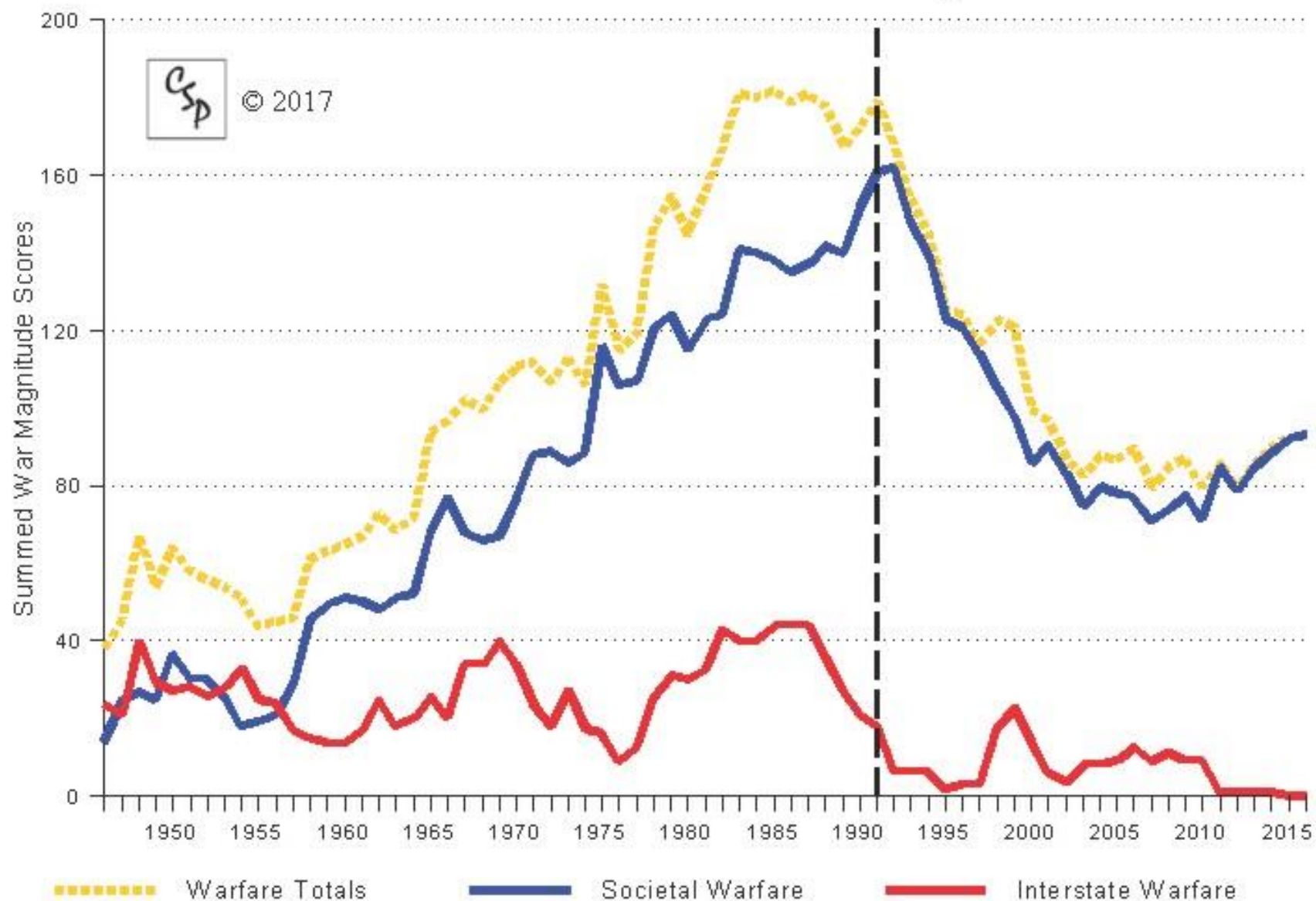# Multi-Track Diplomacy: Transforming Violent Conflict

University of Maryland, January 2018 (GVPT 808J/K, GVPT 409J/K, CATOES002/3)

Profs. John Davies and Edward (Edy) Kaufman

Co-Directors, Partners in Conflict & Partners in Peacebuilding, Center for International Development and Conflict Management, and Visiting Associate Professors, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland (www.cidcm.umd.edu)
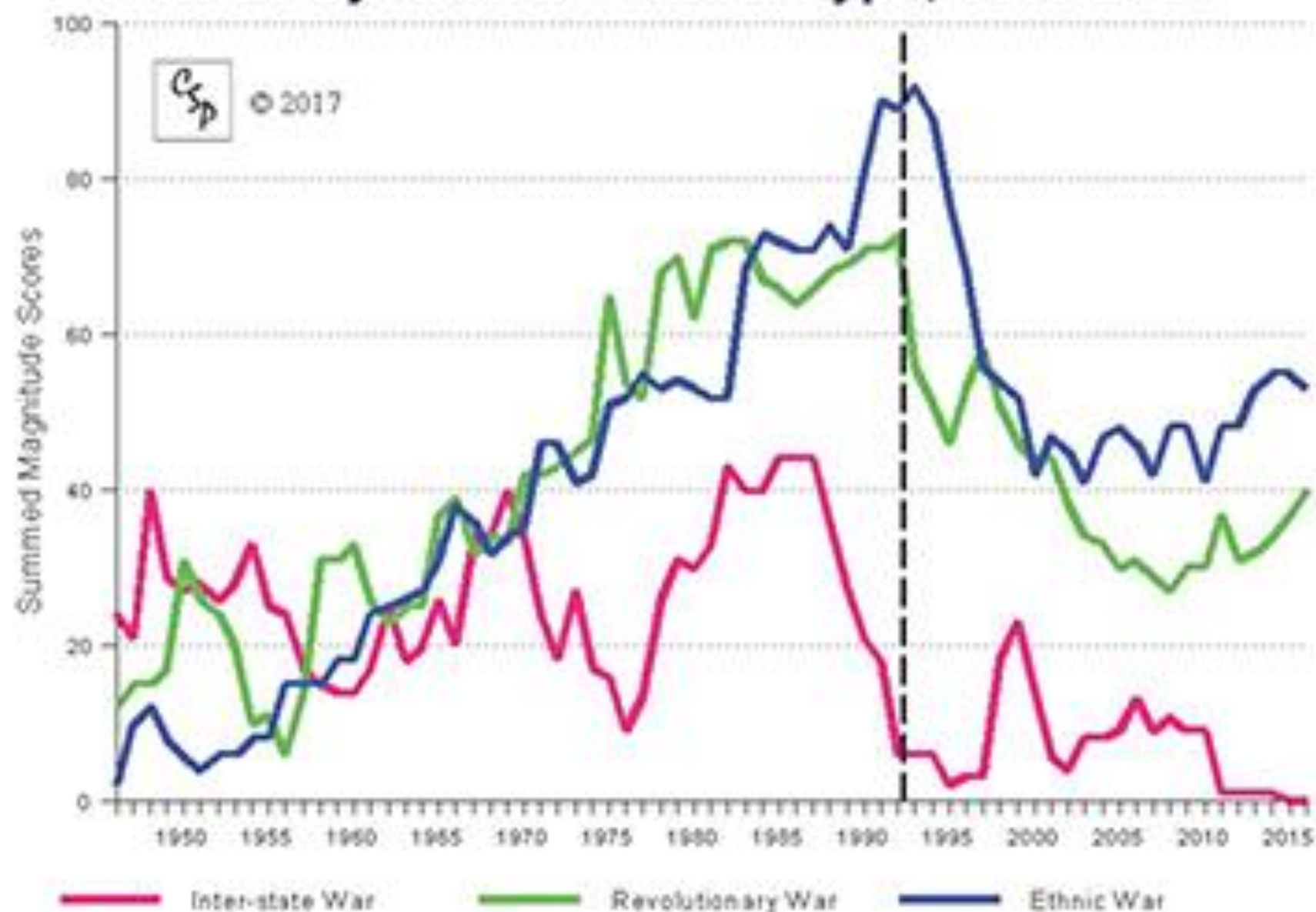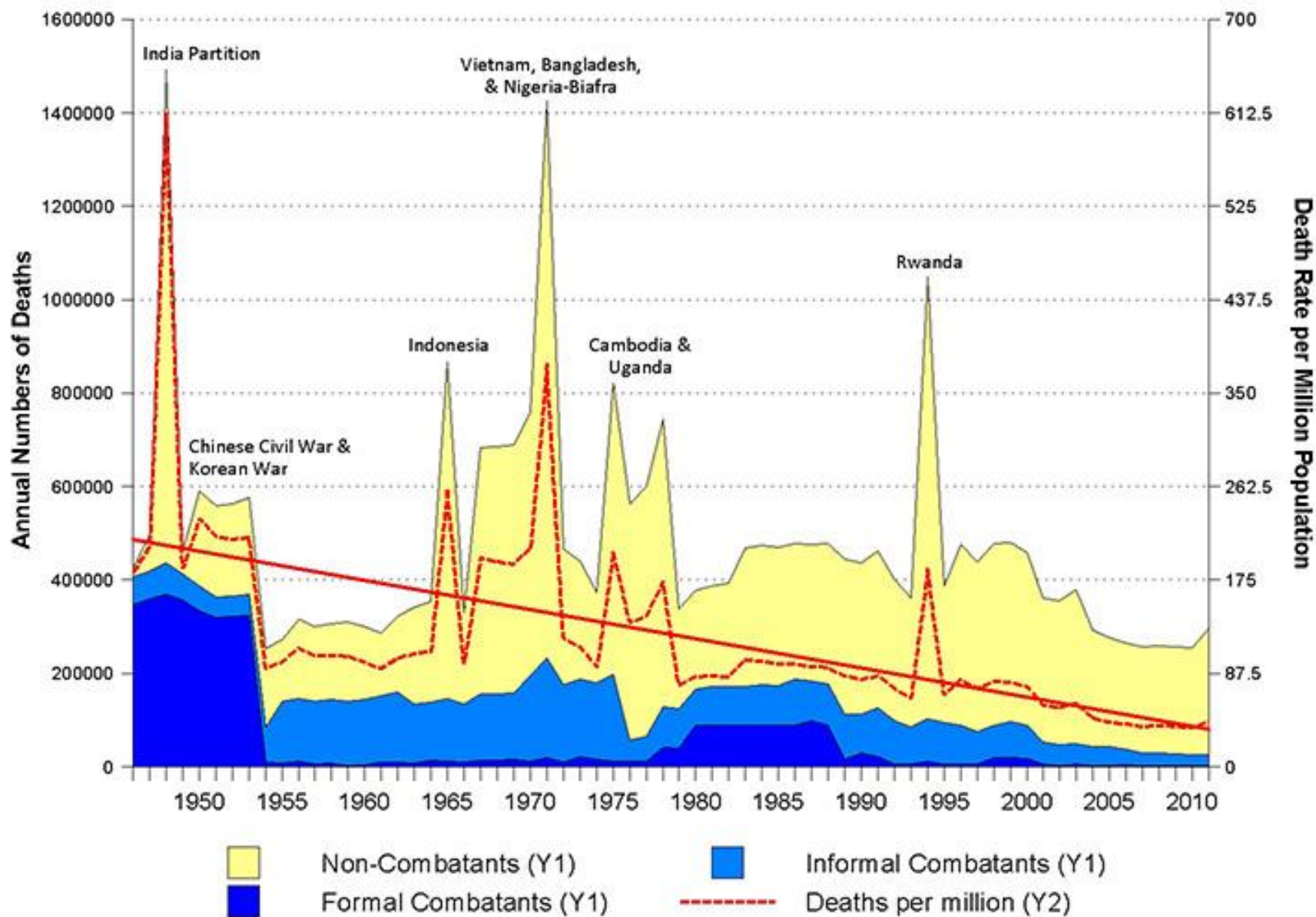
Global Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946-2016

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Summed War Magnitude Scores

Legend: Warfare Totals · Societal Warfare · Interstate Warfare

States Experiencing Warfare, 1946-2016

Percent: Independent States with Armed Conflicts (Y2)

Number of States: All Armed Conflicts (Y1)

Number of States: Serious Armed Conflicts (magnitude > 1) (Y1)

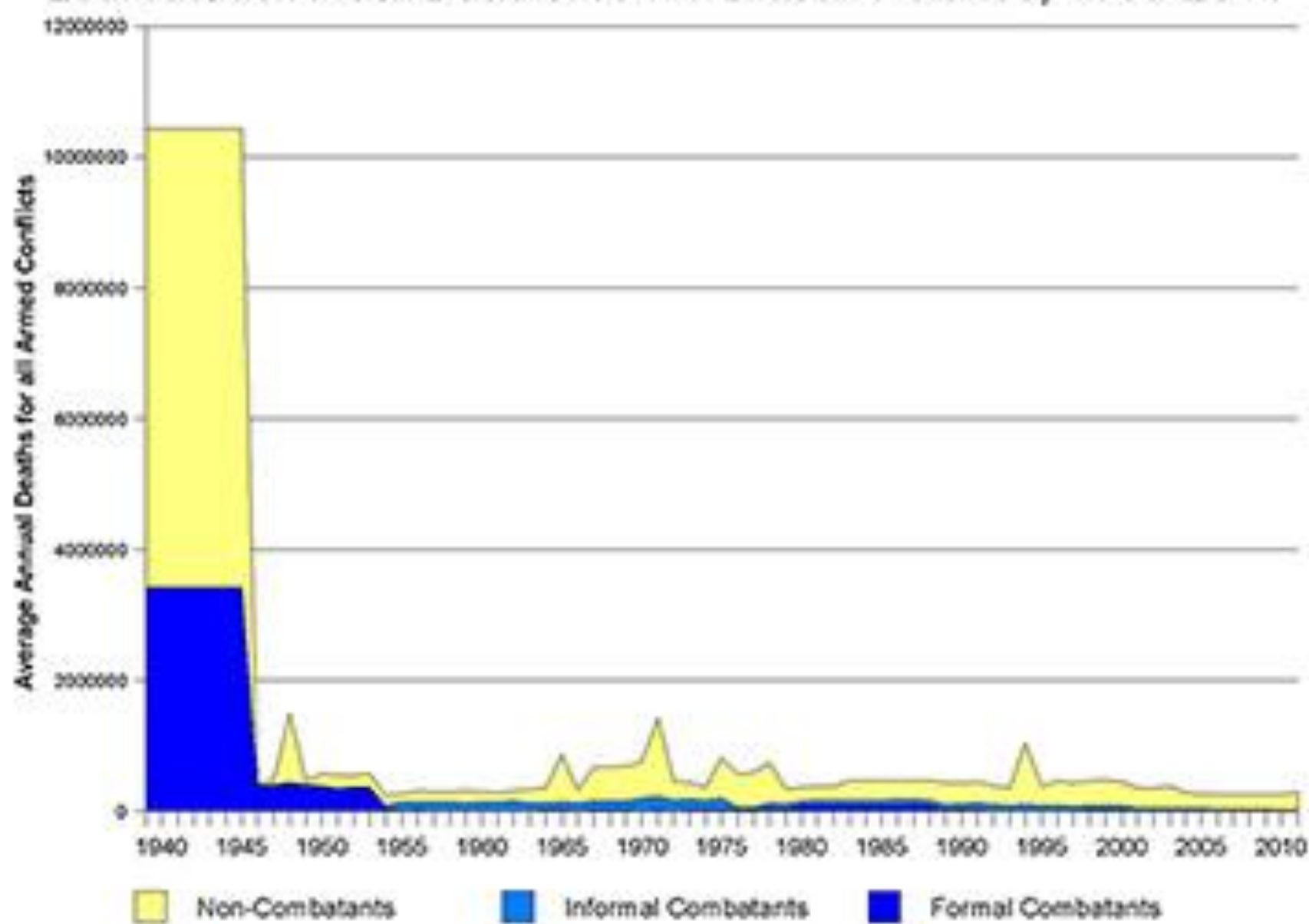# Trends by Armed Conflict Type, 1946-2016

Legend: Inter-state War, Revolutionary War, Ethnic War

© 2017

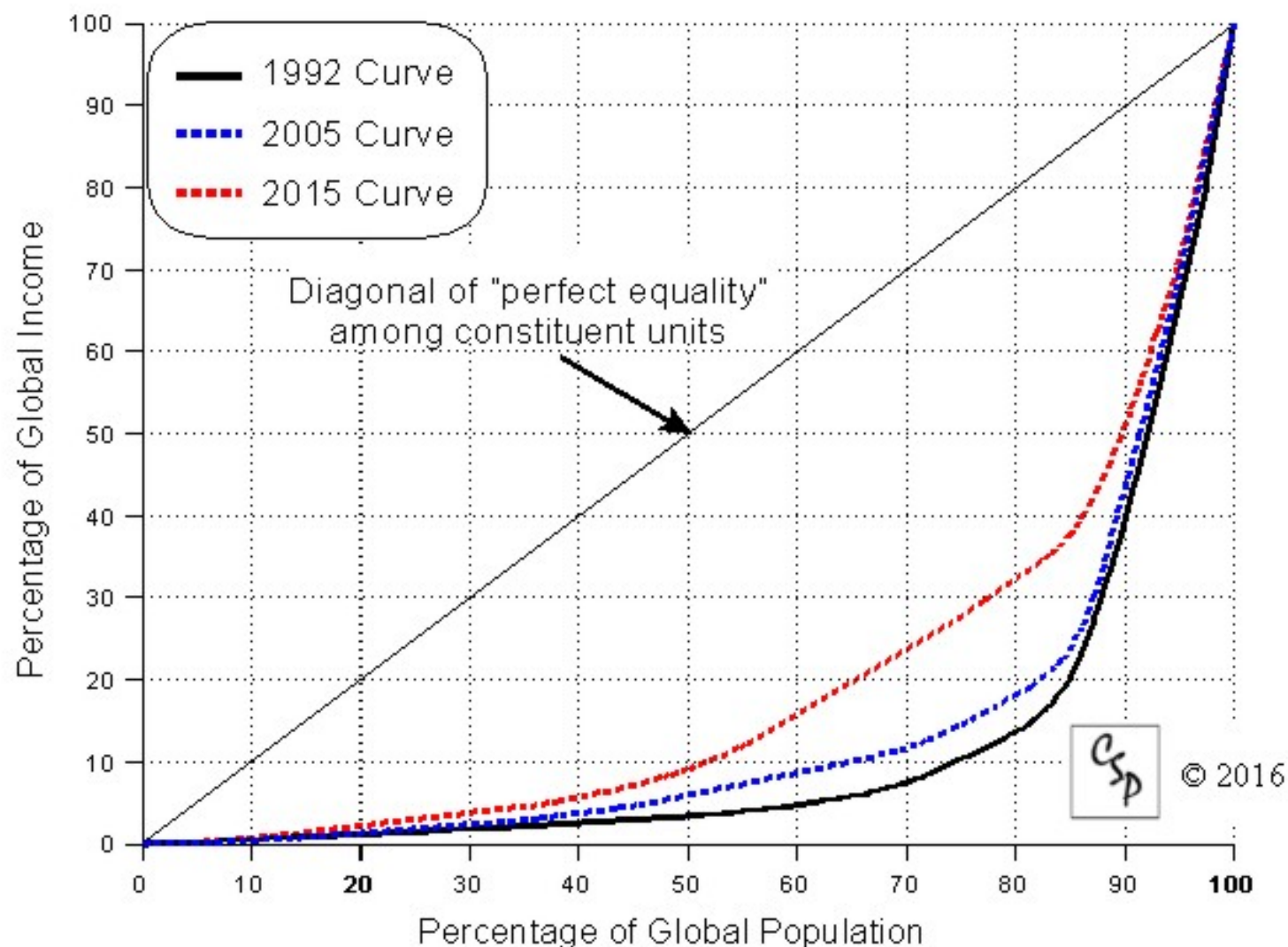Estimated Annual Deaths from Political Violence, 1946-2011

Estimated Annual Deaths from Political Violence, 1939-2011

Global Trends in Armed Conflict Events, 1946-2016

Global Lorenz Curve: Measuring Systemic Distribution of Income

Inequality is measured by the area inside the diagonal and the curves

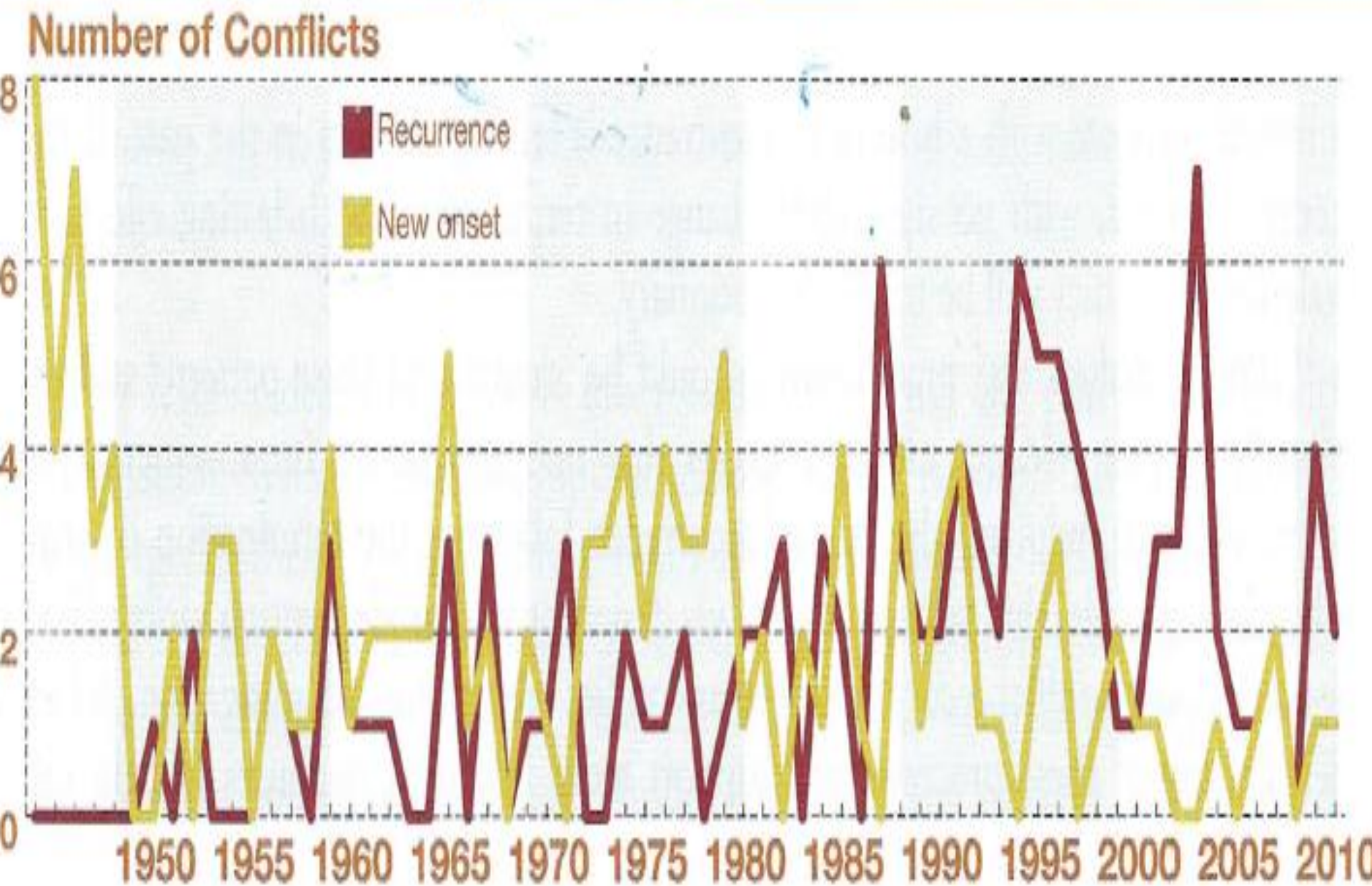Figure 3.3 Trends in New and Recurring Conflicts, 1946–2012

Figure 7.1 Total Number of Civil War Mediations, 1946–2007
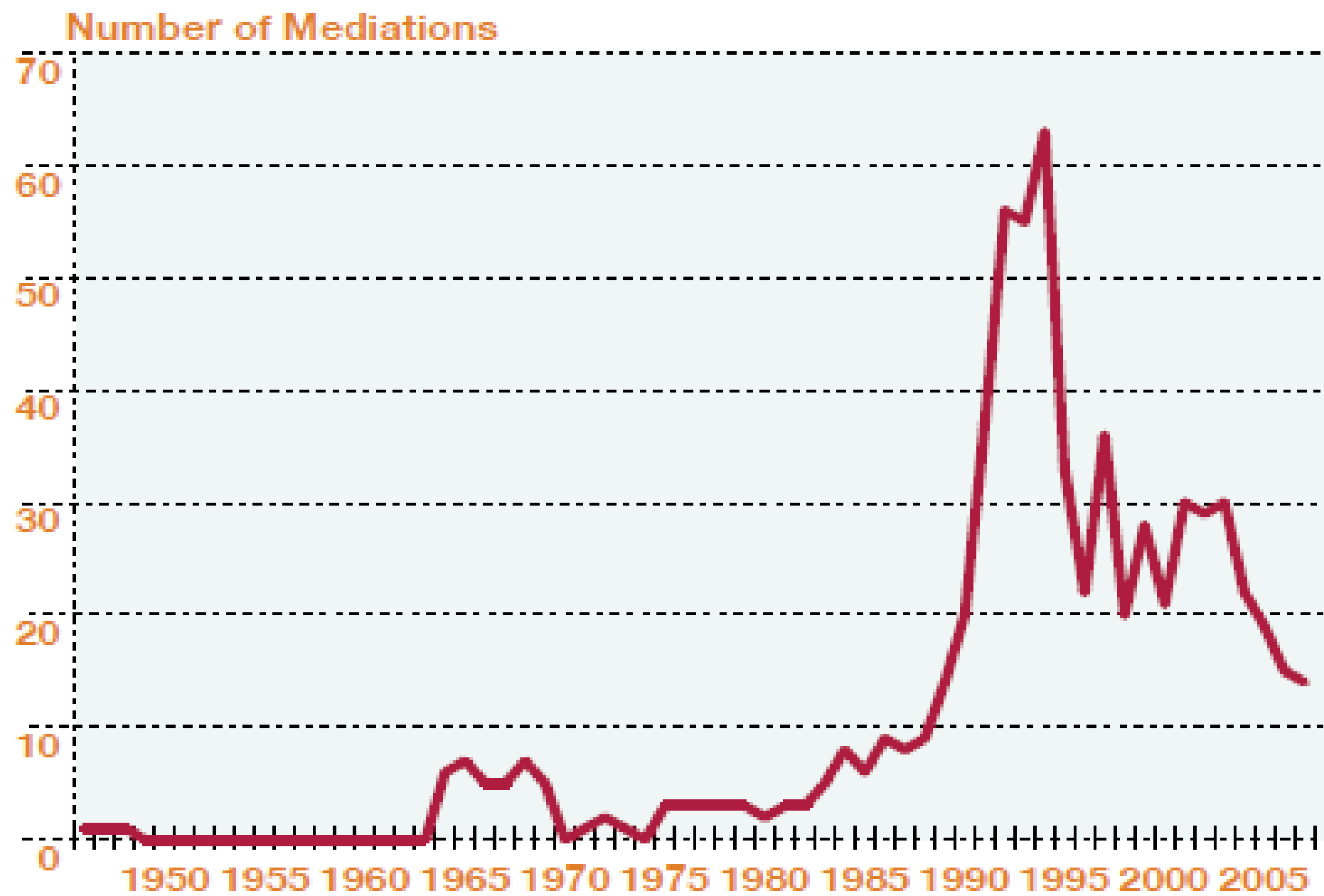
High Casualty Terrorist Bombings, 9/11/89-3/10/17

© 2017

Legend:
- Iraq
- Pakistan
- Afghanistan
- Other Muslim Countries
- Israel
- Russia
- All Other Countries

9/11/2001
2982

Total Number of Deaths per 6-Month Period

6-month Periods Pre- and Post-9/11
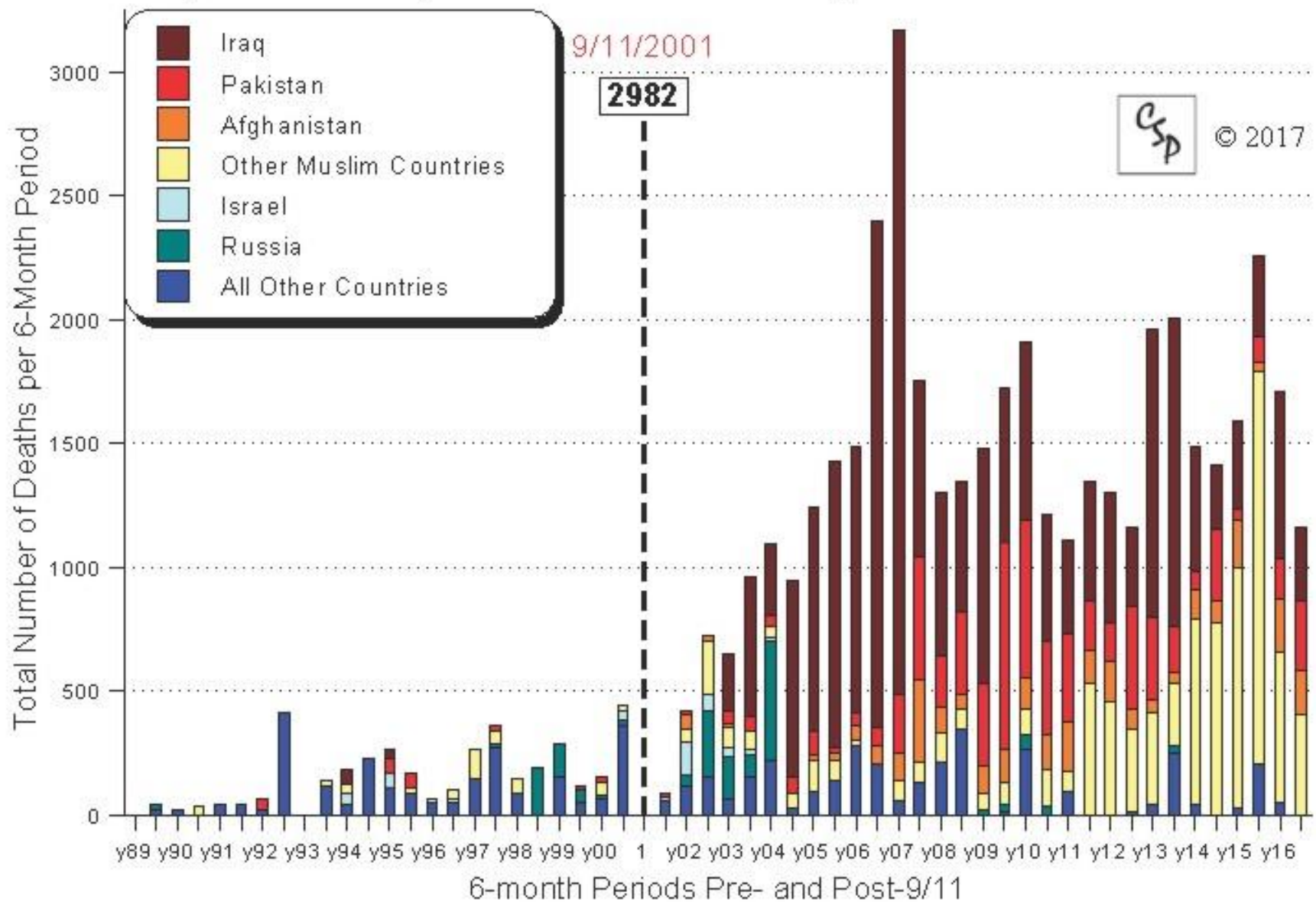
Annual Numbers of International Terrorism Attacks, 1972-2008
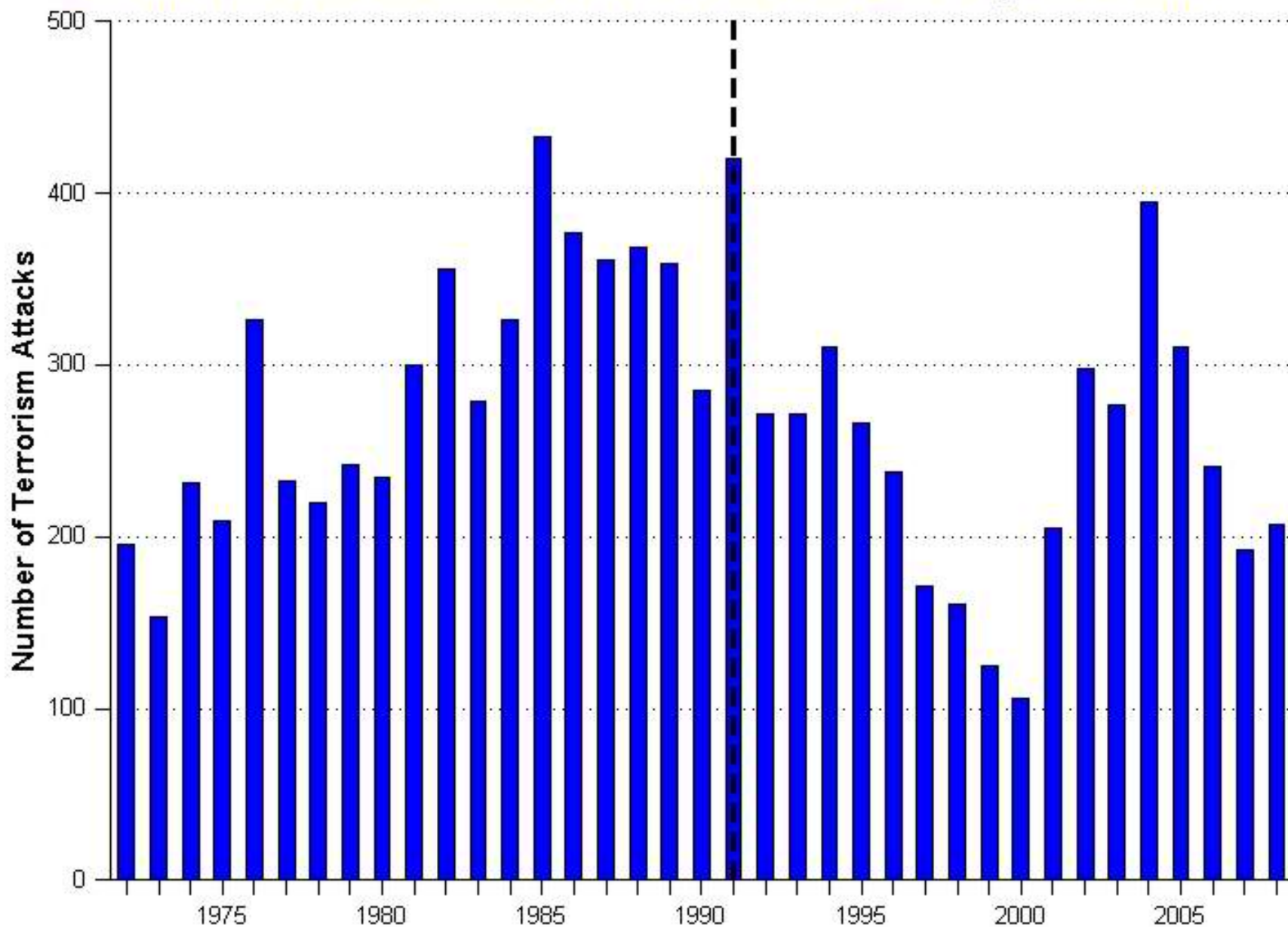
Annual Numbers of Deaths from International Terrorism, 1972-2008

Table 5.1 Top 10 Most Attacked Countries and Territories

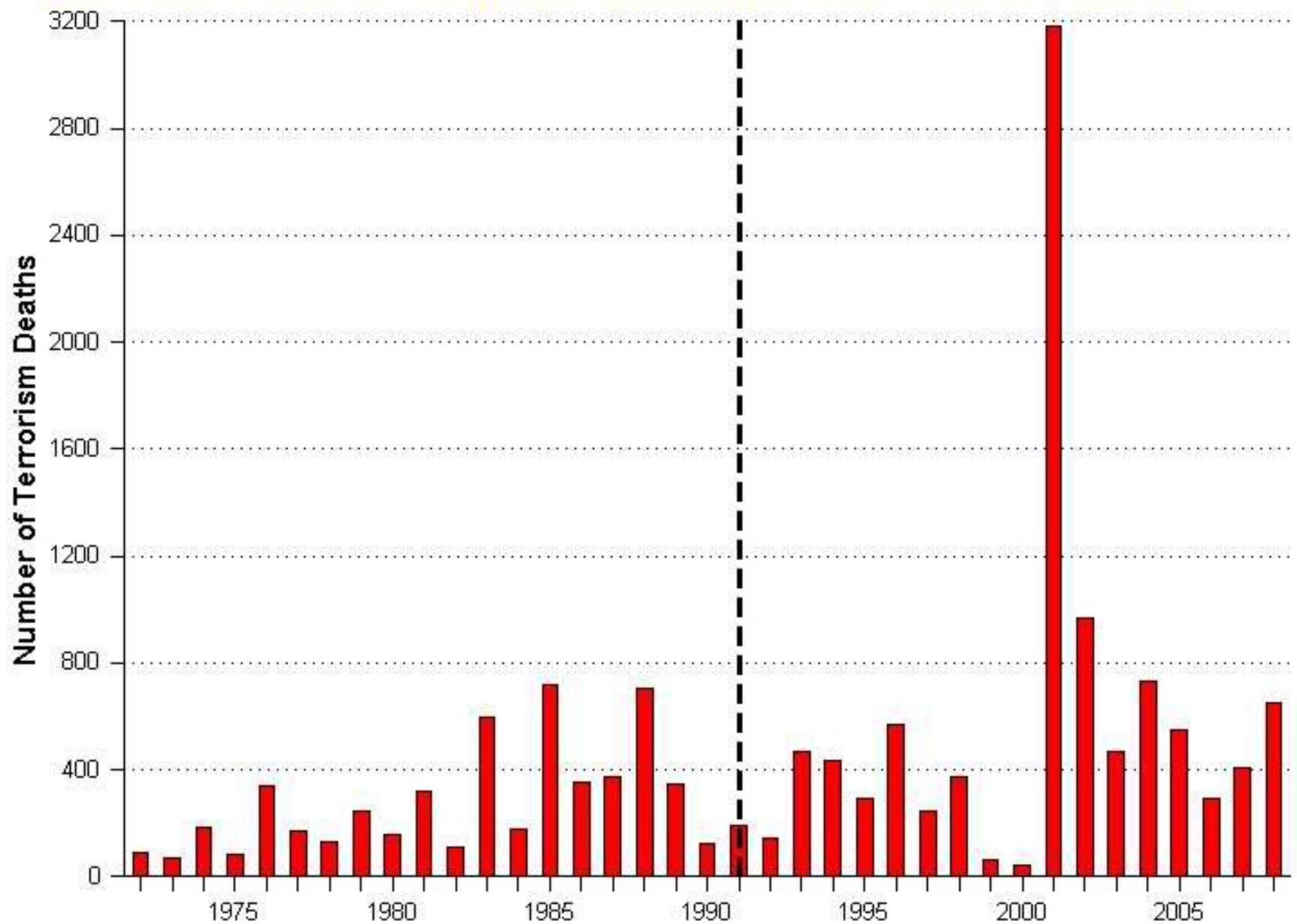| Rank	1970 to 9/10/2001 Country	% of All Attacks	9/11/2001 to 2008 Country	% of All Attacks
1	Colombia	8.88	Iraq**	25.77
2	Peru*	8.35	India	9.48
3	El Salvador*	7.38	Afghanistan**	9.03
4	Northern Ireland	5.13	Pakistan	7.63
5	India	4.61	Thailand**	5.84
6	Spain	4.14	Philippines	3.85
7	Turkey	3.49	Russia**	3.65
8	Chile*	3.15	Colombia	3.22
9	Sri Lanka	3.03	Israel	2.89
10	Philippines	2.96	Nepal**	2.55

* Only in the top 25 prior to 9/11   ** Not in the top 25 prior to 9/11.

State Fragility Index 2013

Color	Category
(dark red)	Extreme (20-25)
(red)	High (16-19)
(orange)	Serious (12-15)
(yellow)	Moderate (8-11)
(pale yellow)	Low (4-7)
(white)	Little or No (0-3)
(gray)	Not Included
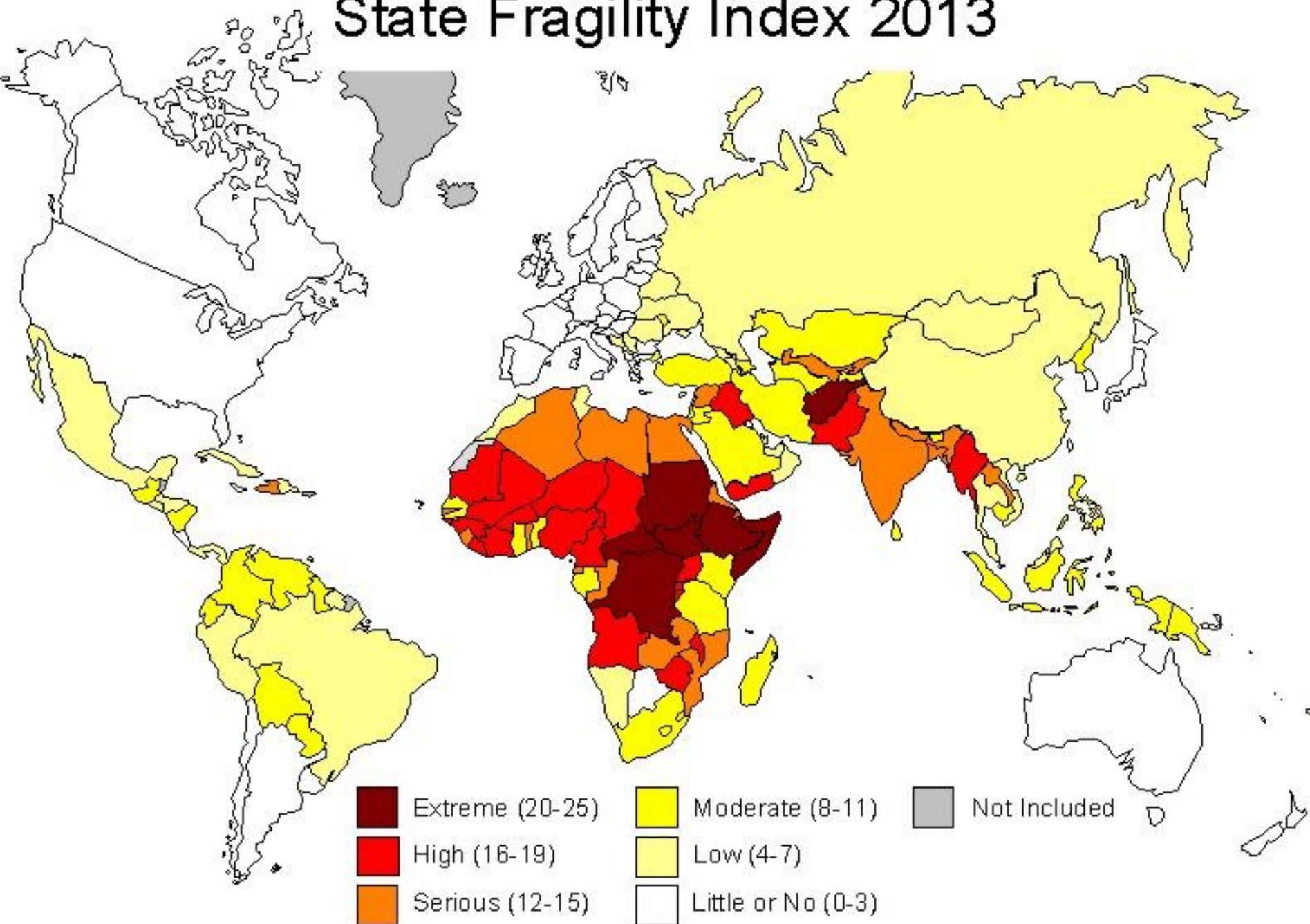
Risk Factors for Societal Violence

1. Group incentives for collective action = threat to human needs for –

    a) Security (e.g., government repression),
    b) Social/distributive justice (e.g., political or economic discrimination), and
    c) Identity, respect (e.g., lost autonomy)

2. Salience of separate identity

3. Group capacity for collective action

4. Domestic opportunity factors for collective action

5. International opportunity factors for collective action

1. Group incentives (threat to needs)
*Govt repression, food depriv'n (security)
*Increased political, economic or social restrictions (justice/access)
*Discrimination, lost autonomy (identity)

2. Salience of group identity
*Economic, political or cultural discrimin'n
*Persistent protest over 10 years
*Intensity of past conflicts
*Extent of cultural differentials

Figure 6.3: Global Trends in Political Discrimination of Minorities, 1950–2003

Number of Minority Groups

- Governmental Discrimination
- Societal Discrimination
- Historical Discrimination
- Remedial Discrimination
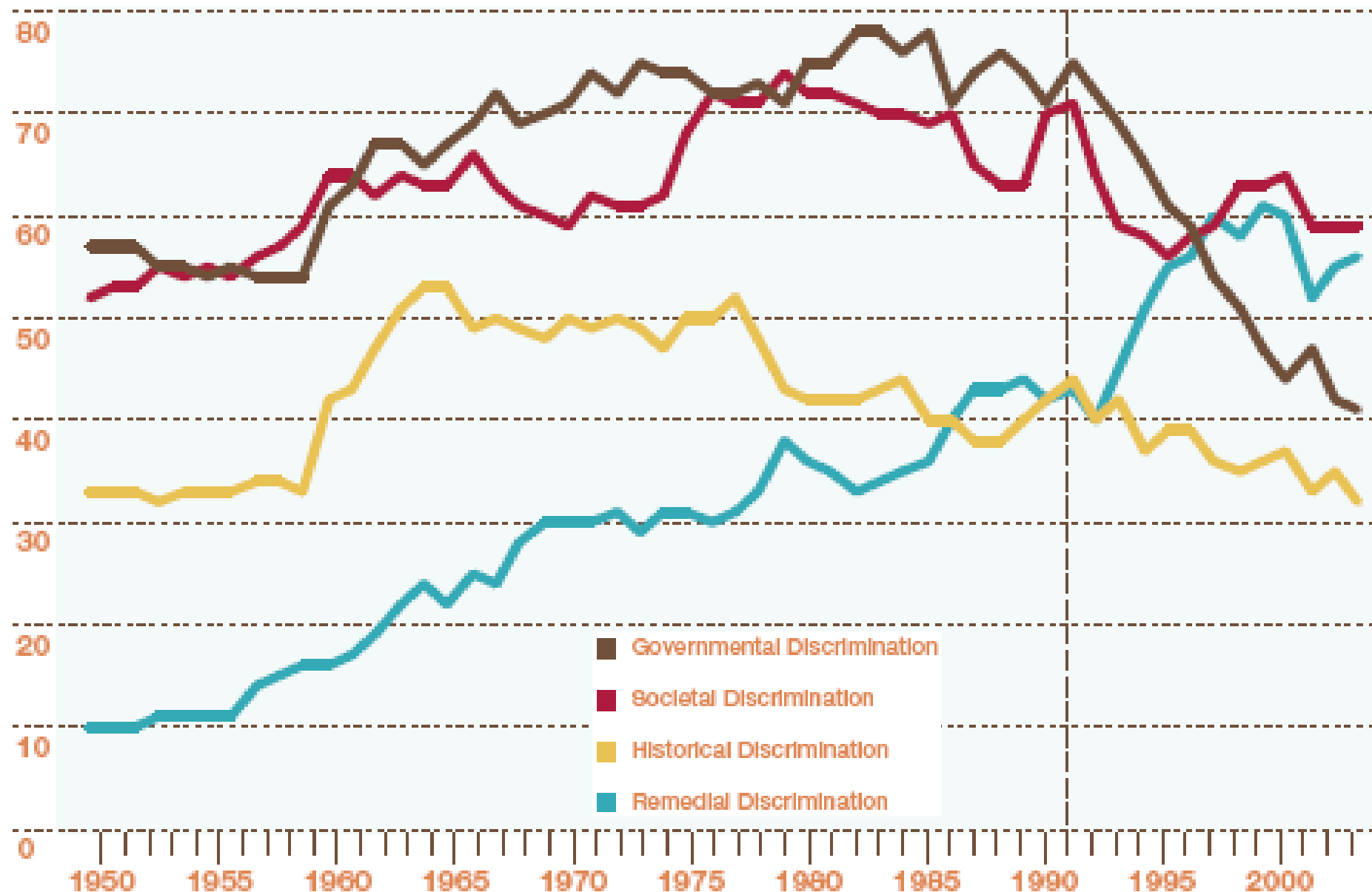
Income Concentration at the Top Has Risen Sharply Since the 1970s

Share of total before-tax income flowing to the highest income households (including capital gains), 1913-2015

Top 1 percent

Top 0.5 percent
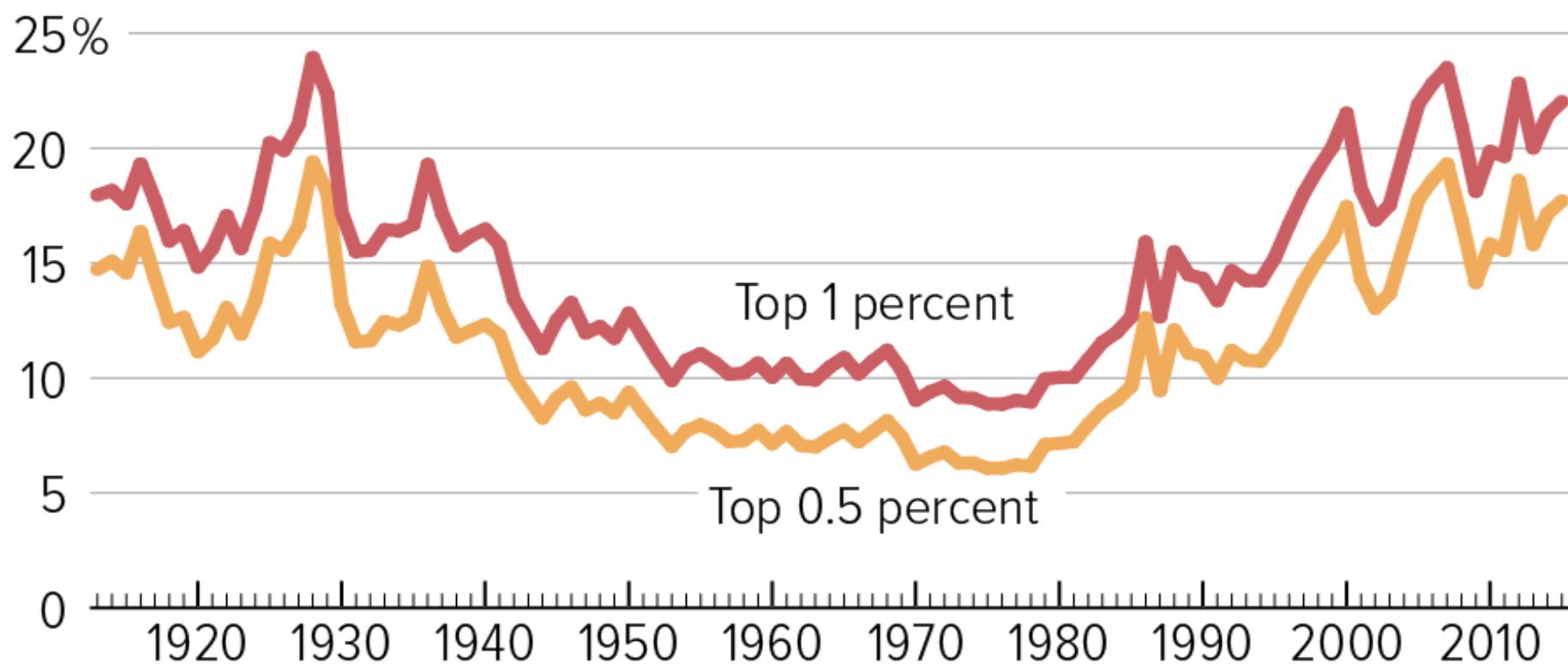
Wealth Concentration Has Been Rising Toward Early 20th Century Levels

Share of total wealth held by the wealthiest families, 1913-2012

Top 1 percent

Top 0.5 percent
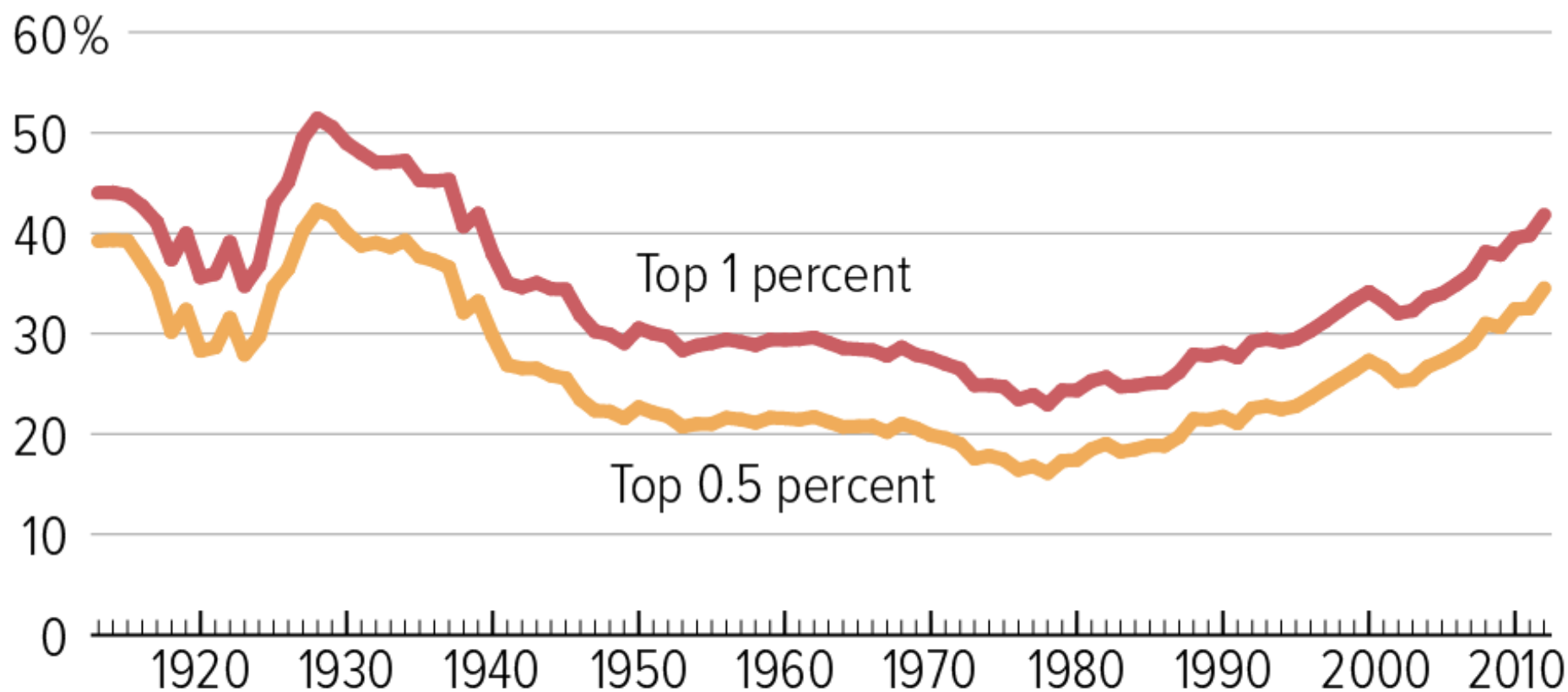
Source: Saez and Zucman, May 2016

3. Group capacity for collective action

* Financial resources (e.g., from drugs, crime, oil, mines: for pay, weapons, profit)

** Proportion of population with military experience and weapons

* Authentic leadership + cohesive pre-existing group organization, not factionalized

* Reduced support for non-militant groups, cross-cutting (e.g. multi-ethnic) organizations and minority rights

* Geographic concentration

Figure 7.1: Strategies of Ethnopolitical Organizations, 1980–2004

Percent of Organizations Using Strategy

Legend:
- Violent Politics
- Electoral Politics
- Domestic Protest Politics
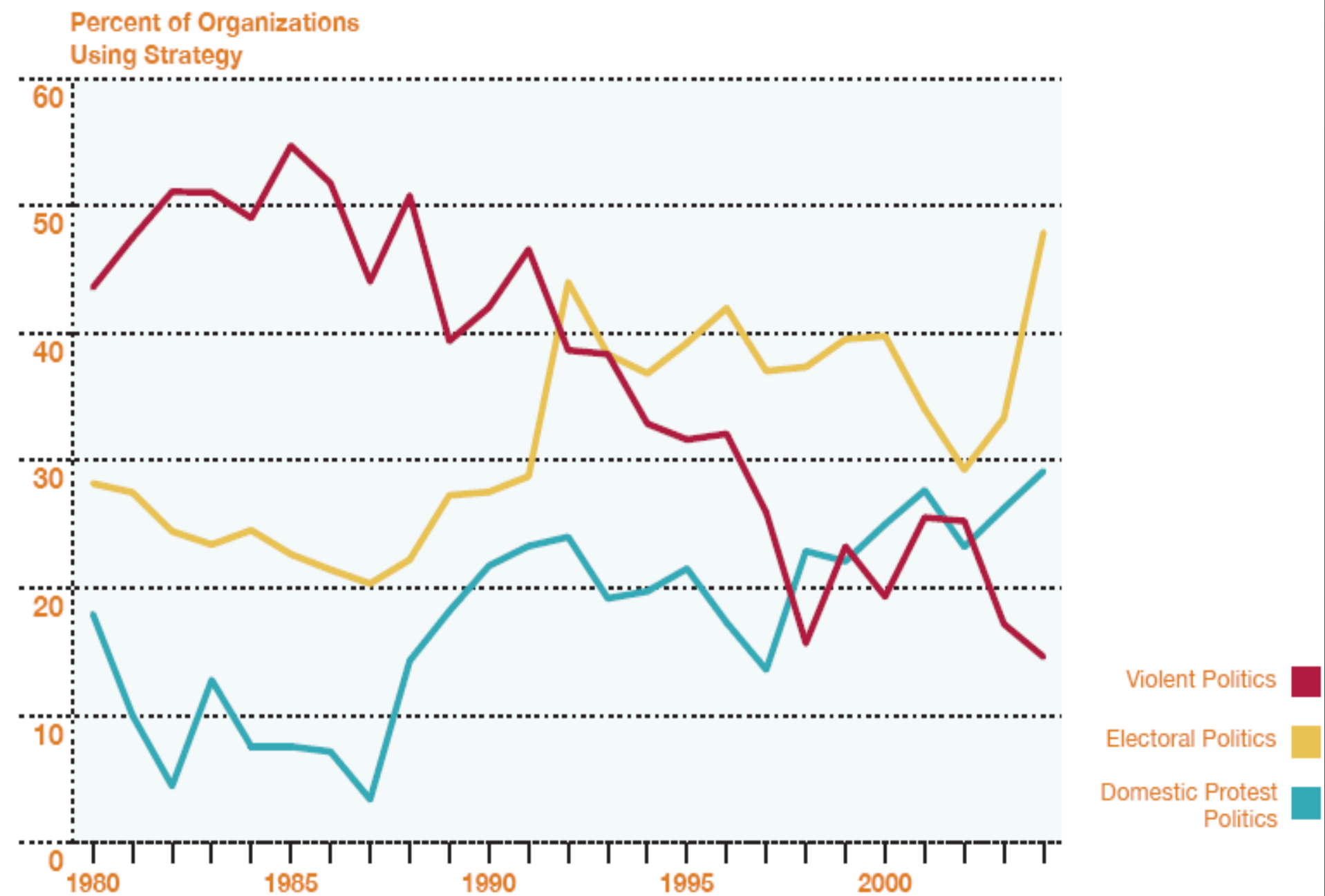
Figure 7.2: Shifts in Ideology of Ethnopolitical Organizations

Number of Organizations

Legend:
- Total
- Democratic
- Nationalist
- Religious
- Leftist
- Rightist
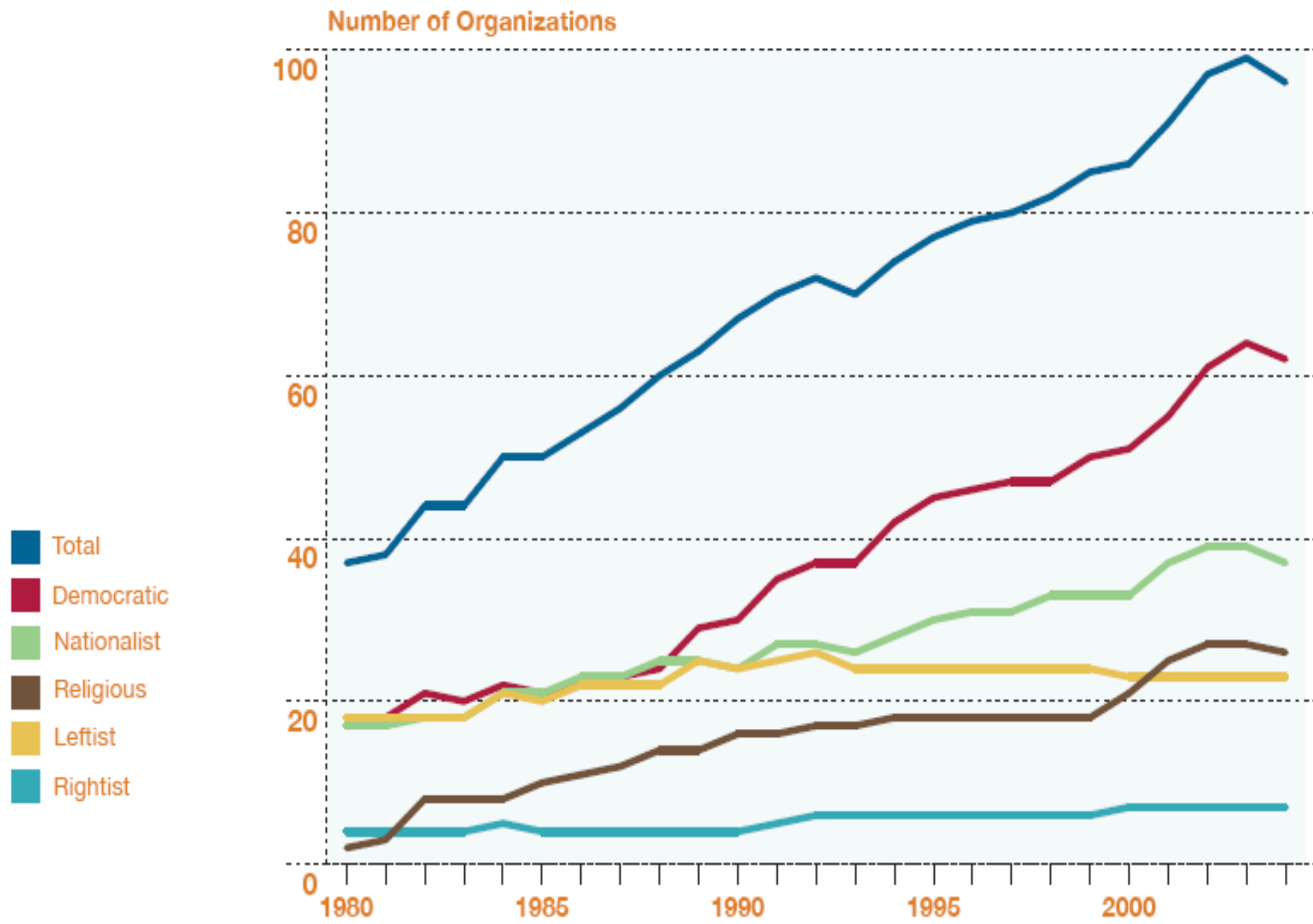
4. *Domestic opportunity factors*

** Mixed democratic/autocratic
  political systems
* Regime transitions (within 5 years)
* History of repression, militarization
* Weak/poor states, with limited
  resources relative to needs
**Weak social support(infant mortality)
* Demographic stress, youth bulge
* Difficult terrain, new ICT's

Global Trends in Governance, 1800-2016

Figure axes: Number of Countries (Population > 500,000) on the vertical axis (0 to 100); years 1800–2010 on the horizontal axis.

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Legend: Democracies · Anocracies · Autocracies

Polity and the Onset of Political Instability, 1955-2006

Autocracy

Democracy

Anocracy

Annual Likelihood of Instability Event Onset (PITF Events plus Democratic Transitions)
Annual Likelihood of Instability Event Onset (PITF: Adverse Regime or Political Violence)
Annual Likelihood of Political Instability Onset (PITF Consolidated Cases)

■ Full Democracy (10)	■ Closed Anocracy (-5 to 0)
■ Democracy (6 to 9)	■ Autocracy (-10 to -6)
■ Open Anocracy (1 to 5)	■ Failed/Occupied ■ Not included

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Regime Type by Income (Quartiles), 1980s and 1990s

Percentage of Country-Years

	1980s				1990s			

Lowest, Second, Third, Highest (1980s) — Lowest, Second, Third, Highest (1990s)

Legend: Democracy (blue), Anocracy (black), Autocracy (red)
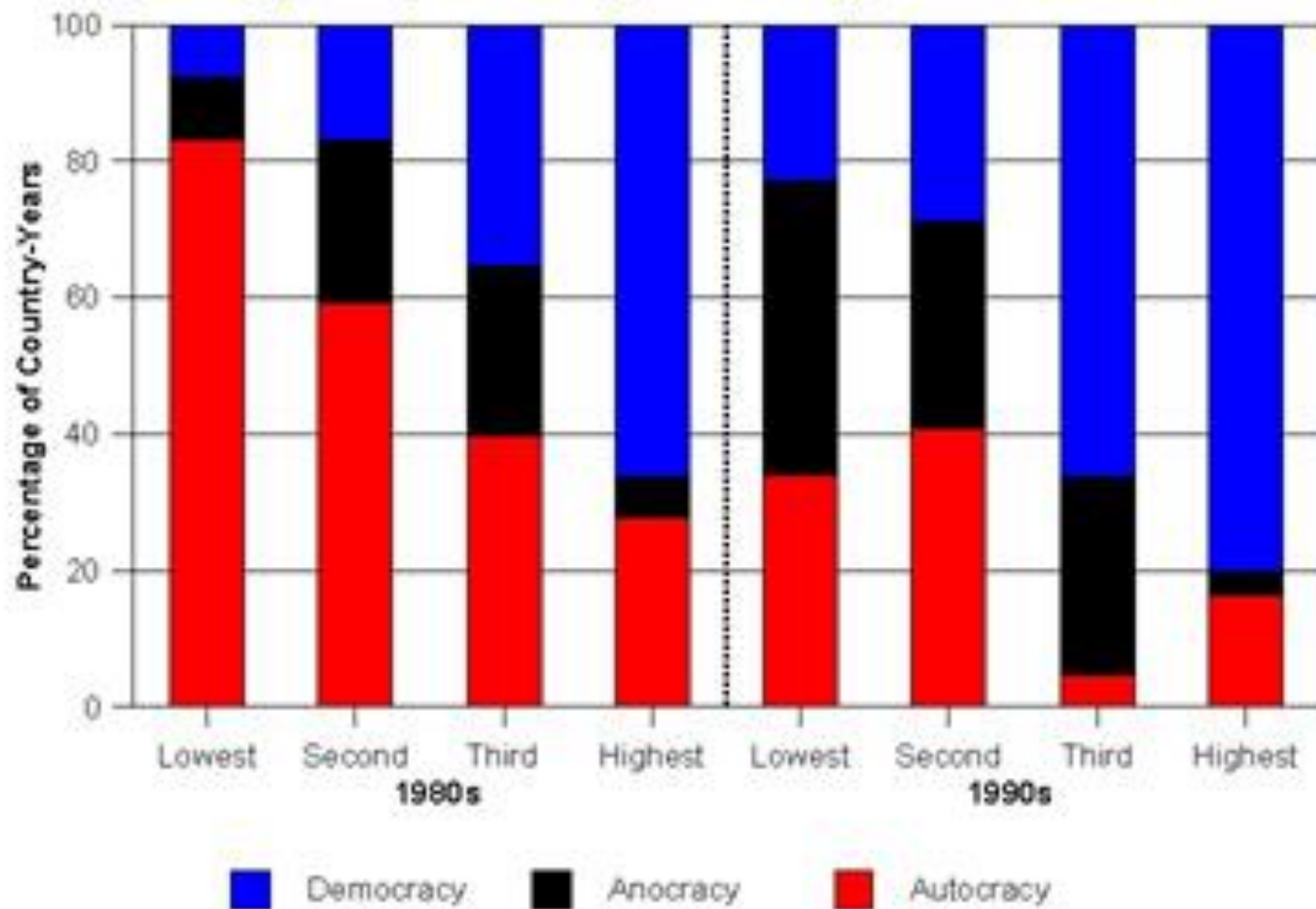
Figure 11.1 Observed Elections and Percent Receiving Negative Report

Total Percent of All Elections

Total Number of Elections

Legend:
- Total number of elections
- Percent observed with a negative report
- Percent observed with no negative report

Societal Capacity and Warfare, 1946-2016

Summed Magnitude Scores (y-axis): 0, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80

Years (x-axis): 1950, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015

© 2017

Legend:
- Lowest Quintile
- Second Quintile
- Middle Quintile
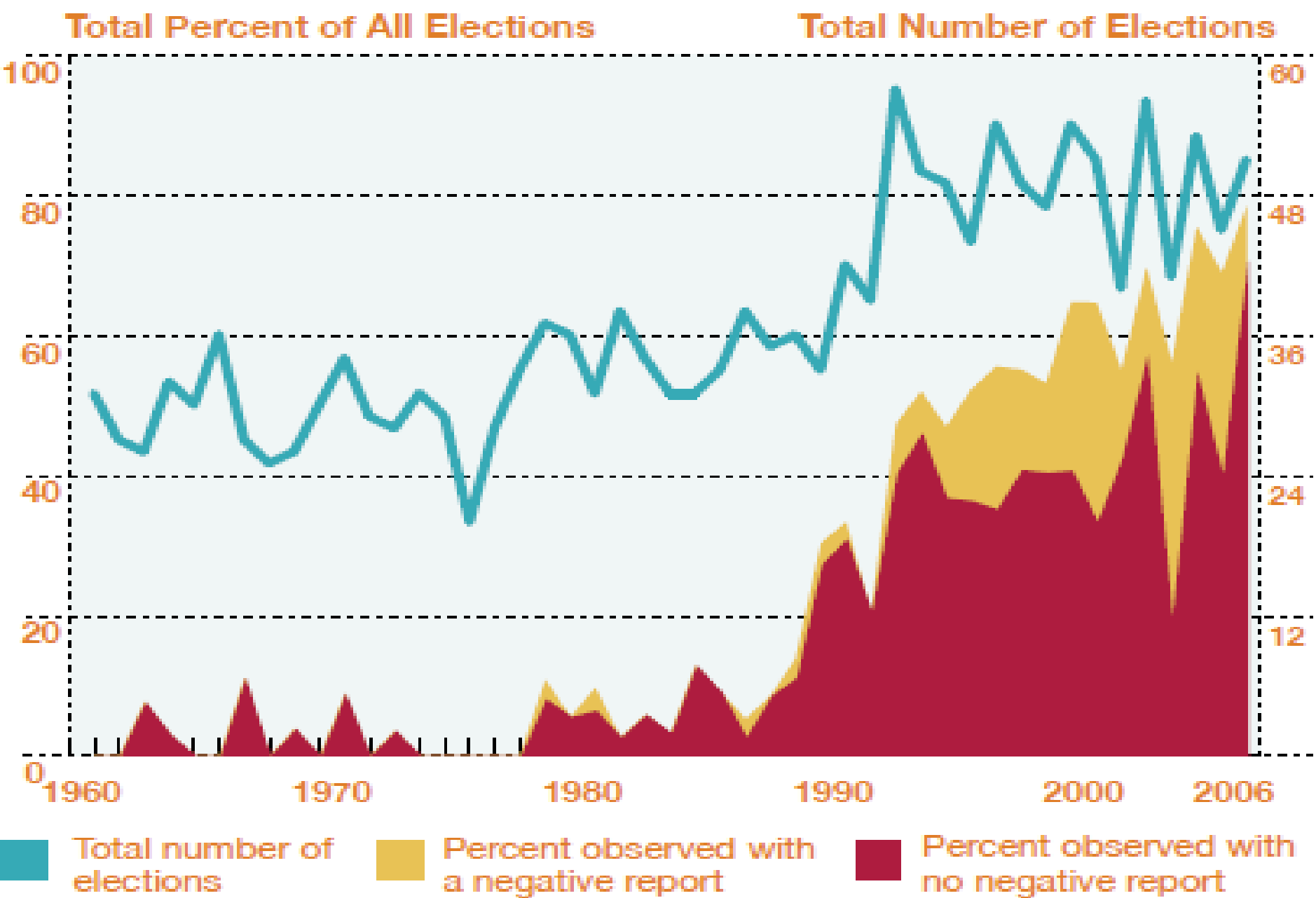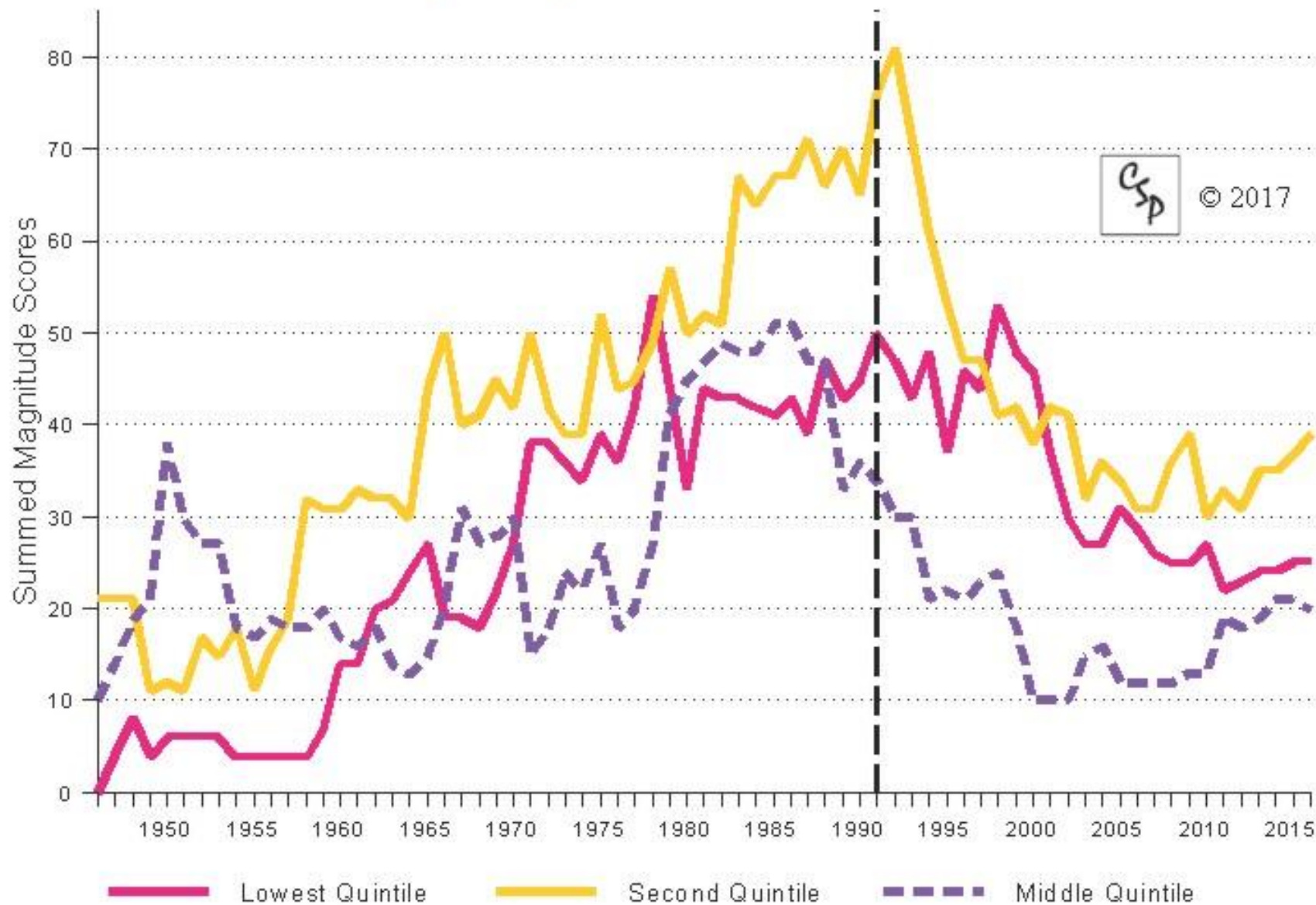
Societal Capacity and Warfare, 1946-2016
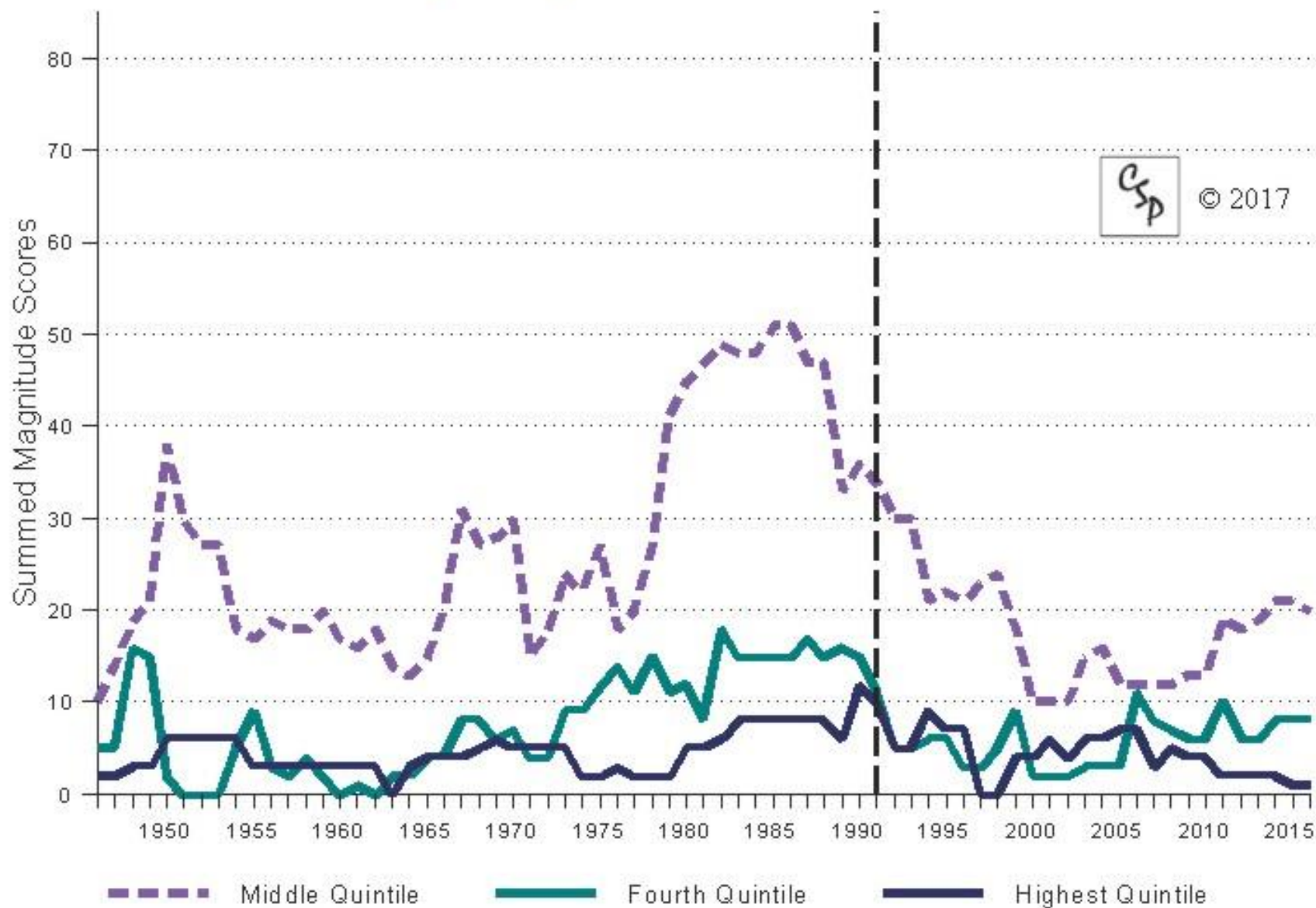
5. International opportunity factors

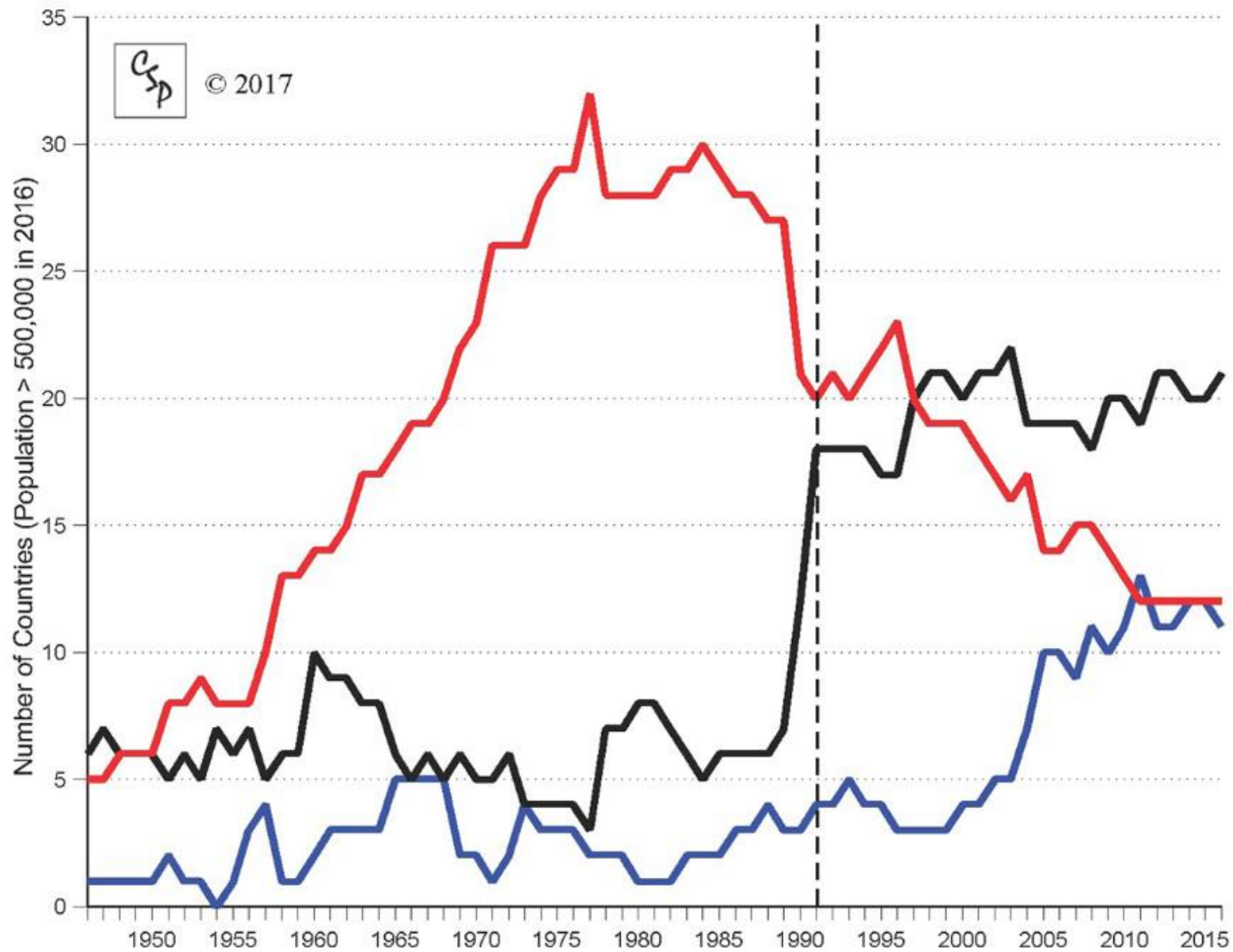** Violence or repression in neighboring country/s (spillover effects)

* Support from kindred groups or states

* Lack of internat'l political engagement (via UN, regional org's etc.)

**Lack of regional/international economic openness (with rule of law, trade)

* Dependency on international aid or on trade in single commodity (e.g. oil)

* Contagion (ideologies, networks, inspir'n – e.g., Maoism, militant Jihadism)

Trends by Armed Conflict Type, 1946-2014

© 2015

Summed Magnitude Scores

100

80

60

40

20

0

1950 1955 1960 1965 1970 1975 1980 1985 1990 1995 2000 2005 2010

Inter-state War   Revolutionary War   Ethnic War
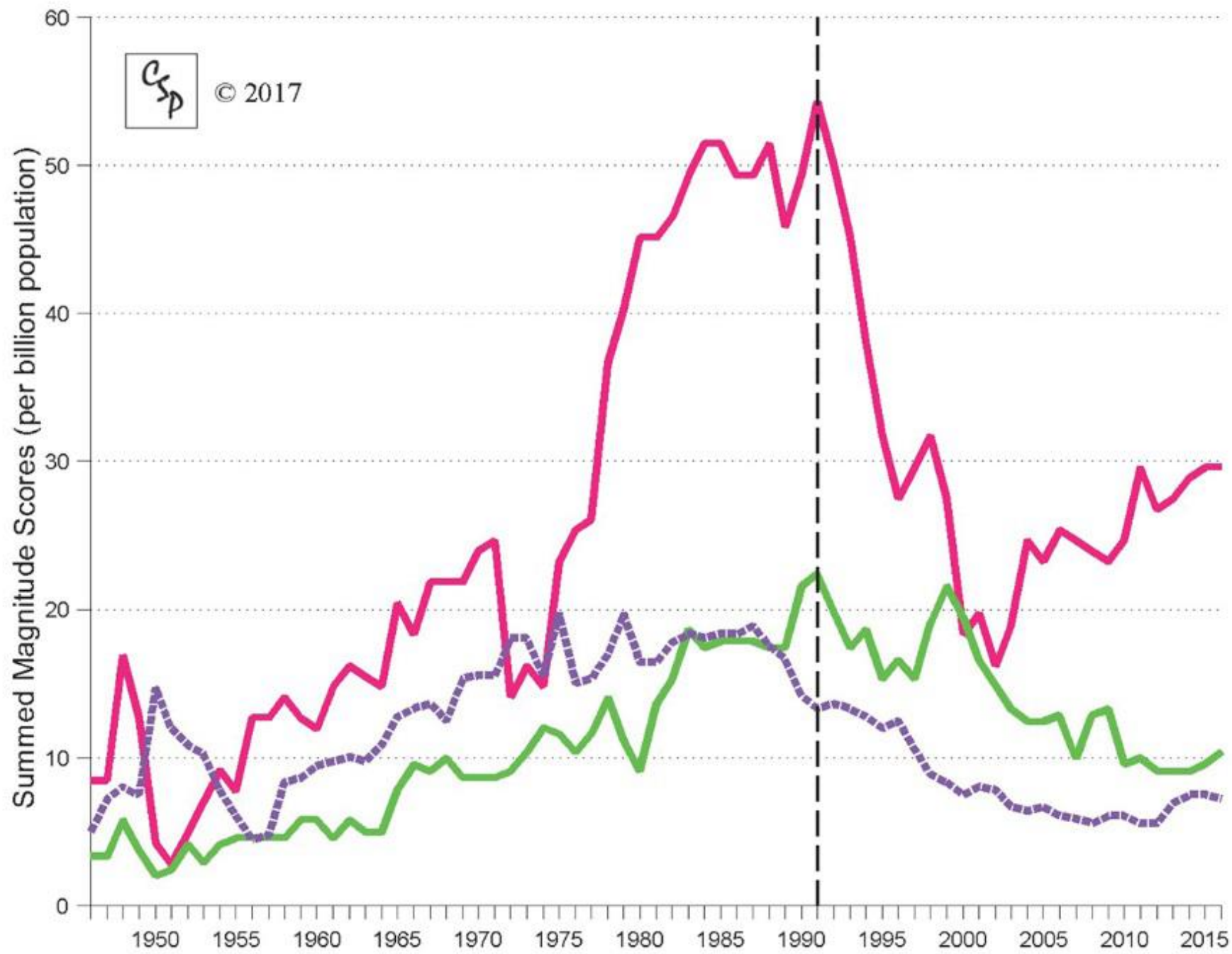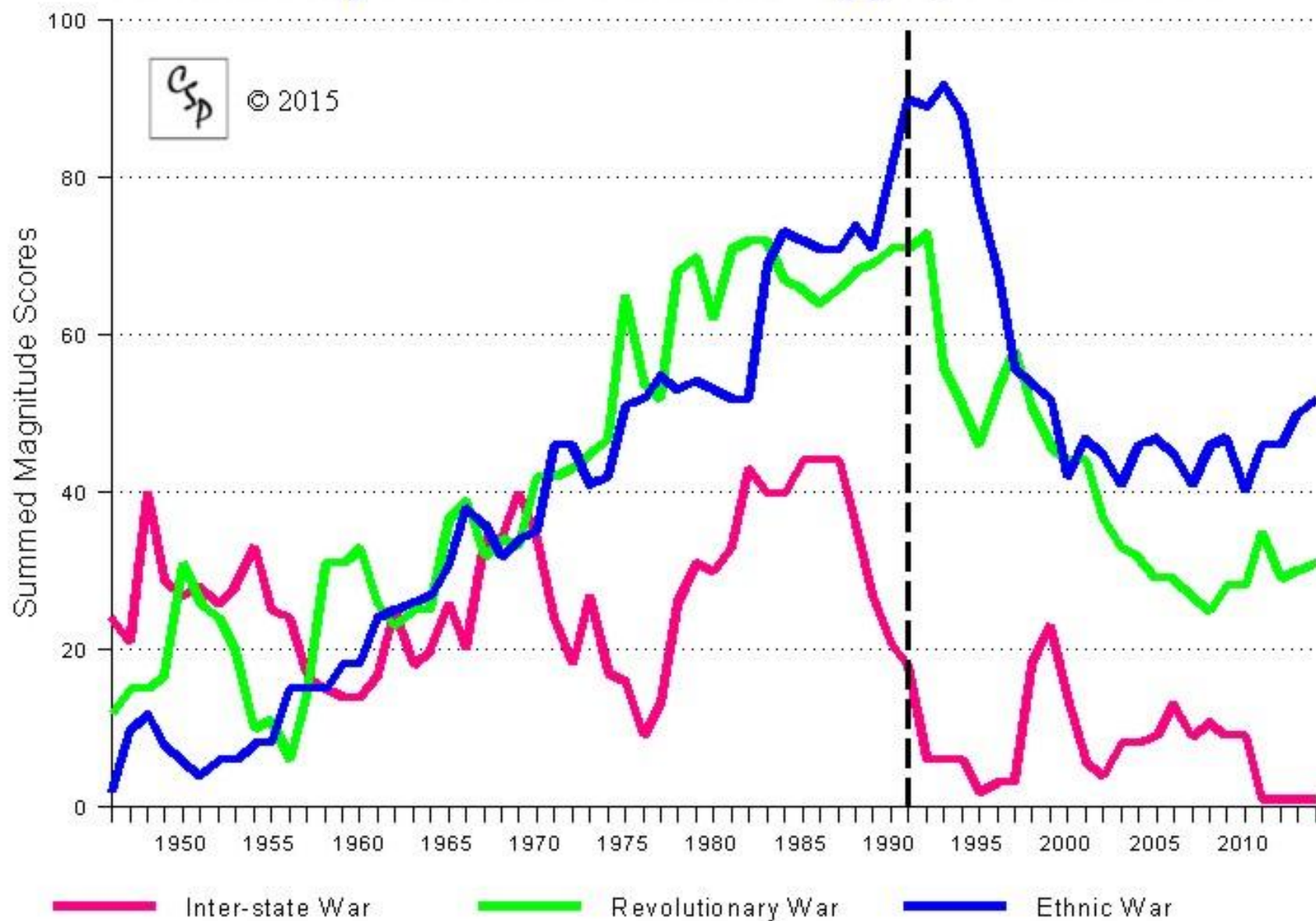
Refugees and Displaced Populations, 1964-2008

Legend:
- Refugees
- Internally Displaced
- Total Displaced

© 2009
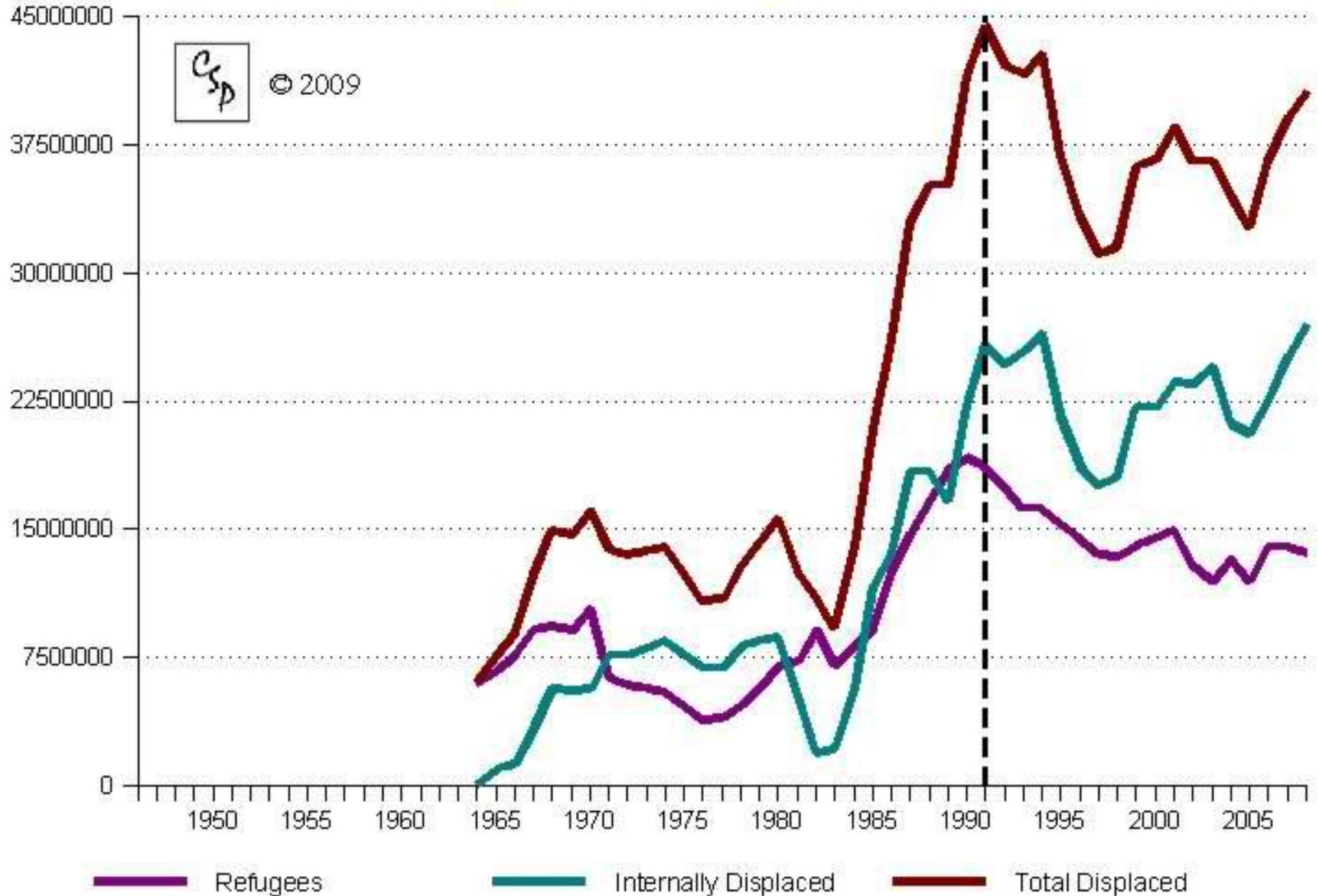
Figure 10.1: Number of Peacekeeping Operations (1948–2005)
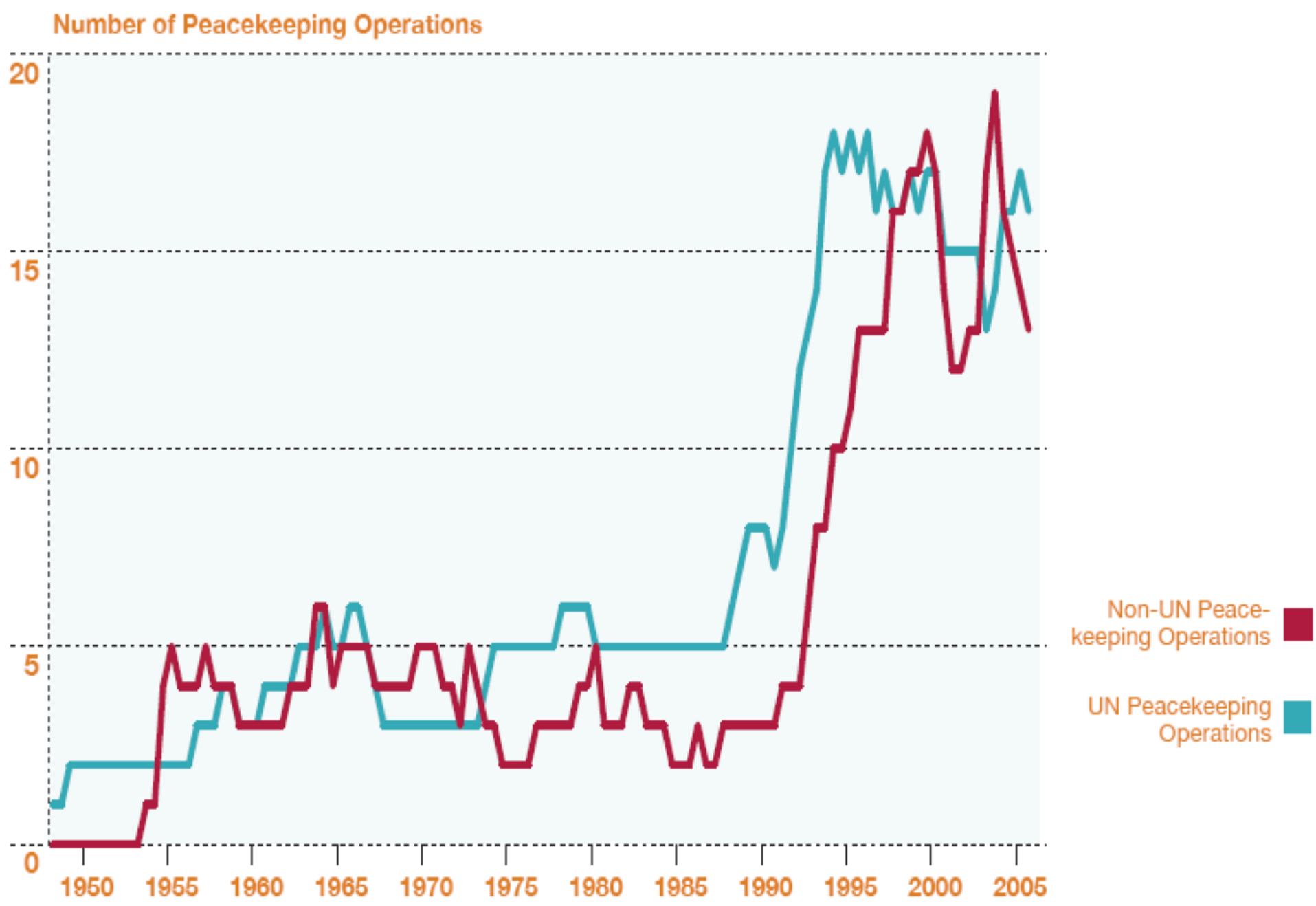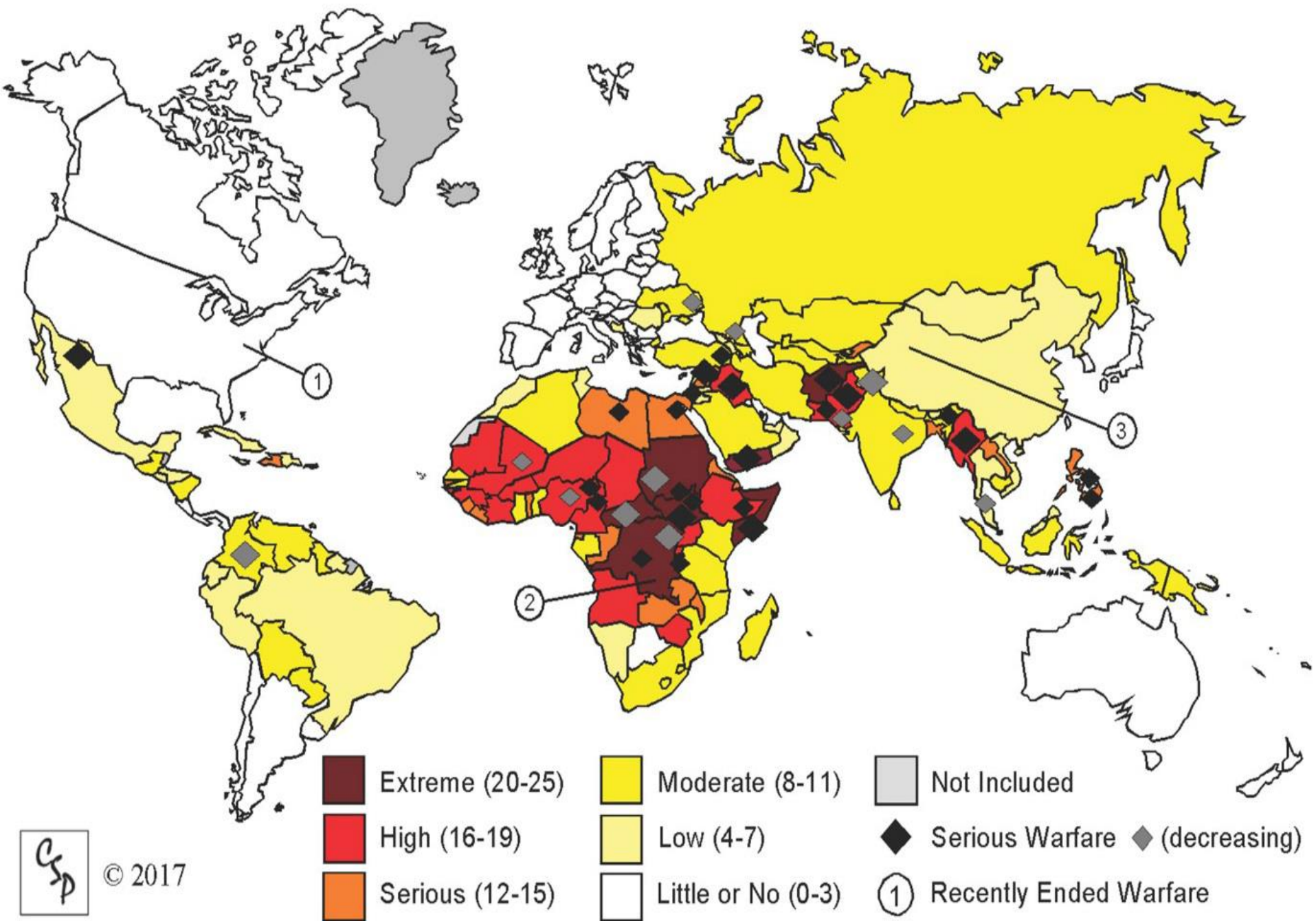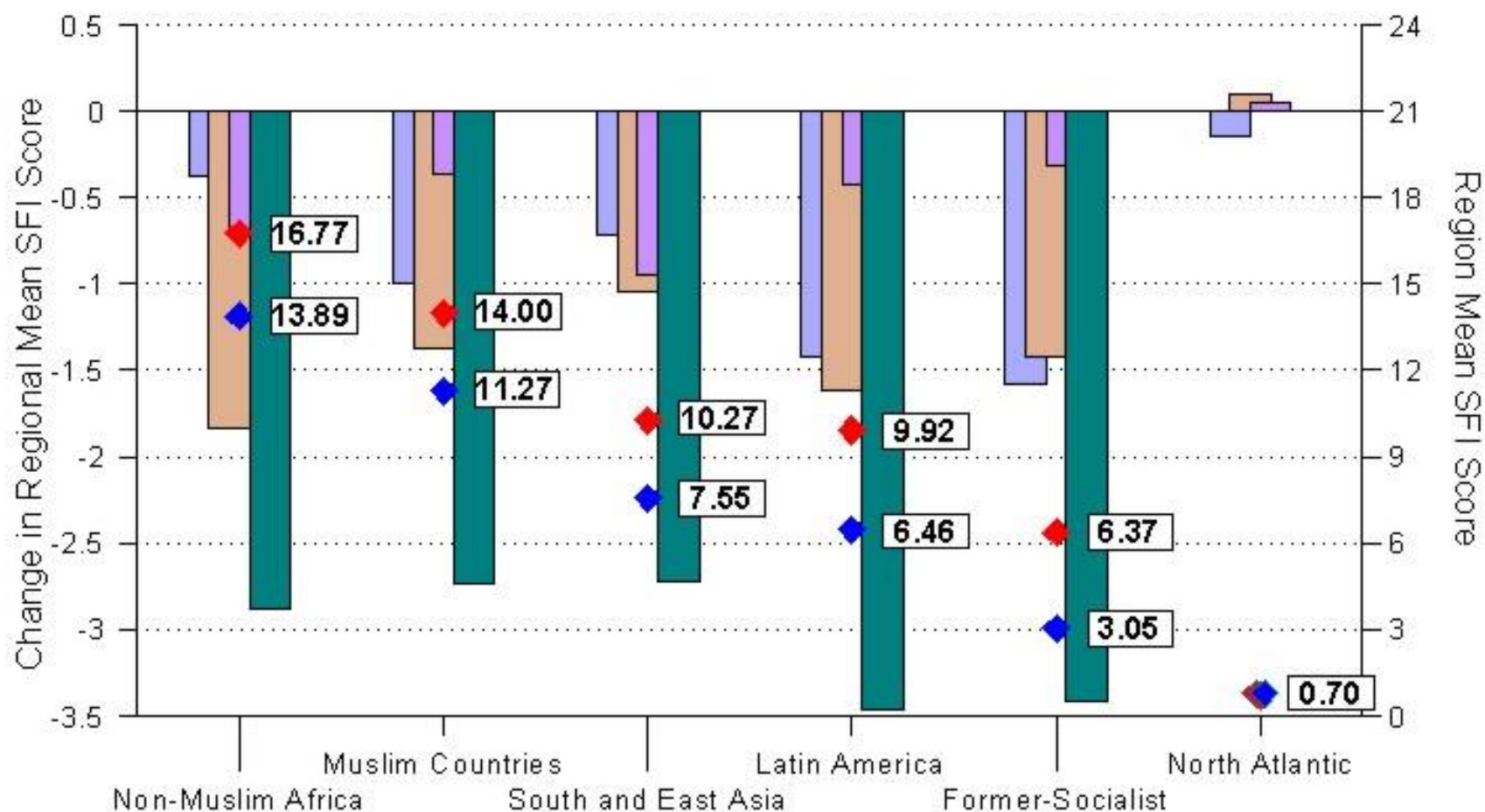
Number of Peacekeeping Operations

Non-UN Peace-
keeping Operations

UN Peacekeeping
Operations

Extreme (20-25) Moderate (8-11) Not Included

High (16-19) Low (4-7) ◆ Serious Warfare ◆ (decreasing)

Serious (12-15) Little or No (0-3) ① Recently Ended Warfare

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The Dynamics of Conflict Transformation: How to Respond to Current Challenges?

FOUR APPROACHES TO CONFLICT MANAGEMENT & PEACEBUILDING

Control-based (autocratic)
(security & object/structure-oriented)

Right(s)-based (democratic)
(justice & process/relationship-oriented)

Needs-based (inclusive & integrative)
(identity & human motivations-oriented)

Unity-based (re-humanizing the "other")
(from blame & mirroring to responsibility)

Strong, realist,
hard bargaining, hawk

Compromise

Deferential,
Idealist, soft, dove

Conflict Management Styles

Assertive: high concern for own needs/outcomes

competitive, adversarial, directive

collaborative, integrative, problem solving

o

o

Less concern for

Affirming: high concern

compromising

relationship/other

for relationship/other's needs

o

o

avoiding, withdrawal, transcending

pleasing, accommodating, yielding, serving

Less concern for own outcomes

CYCLES OF ESCALATION & TRANSFORMATION

Reconciliation

Aggression

Negotiating solutions, joint planning

Act of "justified" aggression

Injury, pain, shock, denial

Envisioning restorative & social justice

Creating myths, heroes & the "right" history

Self-blame, depression, victimhood

Realization of loss

Choice to forgive

Desire for justice/revenge

Suppression of grief & fears

Mourning, expressing grief, accepting loss

Acknowledging wrongdoing, apologies, truth-telling, re-writing history

Anger "Why me?"

Facing fears

Identifying needs – ours and theirs: "Why them?" Re-humanizing the "other"

Figure 2.1. Life History of a Conflict

Stages of Peace or Conflict

WAR

PEACEMAKING
(Conflict management)

Chechnya, early 1995

cease-fire

PEACE ENFORCEMENT
(Conflict mitigation)

CRISIS

CRISIS DIPLOMACY
(Crisis management)

outbreak of violence
Bosnia, early 1996

settlement

PEACEKEEPING
(Conflict termination)

North Korea, 1994

confrontation
Kosovo, 1993

UNSTABLE PEACE

PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY
(Conflict prevention)

Cambodia, 1995

rapprochement

POSTCONFLICT PEACE BUILDING
(Conflict resolution)

rising tension

El Salvador, 1995

STABLE PEACE
(Basic order)

PEACETIME DIPLOMACY OR POLITICS

Russia, 1993

South Africa, 1995

U.S.–China, 1995

reconciliation

DURABLE PEACE
(Just order)

U.S.–Britain, 20th Century

Duration of Conflict

Early Stage | Mid-conflict | Late stage

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION PROCESS

o **Multi-track framework:** engage government, civil society, business, educators, religious leaders, media, culture, women, investors, activists, & students in building an inclusive democratic culture

o **Rights-based approach:** civic education, civil society, rule of law, constructive moral and policy debate, soft power, building human capital

o **Human needs-based approach:** understanding motivations (needs, values, fears), identity, perceptions; expanding "reality" beyond tangibles and rights, addressing universal human needs via problem-solving, win-win, bottom-up, building social capital, inclusive democratic culture and responsive state institutions

o **Unity-based approach:** building empathy, responding to shared challenges, humanizing rather than blaming other, transformative methods deconstructing enemy images, reconciliation; building on resources for peace, integrity & cooperation in local religious/cultural traditions

o **Stakeholders as partners** in conflict and peacebuilding: expanding human and social capital for sustainable development through building trust, building skills, building consensus and building a sustainable peace

o **Action for conflict transformation:** implementation at inter-personal, organizational, community, inter-group or international levels

Multi-Track Diplomacy

Track Nine (inner circle):
Public Opinion/Communication

Track One: Government

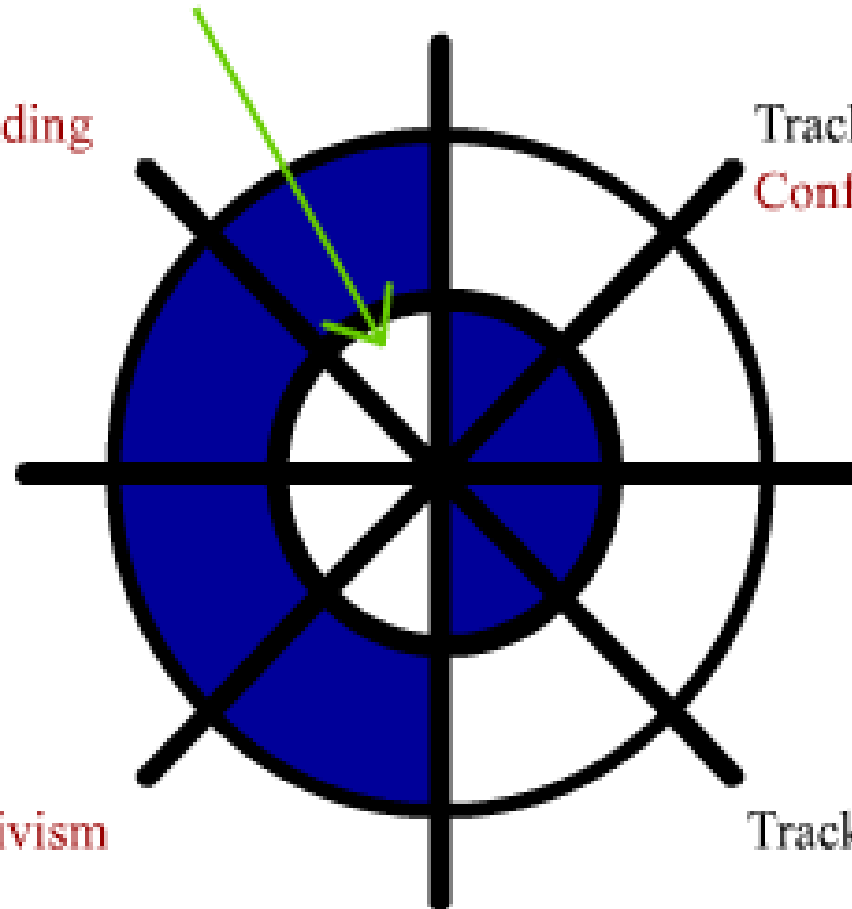Track Eight: Funding

Track Two: Professional Conflict Resolution

Track Seven: Religious

Track Three: Business

Track Six: Activism

Track Four: Private Citizen

Track Five: Research, Training and Education

Workshop Stages

1. Trust Building

2. Skills Building

3. Consensus Building

4. Peace Building

PHASE 1: TRUST-BUILDING

*Getting to know each other, the process
and the role of facilitation*

o Preparing the ground with separate parties

o Icebreakers, introducing & engaging the other(s)

o Objectives, goals and ground rules: agreed and in accord with participants' expectations/needs

o Approach (inclusive, consensus) and daily program

o Introducing action-evaluation & 1-minute eval'ns

o The place - experimental and informal setting

o Socializing activities (space for inter-personal relations)

PHASE 2: SKILLS BUILDING

  o   Attitudinal Prism:
  o   Subjective Perception of Reality (personality, socialization)
  o   Belief System (ideology/religion/culture)
  o   Image of the Other (prejudice reduction, stereotypes, discriminatory behavior, identity)
  o   Interpersonal & Intercultural Communication (messages):

Sender	Interferences	Receiver
Non-Violent Comm'n	Cultural	Active Listening:
Four layers	Status, Gender	Attending
Hot Buttons	Assumptions, Beliefs	Reflecting Back
Body Language	Motivations	Elicitive Q's
No/yes	Emotional rel'p	
	Image of "other"	

PHASE 3: CONSENSUS BLDG
A) Transformative Interpersonal Mediation

- **Preparing the ground** (conflict assessment: parties recognize breakdown, willing to mediate)
- **Welcome and explanation** of the process and the mediator's role, ground rules (e.g. confidentiality), agreement to mediate the dispute
- **Opening statement by each party** without interruption (mediator reflects & reframes so it is clear the parties' concerns are heard)
- **Parties free exchange**, cross-talk (mediator facilitates, actively listens & reframes, may call side meetings with each party separately)
- **Mediator states issues & needs** reframing to ensure issues and parties' needs and concerns are clear, suggesting agenda to address them
- **Brainstorm options** for meeting needs and concerns of the parties
- **Evaluate options** (reality check), get to agreement (written, if desired or required)
- **Clarify and review agreement** (next steps, future eventualities)
- **Closing** the mediation (thanks, open door for future mediation if needed)

PHASE 3: CONSENSUS BLDG
B) Organization or Community Building

o **Preparing the ground** – identify issues, stakeholders, commitment to organization/community, build on tradition so open to the process)

o **Welcome and explanation** of the process and the mediator's role, ground rules (e.g. confidentiality, no threats of violence), agreement to mediate

o **First round: Gather the facts** – each expresses own truth and learns the truth of the others concerning *what* constitutes the problem or crisis

o **Second round: Reflective phase** – each reflects only on his/her part in *why* the problem happened: how he/she shares responsibility through his/her own acts of commission or omission, and what he/she might have done to prevent or contain the crisis.

o **Integrative phase: Options for future** – brainstorm or round on *how* to address community needs – restorative and proactive.

o **Consent agreement and follow-up process** – agree which options have consent (no principled & paramount objection), close gaps, verifiable action commitments, sustained monitoring process.

o **Closure and follow-up:** Confirm forgiveness for admitted mistakes, formalize/celebrate acc. to tradition, destroy records except agreement etc.

PHASE 3: CONSENSUS BLDG
C) Inter-Org. & Inter-Group: ARIA

o **Preparing the ground** (conflict assessment: resource vs. needs issues, stakeholders, readiness, internal before inter-group process)

o **Welcome and explanation** of the process and mediator's role, ground rules (e.g. confidentiality), agree to mediate

o **Adversarial conflict audit (or shared vision + obstacles) What?** (clarify issues & positions, vent but do no harm, drivers/constraints, establish legitimacy, role reversal, motivate shift in process)

o **Reflexive: Why?** (reframing from blame and suppression to recognizing needs, interests, values, fears – experiencing common humanity, overlapping identities)

o **Integrative: How?** (facilitate creative thinking, inventing positive-sum options, separating creative from evaluative and consensus building processes)

o **Action: Implementation** (who does what, when, how – short and long-term planning, commitment, follow-up)

ARIA Methodology for Integrative Conflict Management

I. ENTRY
(Adversarial or Advocacy phase)

Positions & Issues

Focused on the "what" of the conflict

II. REFRAMING
(Reflexive phase: active listening to understand motivations)

Interests
|
Values, Fears
|
Human Needs

Focused on the "why" of the conflict

III. INVENTING
(Integrative phase: brainstorming creative ideas, then evaluating for consensus)

interests

needs

Integrative options (via bridging, differentiation, expansion, compensation)

Focused on the "how" of resolving the conflict

IV. STRUCTURING
(Action phase: who does what, when and how)

what — action commitments

who — which participants

how – official negotiations
problem solving
activism, networking
program development
education

when, where – times and places

Focused on 'implementation' steps and concrete actions for resolving conflict

PHASE 4: PEACE BUILDING

## Towards the Establishment of a Sustained Peacebuilding Process

o Designing and committing to action plans (internal for group, external to others, higher decision makers, public)

o Adapting to parties' organizational cultures, attitudes

o Overcoming psychological, organizational and political problems of *re-entry*

o Establishing a structured network, using information technology (e.g., ICONS) to build epistemic community

o Planning to build capacity and sustainability - medium and long-term development goals for addressing needs

o Action evaluation: adapting objectives and strategies to new opportunities and challenges

Examples:
Israel-Palestine
Peru-Ecuador
Lebanon
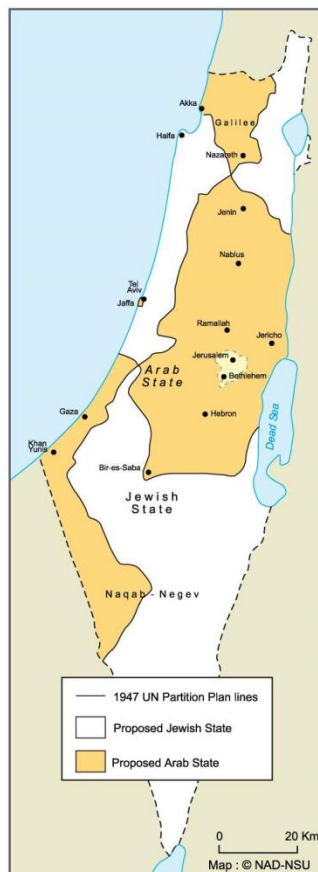Georgia
Indonesia
Lesotho
India-Pakistan
Egypt
Cuba-US
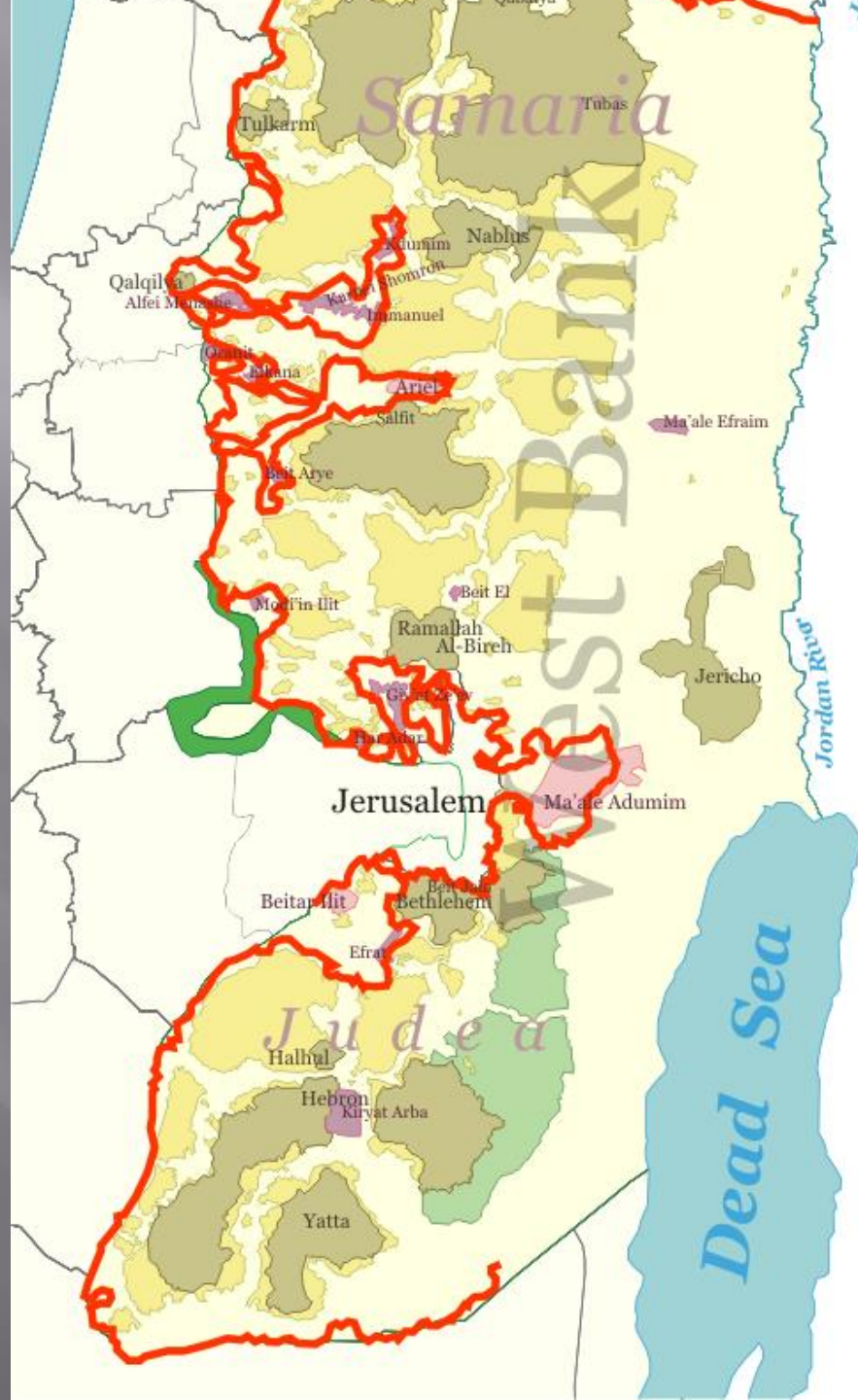
Old city

WEST JERUSALEM

EAST JERUSALEM
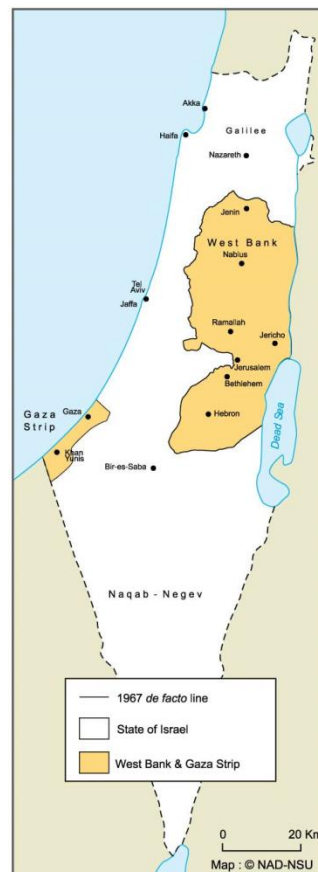
ISRAEL

WEST BANK

WEST BANK

ISRAEL

2km
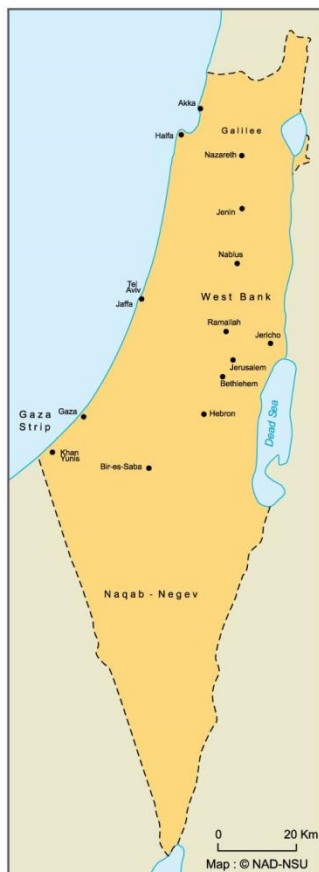
1 mile
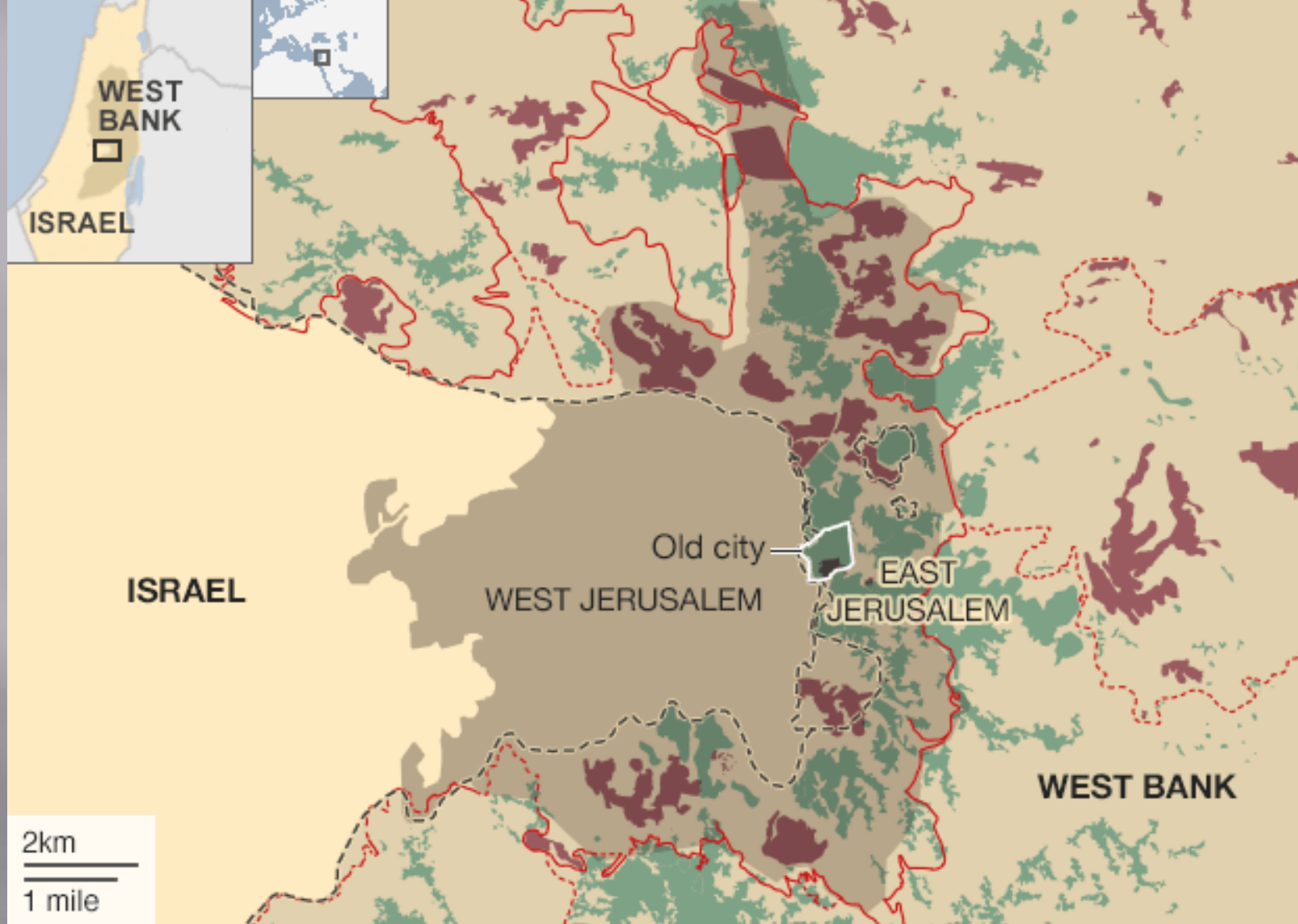
Israeli settlements

Palestinian urban areas

Israeli unilaterally-declared Jerusalem municipal boundary
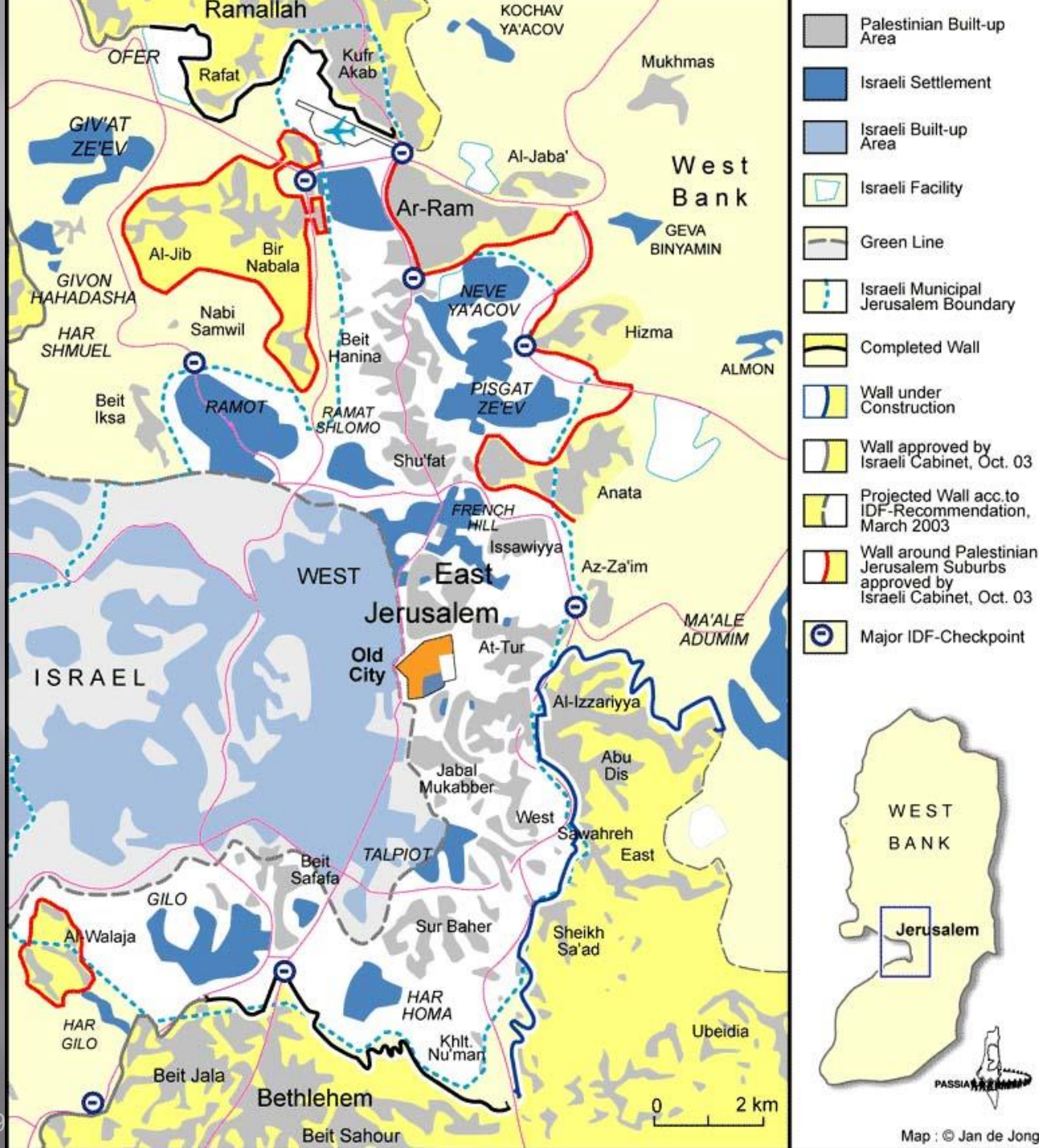
-- Pre-1967 ceasefire line

— West Bank barrier

-- Planned barrier route

Judea & Samaria

A ditch 6-8 ft. (1.8-2.4 m) deep will impede vehicle crossings

10 ft. (3 m)

(160 fit 50 m)

Barbed wire

Surveillance cameras will be aimed beyond the fence to detect approaching dangers

Dirt road for army patrols

Pyramids of rolled barbed wire standing 6 ft. (1.8 m) tall will extend in long continuous rolls

Most of the fences will be wire armed with electronic sensors to detect encroachments. In high-risk areas builders will use solid concrete.

Fine sand will preserve footprints if anyone tries to pass

Paved road for border police

ISRAEL

Fine sand