example, in UN mission handbooks’ (Dietrich 2014: 53).

Although the links are emerging, Lederach’s elicitive model provides a useful frame for understanding the development of peacekeeping training in this area. This has been reflected in reflections from those engaged in training military peacekeepers. Goodwin’s account may not use Lederach’s exact language, but there are strong similarities:

a learning method that is frequently overlooked is the sharing of ideas with mentors and colleagues, through general conversation or more formal interviews. This experience tends to promote higher-level skills, and the refinement of technique and approach, since improvement has no limits (Goodwin 2005: 143).

As shall be seen as the book progresses, elicitive approaches to conflict resolution have begun to influence training for peacekeeping operations. In terms of this chapter, attempts have been made to link the training of peacekeepers to wider approaches of emancipatory conflict resolution. Wolfgang Dietrich’s study into the

role of elicitive learning in international approaches to conflict resolution identifies a central role for Lederach's approach in a number of civilian and military-led approaches to intervention (undertaken by what Dietrich calls 'peace workers') (Dietrich 2013: 13). Dietrich's study seeks to 'emphasise the 'personal qualities of peace workers as well as teaching and practice and the art and science of efficient communication in processes of transformation' (Dietrich 2013: 14). He says of the elicitive approach

Elicitive transformation work begins when a mediating third party enters the conflict environment. The simple presence of the third party already amounts to a transformation. The technical question as to why the conflict has arisen remains in the background, and the relationship level, the 'how' of the transformation, moves into the center. As a result, peace work is both structured and flexible (Dietrich 2013: 13).

Within this, military peacekeepers must play a critical role, operating with a high level of self-awareness, 'at first within the military structure, and then also with civilian mission personnel and the local population'. This requires, in Dietrich's view, personnel who are 'willing to navigate the perilous territory of international armed conflicts in a way that actively contributes to elicitive conflict transformation across the entire range of ranks'. Being able to do this requires 'requires thoughtful training and preparation for each specific mission, and responsible, specialized workers with a clear awareness of themselves' (Dietrich 2013: 174)

2.5 Conclusion

This brings the chapter full circle. As has been seen, the chapter has started by examining broad approaches to peacekeeping and conflict resolution, taking into account how conflict resolution theory has influenced peacekeeping and vice versa. Important in this is the cosmopolitan approach, which seeks to identify a role for peacekeeping in strengthening cosmopolitan forms of conflict resolution. From this, the chapter begins to drill down, defining where conflict resolution scholarship has outlined a specific skillset for peacekeepers, and the importance of aligning training programmes to meet these non-traditional military tasks. With the addition of 'how' these personnel could be trained, the chapter again looks to add another link in the chain, arguing that elicitive approaches in training for peacekeeping personnel may be necessary for these peacekeeping to have a better chance of addressing violent conflict and building sustainable peace.

Through investigating training in 'non traditional skills' such as civil-military relations, negotiation and cultural awareness, this book examines approaches that seek to strengthen relations with those affected in conflict zones, and provide non-violent solutions to potentially violent situations. This is an area that Woodhouse and Ramsbotham defined as requiring a degree of capacity building in their model of cosmopolitan peacekeeping. As the book progresses, we shall see the increasing awareness of contact skills in training programmes, but also the possible

emergence of elicitive approaches. Taken together, these developments could strengthen the role of peacekeeping in wider processes of conflict resolution.

The next chapter will build on this by reflecting the developments from within the UN towards peacekeeper training. In studying the linkages between peacekeeping and conflict resolution, it is essential to understand the range of policy initiatives—and their limits—at the UN.

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