



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Science

Department of Peace Studies

Peace and Conflict Studies

**ON THE APPROACHES OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE  
CONFLICTS: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Kamuran YAVUZ

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2019



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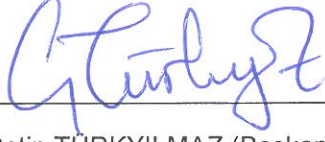
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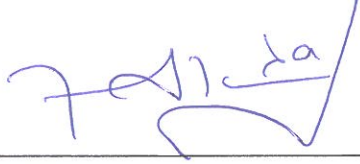
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## KABUL VE ONAY

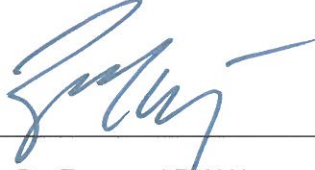
Kamuran YAVUZ tarafından hazırlanan "On the Approaches of the Transformation of the Conflicts: A Theoretical Framework" başlıklı bu çalışma, 14 Haziran 2019 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.



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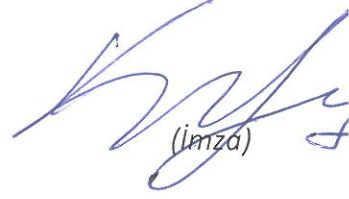
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## ETİK BEYAN

Bu alıřmadaki bütn bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar erevesinde elde ettiđimi, grsel, iřitsel ve yazılı tm bilgi ve sonuları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduđumu, kullandıđım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadıđımı, yararlandıđım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduđumu, tezimin kaynak gsterilen durumlar dıřında zgn olduđunu, Tez Danıřmanım **Do. Dr. etin TRKYILMAZ** danıřmanlıđında tarafımdan retildiđini ve Hacettepe niversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstits Tez Yazım Ynergesine gre yazıldıđını beyan ederim.



(imza)

**Kamuran YAVUZ**

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## **ABSTRACT**

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With the end of the Cold War, a dramatic increase in the number of conflicts that have erupted for various reasons has prompted both statesmen and academics to develop methods and approaches to prevent, control and eventually transform such conflicts into a lasting peace.

These quests have helped to create a wider knowledge about the causes, dynamics and phases of the conflicts, as well as paved way for an understanding that appropriate methods must be applied for each phase of a conflict according to its dynamics.

The development of effective conflict management and analysis mechanisms requires a deep understanding of the causes and characteristic of a conflict and the application of appropriate methods to those causes.

Otherwise, misreading the conflict and linking it to the wrong causes can have a great influence on the transition of the conflict from a level of non-conformity to a level of violence.

Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to elaborate the various approaches to conflict transformation and examine that to what extent and in which conditions these methods are effective in transforming the conflicts.

### **Keywords**

Peace, Conflict, Conflict Transformation, Mediation, Negotiation



## ÖZET

YAVUZ, Kamuran. Çatışma Dönüştürme Yaklaşımları Üzerine: Teorik Bir Çerçeve, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2019.

Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesini müteakip, çeşitli sebeplerle ortaya çıkan çatışmaların sayısında yaşanan çarpıcı artış, hem devlet adamlarının hem de bu alanda çalışan akademisyenlerin bu tür çatışmaları önleme, kontrol etme ve sonunda kalıcı bir barışa dönüştürecek yöntemler ve yaklaşımlar geliştirme çalışmalarını hızlandırmıştır.

Bu çabalar, çatışmaların nedenleri, dinamikleri ve evreleri hakkında daha geniş bir bilgi oluşmasına yardımcı olmanın yanı sıra, bir çatışmanın her bir aşaması için çatışmanın dinamiklerine uygun yöntemlerin uygulanması gerekti anlayışının gelişmesine yardımcı olmuştur.

Etkili bir çatışma yönetimi ve analiz mekanizması geliştirmenin ön koşulu, çatışmanın sebeplerine ve temellerine yönelik derin bir anlayış ve buna uygun yöntemler geliştirmektir.

Aksi takdirde, çatışmayı yanlış anlamak ve yanlış nedenlerle ilişkilendirmek, çatışmanın çözümünü kolaylaştırmak bir yana, çatışmanın gerilim seviyesinden bir şiddet sarmalı seviyesine geçmesi gibi bir olumsuz etki yaratma riski taşımaktadır.

Bu nedenle, bu tezin amacı, çatışma dönüştürme yaklaşımlarına yönelik çeşitli yöntemleri teorik olarak detaylandırmak ve bu yöntemlerin çatışmaları dönüştürmede ne ölçüde ve hangi koşullarda etkili olduğunu ortaya koymaktır.

### **Anahtar Sözcükler**

Barış, Çatışma, Çatışma Dönüştürme, Arabuluculuk, Müzakere

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## INTRODUCTION

20th century is one of the bloodiest centuries in the history of humankind during which millions of people lost their lives during two world wars; hundreds of thousands of civilians died in Hiroshima and Nagasaki with atomic bombs and the worldwide psychological destruction created by Cold War period.

Thus, in order to prevent the conflicts and to change the social mentality and infrastructures that set the stage for conflicts to erupt, studies within the field of International Relations (IR) have been intensified. Among many of the schools of thought, conflict transformation approach focuses on the transformation of deep-rooted conflicts into peaceful ones, based on a different understanding of peace building.

Showing itself immediately after the Cold War, conflict transformation has gained importance yet conflict transformation approach is still a new concept in the field of peace and conflict studies, thus not much work has been published specifically related to this issue so far. The conflict transformation approach underlines the integral unity of peace with justice, so establishing peace requires the building of right relationships and social structures through a consistent respect for human rights.

The conflict transformation approach is holistic, with a dynamic process model relating to conflict and peace. The thesis strongly supports the idea that, among all the other conflict resolution approaches, the most effective method would be the application of conflict transformation approach, to gain the ultimate goal, which is ensuring a lasting peace.

According to conflict transformation approach, conflicts are not merely accepted to have an evil nature, but rather as a dynamic process. Followers of this approach maintain that instead of conflict management or resolution, people and relationships require transformation. While other models aim at eliminating or

avoiding conflict, transformation model focuses on working with conflict by raising awareness and recognition of the issue, modifying relationships and most importantly changing people's view of the conflict. Because in some instances, conflicts may rise as a result of unanswered 'legitimate' demands. Focusing only on the resolution of these conflicts leaves no room for advocacy.

To be able to provide a detailed framework on the topic, this thesis will be divided into 3 sections, and there will also be sub-sections to flow through the steps of the topic.

In the first section, which is the introduction to conflict transformation, the definitions of the basic terms related to conflict transformation such as power, peace and conflict are going to be given. Then, the possible and main reasons as to why conflicts occur will be provided. Afterwards, conflict transformation theory will generally be examined. In the last part of the first section, the interventions for peaceful conflict transformation will be explained.

In the second part, the traditional approaches to conflict transformation and, strictly speaking, to the concepts of peace and conflict will be analyzed. These approaches are liberal approach, realist approach, and Marxist approach. The last part of this thesis is going to be about providing the detailed framework for prominent conflict transformation methods. Three methods will be disserted, which are negotiation, mediation, and dialogue. The main features of this methods and how they are crucial for preparing the ground for a conflict transformation process will be explained and discussed.

The thesis intends to put forth a conceptual framework to address the proposed solutions to current conflict areas through various approaches to conflict transformation theories. The study also supports the idea that with the help of a systematic analysis of different beliefs and thoughts on conflict transformation theories and traditions and a good planning of conflict transformation, an effective way of solving of the problems is possible.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DATA COLLECTION

This research endeavors to answer these questions:

1. Although the primary objective of all the conflict resolution methods is to terminate a conflict through peaceful means, what kind of differences does conflict transformation approach lay down in order to achieve a sustainable peace?
2. Since one of the most important determinants of a successful conflict transformation process is making an accurate diagnosis of the conflict, what are basic IR theories saying about the reasons behind of the conflicts and conditions to build peace?
3. Under which circumstances, different methods in conflict transformation approach, such as mediation, negotiation and dialogue, can be successfully implemented?

The data for this research has been collected from primary and secondary sources through a mixed technique such as qualitative content and discourse analysis and evaluated comparatively in a classical method.

Official documents and statistics, news, statements, books, reports, articles, journals, academic writings and other related sources were assessed as the data of the research.

The major topics sought were with regards to conflict, peace, implementation of conflict transformation and the perspective of main IR theories on the related concepts.



## CHAPTER I

### AN INTRODUCTION TO CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

#### 1.1. DEFINITIONS OF POWER, PEACE AND CONFLICT

The concepts of power, conflict and peace are the most frequently cited cases in the field of IR from the very beginning to the present. In fact, it can be said that the discussion and divergence of these concepts shaped the International Relations discipline and major theories in the field. Therefore, in order to understand conflict resolution and theoretical approaches of it, firstly some concepts should be explained.

Even though conflict and peace seem to be antonyms because of their meanings, they are interrelated to each other. Yet, there may sometimes be misunderstandings or lack of knowledge on these terms' meanings and implications for conflict transformation.

Richmond (2008) argues that peace and its conditions are commonly assumed to be well understood by all who make up what is often referred to the international community. Therefore, some minor or major problems may occur in the formation process of the communities or governments. On that matter, Richmond (2008) criticizes that the discourses and concepts of peace lack a research agenda that might clarify the contestation of the concept of peace. Instead, where there should be research agendas, there are silences and assumptions. To understand and predict the possible reasons for the conflicts, these terms should thoroughly be comprehended and analyzed. But only understanding these two terms may not be enough. The term "conflict" should also be defined, analyzed and understood thoroughly. Therefore, these three terms, which are related to one another, can help in the studies of conflict transformation effectively.

### 1.1.1. Power

Power has always been a very crucial ingredient of conflicts. Understanding the concept of power must be the first step before taking any action towards the resolution of conflicts. The concept of the power changed within time but the main understanding has been the same.

In the case of tribes, feudal societies or the modern times, the main goal was usually the desire of defeating the others and acquiring a superiority against them. The notion of superiority depends on the subject that the parties are fighting for. As an example, the armies of two different countries may combat for a land therefore the winning party could expand to a larger territory, or conquering that land for geostrategic reasons or just for show of strength or for all of the reasons stated above.

Usually the concept of power is being used for a state of superiority within one or several subjects which could be asserted in the time of a conflict. Since the international community lack a central authority to dictate certain legal rules and sanctions, each state seeks a way to gain security and power to maintain its existence and to obtain an advantageous position in the global system.

Therefore, conflicts may arise due to the demonstration of power. Although, nowadays it is harder to define who is superior against other, because, the concept has shifted due to the interdependent system of international relations. If a party does not have the monopoly power on its opponent during a conflict, it is hard to claim the subjection directly. Means of the claim shifted towards diplomacy or sanctions.

States, interest groups or the international society have different political, economic and social powers. These concepts are not so separate from each other, they have dependent elements at the end. Thus there is an increasingly large number of parameters to be taken into consideration while trying to prove a superiority.

Different opinions are put forward regarding how potential power elements could be transformed into power and what power must be defined like. According to Nye (1990: 177) power is like the condition of weather; a concept that everyone could speak about, but few could actually understand the logic behind its functioning. Morgenthau (1967: 28-29) defines the power as a type of relationship, as well as the main goal of international politics, and also a tool for the realization of the objective by the benefiting actors. Criticizing the definition of Morgenthau, Holsti (1964: 179), who is another prominent figure in the field, takes power as the capacity of a country to influence and manipulate other's behaviors in line with its own interests by using various strategies such as reward, punishment, persuasion and coercion.

When these definitions are examined, they are obviously close to each other and intertwined. From this point of view, to clarify the concept even further, power can be divided into three sub-dimensions: Hard power, soft power and smart power. It is also important to give the brief descriptions of these dimensions because they are closely related with the process of turning conflict into peace. In other words, for the disputing parties, the decision about which kind of power to use can sometime be determining factor in the peaceful settlement of a dispute.

Until very recently, military strength was usually understood from the term of power. This is what we call hard power. Hard power is generally referred to as the capacity of having others to do things that they would not normally do through using threats and / or military means (Keohane and Nye, 1989: 86).

Soft power, a term also developed by Nye in 1990, on the contrary, aims to impose one's will through generally non-military means. According to Nye, (1990: 180-190) the desired outcomes in world politics can be attained not only through hard power, but also by gaining other countries' admiration for the values of a country and the desire to have the prosperity and openness of that country. Nye, who suggests cooperation instead of hardship, has defined the soft power as: "If I can make you to desire what I want, then I don't have to force you to do what I expect you to do" (Nye, 2004: 7).

It is difficult to argue that soft power or hard power alone will be sufficient for success in foreign affairs. Thus, only countries that are able to combine their soft and hard power could increase this possibility. This composition is referred to by experts as “smart power.” As a concept which is developed by prominent International Relations experts such as Joseph Nye and L. Armitage within the Smart Power Commission established in America, smart power does not only consist of a combination of hard and soft power, but also provides a measured response to the behavior of other actors to which the power is to be applied, on a previously prepared ground (Armitage and Nye, 2007).

The states which have a habit of giving priority to the use of hard power in ending its problems can not be persuaded to a peaceful conflict resolution effort.

### 1.1.2. Peace

The studies, which were mentioned in the previous periods more conflict-oriented, have started to allocate a special place to the concept of peace and the nature of this phenomenon, starting from the 20th century. Particularly after the Second World War, studies on the phenomenon of peace was organized as a separate field. Over time the traditional definition of peace has extended as well. It is neither just a period of time when states are not in war nor the opposite of war.

Similar to many other theoretical terms, the concept of peace is not easy to define with clear borders, but in the lexical meaning of the word, peace is described as the absence of war. In the broadest sense, there are three states in world politics: war, lack of war and peace. In this case, peace is defined with its opposite meaning. (Evans and Newnham, 2007) In other words, peace can be characterized as the lack of social turmoil and disturbance in a given state where public tranquility is dominant. Namely, an order in which state security and social rules are provided by law, tradition and public can be conceptualized as peace. (Webster's International Dictionary, 1993)

Although international law considers peace as a positive concept or even perceived as the dominant expression of international relations, the term has a negative connotation too. According to this approach, peace is a fundamental assumption for which institutions are both the subject and the object, as well as the very base that international law is built on. (Evans and Newnham, 2007)

In the whole, the conceptualization of peace has been divided into two sub-dimensions as positive and negative peace by Galtung who has made significant contributions to the term. According to him, the concept of peace should be perceived in a comprehensive framework and should be understood not only as a state of war, but as a phenomenon that transcends it as shown in the following table (Galtung, 2003).

**Table 1:** Peace: Negative and Positive, Direct, Structural, Cultural (Galtung, 2003).

	<b>Direct Peace</b>	<b>Structural Peace</b>	<b>Cultural Peace</b>
<b>Negative Peace</b>	absence of = ceasefire; or a desert, cemetery	absence of = no exploitation; or no structure = anomie	absence of = no justification; or no culture = anomie
<b>Positive Peace</b>	presence of = cooperation	presence of = equity, equality	presence of = culture of peace, and dialogue
<b>Peace</b>	negative + positive	negative + positive	negative + positive

What Galtung wants to put forward in terms of negative peace is the absence of violence itself, rather than the elimination of war or violent conflict. The absence of war does not guarantee that it will never happen again. Likewise, the end of any war can pave the way for the outbreak of a new and larger war. A real peace, then, should not be understood as the lack of a state of war or a cease-fire, but as the elimination of the elements of structural violence that could lead to war in societies. Thus, it must be understood as a creative transformation of the conflict situation (Galtung, 2003).

This kind of understanding which Galtung expresses as “positive peace” does not only describe peace as a lack of the state of war but ending the period of armament and political oppression. A situation of positive peace requires the destruction of conditions that cause structural violence. The term of structural violence which is coined by Galtung also refers to violence caused by political pressure and poverty. Here, there exist a type of multi-faceted and psychological violence and suffering revealed by social structures and power relations that can be static, secret, unequal and oppressive. Structural violence is different from direct violence and intentional harm. It points to a condition where human life time is less than the expected biological potential. (Galtung, 1990:131)

### 1.1.3. Conflict

Conflicts are inevitable in any environment where individuals interact. Every individual has a different worldview, a certain purpose and changing expectations. Sometimes these very different views, goals, desires and needs can diverge. A conflict may occur during this process. These conflicts can be a simple peer-to-peer conflict, as well as between countries. Conflict, a natural consequence of social interaction, is also a fact in terms of international relations.

People and their ways of living are not identical nor static or insulated. Therefore, the emergence of conflicts between them is unavoidable. This connotation basically derives from the competitive and dominating nature of the human being who resists natural selection. The culture of competition and domination expanded to the world of economics and international relations as well (Eisler, 1990).

Along with the development in global society, outcomes of conflict started to vary from negotiation to mutual destruction. And in order to find a solution to these emergent conflict situations, theorists needed to define the term conflict first before specifying a prerequisite of the conflict resolution. These definitions may vary over a wide range of points due to the complexity of the concept.

For instance, Peter Wallensteen explains conflict as a notion that consist of three elements which are action, incompatibility and parties. According to him a conflict is a social situation in which at least two actors enter into a struggle to possess a set of limited resources at the same time. Entering into struggle, encompasses all methods including the most extreme action from the most peaceful action used by the parties to achieve their goals. In this context, it is only passive conflict in which the dispute exists but does not turn into action. Supporting the dispute with action, however, expresses the state of open conflict. Furthermore, definition of the "limited resources" may be any limited element that the parties wish to obtain (Wallensteen, 2002).

On the other hand, Swanstrom and Weissman argue that conflict is often about perceptions rather than behavior and attitudes, and how these perceptions mobilize the parties. This view emphasizes a definition that qualifies situations where the difference in approach results in disagreement due to the different positions of persons with different positions on a subject. The element which is the cause of the conflict can easily cause the relationship to become hostile. Due to the perceptual reason of the conflict, Swanstrom and Weismann have revised the definition set by Wallensteen as “perceptual position differences in any matter between two or more parties”. From this point of view, it will be extremely incomplete and inadequate to justify the conflict in an attitudinal framework in which there is only action, behavioral or hostility where violence is present. (Swanstrom and Weismann, 2005).

Another example regarding the scope of the term can be the “conflict model” that has been developed by Galtung, which provides a basis for many conflict definitions in the literature.

According to this model of Galtung, the phenomenon of conflict consists of three elements which are attitude, behavior and situation. These elements interact with each other like the corners of a triangle. Primary interaction is between the situation and the behavior in which this situation is conditioned. The situation, with the frustration and anger created by the failure to achieve a desired goal, characterizes the change caused by this anger's ambition to achieve the desired goal. The situation affects the behavior and also shapes the attitude (Galtung, 2004:118-119).

In this interaction, which constitutes the second stage of the model, the situation forms the basis for the emergence of doubts and distrust arising from the mismatch between the goals of the parties. The third and fourth stages start with a sequence of behavior. Accordingly, behavior conditions both the situation and the attitude. The fifth and sixth stages consist of the effects of attitude on behavior and situation. The same behavioral conditioning can cause new problems to be added to the situation, causing the situation to be evolved to very different dimensions from the point where it has started. (Galtung, 2004:118-119)



Conflict is characterized by a dynamic structure rather than static and uniform one. So, in order to understand conflict, a broad definition is needed and this comprehensive definition of conflict should include stress, misunderstanding, political and economic interests, historical hostility, or anger, prevention and intervention.

## 1.2. MAIN REASONS BEHIND CONFLICTS

The first steps to effectively prevent, manage, transform and resolve a conflict must be to understand the content and nature of the conflict in question. Methods and approaches to be implemented on a conflict without having a good knowledge and understanding of the reasons behind it would probably give the similar result as treating a disease by going only through the symptoms. Such an effort will most probably fail, because the possibility of the relapse of the disease after this treatment and the reappearance of the conflict after a short period of temporary peace is very likely.

Conflict and its process outline a sequence of escalatory stages, which begins with discussion and goes on to polarization, segregation and destruction (Fisher R., 1993).

After the end of the Cold War, optimists were hoping for more disarmament and better days to come. However, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union oppressed ethnicities, religious frictions and old hegemonic fault lines helped the fundamentalist movements to strengthen and various civil wars erupted throughout the different regions.

Apart from augmenting political conjectural tensions, there are various deep-rooted reasons behind the conflicts.

Conflicts have increased due to recent developments within the scope of technology, race of armament, different processes of political relationships, expanding needs and interests. Therefore, the agents which constitute the parties of a conflict multiply as well. These reasons can be included but not limited to economic, territorial issues, religion, nationalism, revenge, and sociological defense or offense matters.

For instance, to provide a framework on the conflict transformation approaches, Boege (2006) argues that many current large-scale violent conflicts emerge and are carried out in the context of so-called weak or fragile, or even failed states.

This argument shows that how and where the conflicts occur is important in conflict transformation studies.

From this point of view, Smith (2004: 111-127) suggests that conflicts, especially intra-state ones, can be analyzed under three subtitles.

The first group of conflicts, as a result of the weak institutional structure of the states, emerge from political and institutional factors including power struggle among the elites, political exclusion, and the destruction of social fabric, corruption and identity conflicts.

The second group of conflicts are affected by socio-economic factors that lead to inequality, exclusion, marginalization, and poverty which damage the social harmony.

Third, there are environmental and resource related factors caused by environmental pressures resulting from unjust distribution and scarcity of natural resources.

These conflicts around the world can be prevented or, at least, be lessened with the right steps taken by authorities. Francis (2002) outlines these steps as following:

1. *Modest attitudes that countries could start to have,*
2. *Respecting people's differences, partnerships, and expertise,*
3. *Using language carefully and respecting language,*
4. *Having respect towards other cultures, values and perspectives,*
5. *Being self-aware and transparent towards other values and goals.*

The nature of the conflict should be examined case by case due to its shifting nature. Also it is important to keep in mind that these factors could be combined into two or more categories.

According to Galtung, who is widely accepted as a great scholar in the field due to his tremendous contributions, contradicting purposes lay at the very basis of the conflicts. An insight from the past is required for a successful diagnosis of the conflict and also an evaluation of the future for a prognosis. He argues that before violence there was a polarization between the parties which originated from a blocked or incompatible goal that eventually caused aggression. But where do these incompatible goals come from? Galtung classifies them under three main titles: nature, culture and structure. He suggests that “nature is in us, and around us; culture is in us as internalized values and norms; and structure is around us as institutionalized, positive and negative, sanctions” (Galtung, 2004).

In other words, nature is our basic needs such as survival, wellness, freedom and identity, which are not subject to negotiation. Culture is the social codes which constitutes our identity, while structure is institutionalized order created by the authorities. Accordingly, some purposes have priority over others. These are essential necessities which are vital; survival, welfare, freedom and identity come out among these basic requirements. He emphasizes that there may be a or some negotiation over values or purposes, but this is not possible with regard to basic requirements, thus basic requirements cannot be negotiated and must be accepted with absolute respect (Galtung, 2004).

### **1.3. AN OVERVIEW OF CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION THEORY**

The quest for peace studies has flourished following the mentally revolutionary climate of the 1950s. The main reason behind this new orientation was to reveal the scientific background of the causes of war and to provide guidance on the road to peace. Within the scope of this supreme purpose, various sub-fields of peace studies/conflict resolution have been created. One of the most important sub-fields is the conflict transformation approach.

The conflict transformation approaches in general means the redefinition of the ways that societies deal with their conflicts and switching from violent to non-violent means. This approach assumes that the conflict is an inevitable aspect of social change, but in order to transform the conflict, firstly the structural and direct causes of the conflict should be unveiled.

The approach also assumes that the conflicts are generally handled through violent means not because they are inevitable but because the parties of the conflict can not agree on the mechanisms in order to solve the conflict through non-violent means.

Conflict transformation initiatives that aim to transform conflicts can take various forms. Each conflict transformation initiative will, implicitly or explicitly, be based upon a theory of how it is going to bring about a change in the conflict. Which theory of change to be applied in shaping an initiative depends on the way we analyze of the conflict.

In this sense, the conflict transformation approach is a new conceptual framework for how to handle and solve a conflict. Although the idea of transformation of a conflict implies that facilitators bring an agenda to situations of conflict, there is no consensus on which peace method should be preferred to terminate a conflict.

The term was first introduced in 1984 by the International Social Science Council's interdisciplinary Issue Group on Peace, chaired by Raimo Vayrynen. In the aftermath of this event, Vayrynen has published a book titled "New Directions in Conflict Theory" which in he attempted to create a theoretical

framework for this new concept. Among the most supportive and prominent theorists of the conceptual, there were scholars such as Galtung, Lederach, Rupesinghe, Zartman and Ramuseen. Even though they sometimes have varying ideas on the definition, scope and implementation of the term, they all agree that a conflict transformation process should involve at least these following features: a) a long term perspective b) an emphasis on change c) a recognition of the role of history d) a concern toward new challenges that derivate either from a new sort of conflict, protected one; or new context –21st century dynamics e) a multilevel perspective able to encompass the already mentioned features plus different actors involved in the conflict (Peral, 2009).

There are different types of conflict transformation methods which can be used while trying to solve the conflicts. Also, different approaches could be considered in the process of solving the problems but unfortunately, there is not much written on these topics.

Therefore, different methods and approaches should be taken into consideration while focusing on the issue. These different methods and approaches could help to provide wider and detailed perspectives into the conflict issues and problems raising rapidly throughout the different parts of the world. All these terms and concepts should be investigated deeply to be able to put more meaning in conflict transformation.

The definition and scope of conflict transformation has great importance to make the issue clear. It is obvious that conflict can basically be defined by the problems caused by differences in cultures, traditions and life styles of different people. In her book, Francis brilliantly explains this term as such:

*“Since people and their lives are, fortunately, not identical, isolated or static, conflict between them is inevitable: a sign of life. So often, however, when we think of conflict, we think of pain, misery and death, of the violence and war with which it is so often associated. I would argue that this association is not inevitable, but stems principally from the near-universal cultural orthodoxy that frames human relationships in competitive and dominatory, rather than co-operative,*

*terms: eat or be eaten, beat or be beaten; an approach whose logical outcome is genocide, nuclear terror, star wars.” (Francis, 2002)*

As it can be anticipated following this explanation, the scope of conflict transformation is wide and complex. Conflict transformation affects and is affected by many factors in people’s lives. Therefore, the differences in time, place, and culture should definitely be the focus of researches to be able to explain conflict transformation successfully.

The approaches that will be developed to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts, and what kind of methods are needed at what stages will depend on how the conflict process and the different phases of the conflict develop. Therefore, apart from a linear perspective focusing on the resolution of the conflict, a circular approach is needed regarding the complex grounds of conflicts. Conflict resolution has an important position for conflict analysis. In order to analyze the conflict, various reasons which emerge at the background should be examined by the circular perspective such as the internal composition of recent events, nature of the parties, nature of their involvement process, their perceptual ways, motivations, cultural interaction, their relationship based on power and interest and the present conflict’s particularities and dynamics (Francis, 2002).

**Table 2:** Comparison of Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation Stages (Lederach, 2003).

	<b>Conflict Resolution</b>	<b>Conflict Transformation</b>
<b>Key Question</b>	How can we terminate something undesirable?	How can we end a destructive event? And how can we build a good one?
<b>Focus Point</b>	Content-centered	Relation-centered
<b>Aim</b>	Solving the problem that caused the crisis and to reach an agreement	Promoting the constructive change process

<b>Process Development</b>	Built to solve problematic relationships	Existing problems are seen as an opportunity to improve the system
<b>Time Frame</b>	A short-term process that reduces pain, anxiety and difficulties	A process that responds to crises for medium to long term change
<b>Conflict Perspective</b>	Reducing the severity of the conflict process	Conflict is seen as a natural and dynamic part of relations, so attention is given to social transformation

Conflict transformation theory consists different processes and approaches which are needed to address the conflict in a creative and constructive way at various situations and levels in the short term and management, engagement and resolution process in the long term. This theory leads to a transformation of deep-rooted violent conflicts into peaceful ones, based on a unique understanding of peacebuilding. The theory proposes replacing the term “conflict resolution” with the term “conflict transformation” (Rupesinghe, 1995).

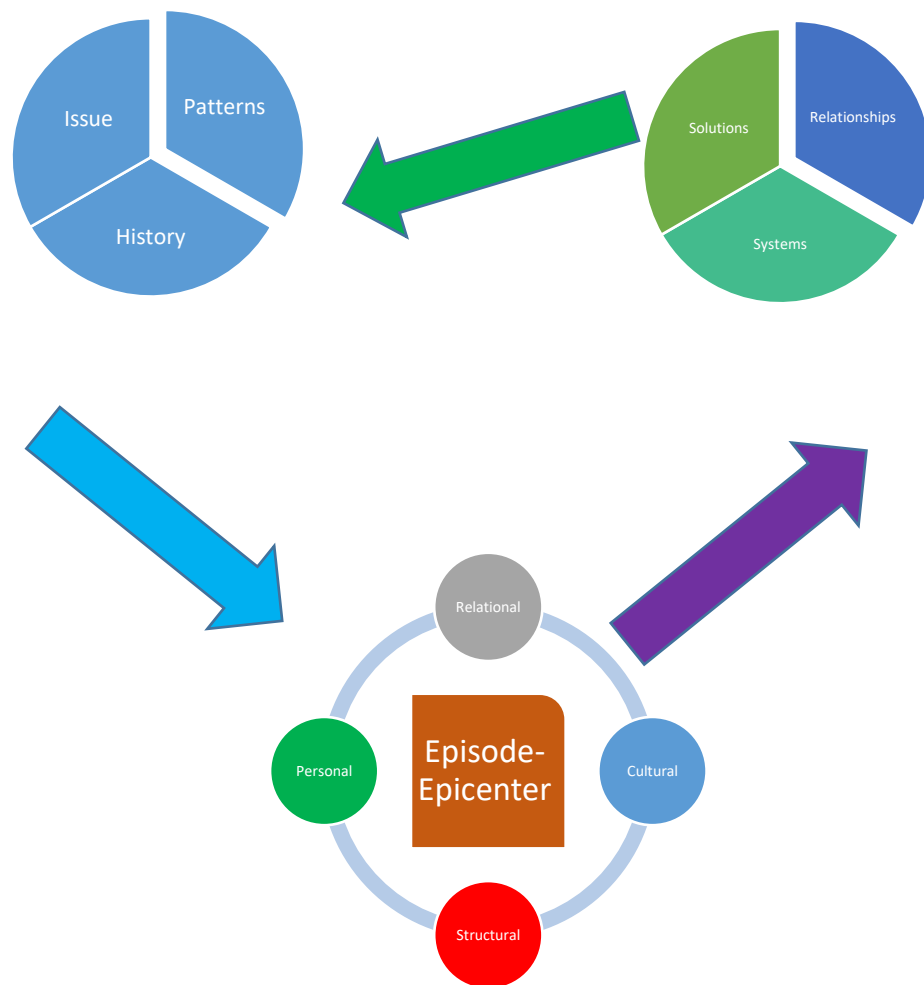
The usual approach to conflict used to be defining the problem and resolving it. But, the transformational approach has a different understanding of how to address a conflict. This approach is more than a set of techniques which should be applied in the emergence of a conflict. It is more like a progressive perspective which provides various points in order to resolve the conflict as a whole. We need different perceptions of specific aspects of a conflict. Firstly, in case of a rise of a conflict we have to see the immediate situation. Later, with the expectation to understand the deeper relationship and the patterns which are the grounds of the conflict we have to look past of the immediate situation. And lastly, we have to see the process as a whole within a framework that holds these stated factors together and creates a platform or way of examining and solving the problem bilaterally.

With the aim of transforming conflict constructively, three components have been set within a framework as shown in the Figure 1. These are presenting the



situation, the horizon of preferred future and the development of change process linking the two (Lederach and Maiese, 2009).

**Figure 1:** The Big Picture of Conflict Transformation



So, according to this framework the first inquiry is presenting the situation. For this very first component, we address questions like what are the prior problems which are present and need to be solved, so that we can define the problem and its destructive pattern in order to pass to the next inquiry. Presenting the situation and issues relate the present and past. Through this, we can recognize the patterns that happened in the past and caused this immediate situation. The second inquiry is the horizon of the preferred future in which we try to determine what we are willing to create at the future. Within this component, a set of actions are being determined to set the desired future scenario. The final inquiry is the development of the change process which basically links the first and second inquiry. The change process is obliged to address immediate problems with history and present and promotes long-term solutions such as building platforms for fundamental social change (Lederach and Maiese, 2009).

Transformational conflict theory consists mainly of two elements that defers the theory from others; adaptability and purpose. The time is evolving, so do the society and the problems, therefore none of the problems stay the same. And in order to find a solution for immediate situations, the adaptability of the framework is important. Since the situations vary case by case, the theory should be flexible and adaptable in order to comply with them.

Also the conflict transformation approach is a purpose based theory. And this purpose is not only bringing solutions to immediate situations. The purpose is to change the mindset by providing the platforms which are capable of changing the commonsense of the present societies so that a future conflict will not arise from the same subject.

Within this context, there are essential changes at different levels for a conflict transformation process to be successful as shown in the following figure (Peral, 2009).

**Figure 2:** Essential Changes for Successful Conflict Transformation



Changes at the structural level mainly refers to the changes that are related to the set of actors, conflicting beliefs or relationships, or to the society or state in which the conflict is embedded.

Changes at issue level means changes related to overcoming former issues and incompatible goals among the parties. In other words, it refers to the changes in the position of the parties over main issues under dispute, and the way parties redefine or reframe their positions, or reach compromises or resolutions.

Changes at actor level encompass the changes that decision makers take to change their goals or alter their approach to the conflict, such as decisions to include other minor groups as equal partners or decisions of developing joint work at governmental/official level.

Finally the changes at personal level imply the changes among individual adults towards the acceptance of the new reality in which different minor groups live together under equal conditions.

**Table 3:** Comparison of Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation Stages in Terms of Strategy, Actor and Measures (Akyeşilmen, 2013:39).

	<b>Conflict Resolution</b>	<b>Conflict Transformation</b>
<b>Strategy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Focusing on the process and making comprehensive analyses</li> <li>-Conflict is seen as a common problem, and a solution-oriented approach is adopted</li> <li>-Focuses on precision interests and needs</li> <li>-Peace=Non-existence of conflict</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Long-term strategies are developed by focusing on a constructive change</li> <li>-Capacity building from bottom to top</li> <li>-Practices to strengthen the people</li> <li>-Peace= Social justice</li> </ul>
<b>Actor</b>	National and/or international NGO's and professionals (level II actors)	Local based organizations, human rights, social development-related NGOs ( level III actors)
<b>Measures</b>	Process Based: Preparing the backcloth for negotiations, familiarizing, bringing the parties together, working together, facilitating and consulting	Process and / or Structural Change based: social integration, joint activity, legislative and constitutional arrangements for increasing justice, reducing prejudices and racist tendencies

As seen in Table 2, conflict resolution and conflict transformation approaches differ from each other in the context of strategy, actor and measures. In terms of the strategies pursued in the concepts, the aim of conflict resolution is to terminate violence. The main strategy of this approach is to stop violence because the absence of violence is seen as peace generally, so there is a limited win-win understanding. The fact that political and military leaders are the forefront actors in this method, a result-oriented approach over searching the causes of

conflict and gathering information and a solution-oriented strategy is followed in the axis of the detailed analysis.

On the other hand, in the conflict transformation method, a strategy of change and transformation is implemented and necessary efforts are made for long-term peace. At the same time, since social justice is seen as the establishment of peace in this phase, strategies are pursued to improve all segments of society and to strengthen and transform the social, cultural, political and mental structure of society at this point.

Defining, understanding, examining the immediate situation leads us to create a desired future with platforms which have the capacity to generate this future through social change. This approach is a circular voyage with a purpose. A rational-logical state of mind is not sufficient enough to understand the social arena. The circular transformation offers a way of thinking about social changes and how they develop. The social events which are the basis of the conflict are in a relationship and connected so they have their own dynamics and processes. Therefore, a platform for a transformation should be constructed in the middle of the social conflict so that the linear and circular perspective could be demonstrated and the parties can be able to communicate by encountering each other (Lederach and Maiese, 2009).

In the cases of where the parties share a long history and interaction which effects the future relationship extensively, a simple solution approach is not enough. With a simple solution the conflict can be resolved, but with a transformational approach a constructive change may take its place which would prevent the further emergence of conflicts.

#### **1.4. INTERVENTIONS FOR PEACEFUL CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION**

The main aim of conflict interventions is to aid in fighting the escalation and participating to the increase in the level of the conflict or violence within the society and also to create a space for negotiation with the aim of transformation. (Francis, 2002).

The construction of peace, in which conflict ceases to be a normal situation, and where a new normality is to be created, is the target of conflict transformation. Furthermore, in the post-conflict period, in which the interventions for a peaceful transformations rely, developments in other processes such as democratization in the success of the transition from war to peace, transition from a centralized administrative structure to a management approach based on the strengthening of local administrations and economic liberalization will play a decisive role (Reychler and Langer, 2006).

The aim is to change the perception of “otherness” and the development of mutual tolerance and respect through the long-term policies that will transform the hostile relationship between the parties of the conflict through wide-ranging political, social and economic reforms (Galtung, 2000).

The aim of an intervention process is mainly built on conflict prevention, which refers to the general name given to all of the approaches, methods and mechanisms developed to prevent conflicts from becoming violent, to reduce the likelihood of violence and / or to prevent the conflict from occurring in the post-conflict period. These interventions might be military based or could also be implemented through a powerful third party mediator. Military based interventions for a peaceful transformation process are challenging due to increasing sensitivity for sovereignty of states at international level.

First of all, the purpose of establishing peace within another community could also be used as an immense pretext for intervening in another state’s sovereignty. In order to avoid this possibility, international powers such as the United Nations’ Peacekeepers are another option to be applied. But likewise, this international

organization's decision-making bodies such as the Security Council of UN, might also make their decisions according to the interests of those powerful states rather than the international society's peace and welfare.

Therefore, a military based intervention's result is unpredictable and dangerous for societies who are already witnessing violence. Thus the powerful and a neutral third party arbiter can be a better solution. Creating a platform and designing workshops are one of the most applied tools for conflict transformation. Gathering of people from various parts of the conflicting parties will push them to achieve creative solutions and encounter their own problems (Francis and Ropers, 1997).

## CHAPTER II

### PEACE AND CONFLICT IN THE LIGHT OF MAIN THEORIES

The emergence of International Relations studies as a discipline came after the devastating impact of the First World War, in order to investigate the causes of conflicts and peace. During this period, the main focus of the International Relations departments were to carry out studies on the conditions of lasting peace and to elaborate the basic characteristic of the international system that could prevent wars.

In the field of International Relations studies, there are a number of theories that are aiming to explain the actions and motivations of states. The International Relations theories that are developed in this context, provide an in-depth analysis to explore the nature of peace and conflict, through a wide range of variables including the structure of the international system, the international conjuncture, the number of actors in the system, the nature and character of these actors and their relations with each other. Different explanations to all these variables lead them to make different argumentations and subsequently propose unique solutions accordingly.

For instance, idealism/liberalism and other theories in the same line argue that international peace can be achieved through the establishment of specific norms and rules within the states and at the inter-state level. Realism sees a limited and relative possibility for international peace by putting the concepts of power and interest at the center of its evaluation. The Marxist approach, on the other hand, stipulates the restructuring of the existing capitalist world economy as the only way for the establishment of international peace.

The same situation applies to the definition and understanding of the causes of the war. According to realist scholars, war is an inevitable phenomenon as a part of human nature and it is an act of violence aimed at compelling our rival or



competitors to obey our own wishes and it is seen as the continuation of politics through other means (Clausewitz, 1976:28-29).

According to the liberal conception, war is dealt with on the basis of values and norms and it is emphasized that war is neither absolute nor inevitable in temporal and spatial terms, so humankind will overcome it sooner or later (Mueller, 1990: 321). Marxism handles the issue through the prism of its main conceptualization of class conflict, capitalism, superstructure etc.

While the indispensable conditions that each of those theories deem necessary for a lasting peace differ, the common point of all of them is that a new global system based on their own arguments is essential (except realism which strongly supports status quo).

Both the international system and national regimes are considered to be directly related to conflicts. In particular, the possibility of a dispute is associated with the nature of the regime within a state, i.e. the limits that the internal groups provided for their political, cultural rights and freedoms, their economic and social development, their recognition and status. As a matter of fact, the deprivation or the exclusion of the collective identity groups from gaining these basic rights will create problems, and sooner or later cause conflict.

To understand the limitations and the possibilities for a sustainable peace at the international or national level, one must firstly answer the question of why conflict is such a repetitive phenomenon in the history of nation-states and also in international affairs. A fruitful way of successfully transforming a conflict, as the first step, requires a better understanding of determining factors, the causes of conflicts and the paths to peace. Different approaches in the International Relations will facilitate this aim.

## 2.1. LIBERAL APPROACH

War, peace, conflict and similar events are the most important facts which feed the theories and theorists of International Relations. Liberal International Relations (IR) theory emerged in the twentieth century with the ideal of supporting the international efforts to prevent the massacre and the suffering of humanity in the post-First World War period. But, of course, the intellectual precursors of liberal theory are based on the far earlier centuries, the times which the theory has not yet emerged as a school of thought.

The liberal perspective strongly believes that it is possible to establish an international environment in which all disagreements are resolved peacefully. Peoples' gains on the right to determine their own political fate, the improvement of commercial relations between nations, the strengthening of inter-state cooperation, and finally the establishment of an international judicial system to solve potential problems, have been accepted as the basic elements of this environment which will create international peace.

Liberalism as a thought of school, both in philosophy and International Relations level, analyse peace in the cooperative attitude of human being which is believed to be in human nature. Undoubtedly most of the wars in history emerged from trade-based issues and misunderstandings or lack of sufficient communication channels between states. Thus, the international institutions that facilitate, standardize and enhance free trade are also very effective in maintaining peace. The Liberal economic model prompts free trade and establishment of appropriate institutions in order to increase compliance and to reduce the possibility of war between the nations.

Liberal thinkers who work in this field have argued that human nature is suitable for peaceful co-existence. Therefore, they support the idea that the international system is progressing towards a peaceful structure. As states are equipped with democratic values, they will have the will to resolve their conflicts with other states, not by fighting but by means of peace, and will cooperate by keeping common interests in the forefront.

For example, Erasmus, one of the leading figures of the liberal tradition, had considered war as a crime against humanity and the God in as early as the 16th century. In the 17th century, philosophers such as Maximilien de Béthune began to debate the dream of peace at the political level rather than the religious one, while the internal structures of states were starting to be discussed in the following period for the purpose of building international peace.

One of the most effective of these discussions was carried out by John Locke, who is referred to as one of the most influential of Enlightenment thinkers and commonly known as the “Father of Liberalism”. Locke was convinced that states should be constitutional structures that have the mission of protecting the freedom of their citizens, and that such states would built relations with each other more peacefully. Jeremy Bentham, the 18th century liberal philosopher, followed Locke's ideas and argued that constitutional states would be loyal to the norms and rules of international law in their foreign policies, which would also serve their interests better (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003: 107-108).

Liberal thought argues that human beings and states (as their constituents) are prone to cooperating in essence and that international peace can be established by making ethical and moral rules work effectively on the global scale.

Probably the most comprehensive and systematic contribution to how to establish the international peace has come from seminal writing “Perpetual Peace”, which was written by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant in 1795. In his work, Kant sought answers to the question of how to achieve international peace and tried to develop a method of democratic transformation of states and a reorganization of interstate relations within the framework of certain moral principles. In fact, the importance of Kant's work stems from the fact that he has prepared a concrete road map for the establishment of international peace, rather than revealing a utopian good wish as his predecessors did (Lenhard, 2010: 3).

Kant has examined some wars in his time and suggested that although the war is a natural phenomenon in the historical development of humanity, it can still be prevented if certain conditions are applied. If societies can achieve harmony

within themselves, it is possible for them to achieve this harmony at the international level under certain conditions. Believing that states have solid reasons to avoid war, Kant has put forward these conditions in two stages for an international cohesion, namely “perpetual peace.” In the first stage the following are required: (Kant, 1983: 107-110).

1. The peace treaties should not include any judgments that could be instrumental in creating another conflict eventually. Otherwise, the peace treaties will have no other meaning than the disruption of conflicts for a certain period of time.
2. Ensuring the independence and immunity of the state. For a state to fall under the sovereignty of another state means to be treated as a property and thus will deprive it of its entire spiritual identity.
3. Disarming permanent armies. The existence of permanent armies are perceived as a threat by other states and pushes them to apply the same measure. That endless competition makes peace more costly than a war which targets the abolishment of the enemy’s army.
4. States should not seek external borrowings. If the goal of seeking external debt is to improve the internal economic structure, there is no problem. However, if debts are taken on external issues, such a policy would make it easier to make a war decision, and these debts could be used to finance future conflicts.
5. No state should interfere in the internal affairs of another state. Because intervening to another state that is dealing with domestic problems is violation of the rights of an independent state. The reciprocal repetition of this situation between states will invite conflicts.
6. No state should act the wrong way during the war that would make establishing mutual trust impossible in case of a future peace. According to Kant, even war must be done according to certain principles, and acts of dishonor should be avoided. Because once these methods are applied, they will not disappear after the war

ended and will continue to have an effect in the peace making process and will make true peace impossible.

In the second stage, Kant points out to the rule of international law. He argues that the civil constitution of each state should be republican, the law of nations should be built on the federation of free states, and the law of world citizenship should be limited to the conditions of universal hospitality. (Kant, 1983). So, according to Kant, it is not possible to eliminate wars altogether. But at least it is possible to achieve and maintain eternal peace through similar values originating from republican constitutions and a supranational federation of states.

In the same work, Kant also mentions the “spirit of trade” which is, the effect of trade that ties the interests of states together and thus reduces wars. Therefore, according to the Liberalism, permanent peace can be provided in a system in which states can solve their problems on the basis of the principles of international law. International peace can be protected by the improvement of a judicial system that will solve interstate problems.

According to Kant, countries ruled by monarchy have a higher propensity to war. In the republics where the will of the people is reflected in the administration, the possibility of inter-state war is lower because the decision to enter into war will be taken by the society. He says that the people who will be directly affected by the destruction and damages caused by war will act very cautiously about entering into war. Thus, states will not be able to wage war against each other with the decision of one person (monarch) or the ruling elite, and will prefer a cautious attitude for peaceful solutions.

Kant is not the only liberal thinker to relate international peace with the self-determination principle. American President Woodrow Wilson had also defended this principle and considered it necessary for international peace. Thus he promoted the independence of minority nations within Empires during his era.

The liberal approach argues that the principles of international law should be taken as the basis for international order for the elimination of inter-state disputes

and the establishment of global peace. Norms and rules are vital for peaceful coexistence of the states. These norms and rules are considered in line with the definition of Hugo Grotius's self-defense and private property rights, and can be adapted to the international relations level (Grotius, 1996:402-403).

Liberalism attaches great importance to the development of international economic relations in the process of building global peace. Adam Smith, within the framework of his famous "harmony of interest" formula argued that self-interests of states in the economic sphere will also serve the benefit of the international community. In other words, just as individuals pursuing their own benefits also pave way to the benefit of the society, a state pursuing its own interest will eventually help the establishment of international peaceful order. That is because, with the rule of free market economy on a global scale, interstate trade relations will develop; then mutual economic interests may force the states to act together in the protection of international peace (Ari, 2004:360-361).

Establishing the economic relationship turns the states into actors with common interests, strengthening their will to protect the peace environment that enables them to maintain international trade. In this context, Montesquieu considers peace as a natural consequence of international trade, saying that the states which are economically interdependent would not fight each other (Howse, 2006:693-694).

Indeed, some relevant studies reveal the positive effect of commercial relations with high economic returns on the preservation of peace. Oneal, Russett and Berbaum's study shows that the economic interdependence reduces the likelihood of a conflict between two countries by approximately 43% (Oneal et al., 2003:373)

Subsequently conceptualized as liberal democracy, this approach has gained a clear supremacy in both academic and political environments, and the level of legitimacy of states began to be determined by how well they act in line with liberal democratic principles. Additionally, the moral values of liberal democracy

are based on a number of principles such as certain rights and freedoms, accountability, transparency, and the rule of law.

### **2.1.1. Democratic Peace Theory**

Democratic peace theory, another proposition which argues that carrying the virtues of liberal democracy to the international level and arranging inter-state relations accordingly, will contribute to international peace. The concept of democratic peace, which entered into the literature of international relations in the 1980s with the pioneering work of Small, Singer and Doyle, is one of the examples of a liberal approach to peace. Although a vivid and productive discussion of what is underlying this phenomenon is still going on, the theory is seen as one of the few “law-like” generalizations of the International Relations discipline by many scholars today and is based on the idea that democratic states rarely fight each other (Cohn and Sherbok, 1998:150).

Based on the thesis that states governed by democracy will not fight each other, democratic peace theory claims that the foreign policies of the states are not determined in the context of the anarchic structure of the international system or the personal characteristics of the decision-makers as foreseen by realism. It is shaped on the basis of their internal political order and their respect for democratic liberal values. The theory emphasizes that if all states have common democratic structures and principles, there can be a lasting international peace (Elman, 2001:759).

These ideas have been reflected by the work of Michael Doyle, a liberal American Professor of International Relations at Columbia University, in the period after 1980, when the supremacy of liberal democracy was generally accepted. Thus, the theory became one of the most cited theories in the world.

According to Doyle, who has pointed out that no war has been taken place between democracies since the beginning of the 19th century, this can be explained through three factors (Doyle, 1983:323):

- The ability of public opinion to restrain wars between democracies
- The existence of shared values and trust between such states
- Finally the fact of commercial interdependence based on free trade.

According to Doyle, liberalism is based on a three-pronged set of rights. The first group of rights, which Doyle refers as “negative rights” includes basic rights such as freedom of expression and press, equality before the law and the right to property. The second group of rights are based on principles such as equality for education opportunities, the provision of justice in health services and employment, Doyle calls the “positive rights”. The third and final group of rights is about facilitating the access to democratic participation and representation. This last principle, which is also the guarantee of the other two groups of rights, finds its meaning in ensuring the political freedoms of individuals and effectively reflecting the laws, the institutions and the will of the citizens (Doyle, 1983: 206-207).

These reasons ensure some basic rights and disclose the differences between democracies and other systems such as autocracies, communism, fascism etc.

Another important study that investigates the relationship between liberal democracy and international peace has been carried out by O’Neal, Russett and Berbaum in 2003. The study in the data collected over approximately 10,000 bilateral relations during the period of 1885-1992, shows that the form of democratic governance, interdependence among the states and being members of the same international organization significantly contribute to the preservation of peace. Based on numerical data, the probability of war between two democracies is 86% less than one in which a party is autocracy. (O’neal et al. 2003: 387-388).



Another visible aspect of the contribution of the development liberal approach to the international peace is the “increase in the cost of war.” The fact that the free market economy is a globally dominant economic structure provides common interests among the states and these common economic interests prevent the war to prevail as the ‘best’ or the only way to reach the aim. Increased economic interdependence among the countries with the help of international free trade mechanism has reduced the value of military power and has led states to seek rights from more liberal ways (Keohane and Nye, 1989: 52).

### **2.1.2. Integration Theories**

There are other international relations theories which supports the basic assumptions of liberalism, generally called as “regional integrations theories”. The theories of regional integration suggest that states can provide security and peace through constituting integrated communities. The interdependence and common interests which this integration will provide consequently, could reduce the possibility of a conflict among the members of community and will help maintain the common will in solving problems peacefully.

Here, it is worth mentioning three names that contribute to liberal theory through examples of integration theory: David Mitrany (1888-1975), Ernst Haas (1924-2003) and Karl Deutsch (1912-1993).

Mitrany expressed his ideas on how to rebuild peace in Europe after the war in 1943, before the end of the war in his book *A Working Peace System: An Argument for the Functional Development of the International Organization*. In his book he refers to a “functional peace”. Mitrany's functional peace means that the interests of all states should be shared in peace. A peace not to keep nations apart, but a peace to keep them together (Mitrany, 1943:51).

According to Mitrany, there are two separate currents that surround the post-war world which contradict each other: pro-independency attitude and pro-

cooperation attitude. In order to streamline the international order, it is necessary to synthesize these two currents, and as a response Mitrany proposes three alternatives: a loose international organizational structure such as the League of Nations or the United Nations, a federal system or functionalist arrangements. Mitrany suggests that the best of these three options is the functionalist arrangements, because in such an arrangement, the need would not be power, but be common needs that connect the countries, and cooperation resulting from these needs can “spill over” to other areas and issues and ultimately evolve into an international government. (Mitrany, 1948: 350-363).

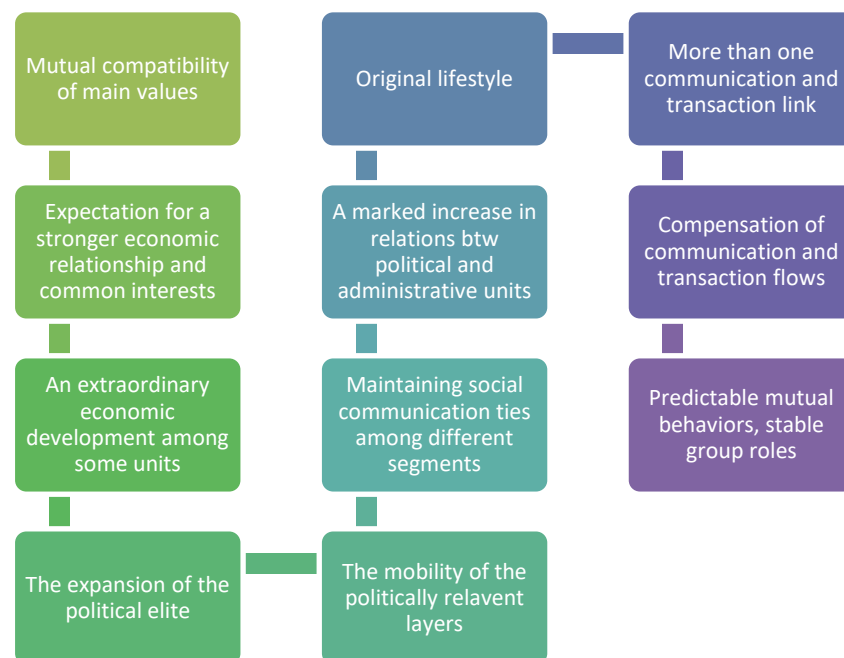
Ernest Haas elaborated Mitrany's approach under the name of neo-functionalism. Haas's thoughts differ from Mitrany's approach in several points. Firstly, unlike Mitrany, Haas believes that the spill-over effect would not take place automatically. There is a need for an authority to make these arrangements and to create the necessary institutions. With the spill over, Haas says the elites that are governing these institutions will gradually shift their loyalty to this supranational authority that leads the integration process (Haas, 1961:366-392).

However, Haas says that once the integration process is initiated, it could expand to the areas that are not planned by the states in the beginning thanks to the spillover effect, and become a dynamic that provides a high level of interest to the states and will stabilize international relations. In this way, the integration process contributes to the formation of the norms and rules to be applied to solve the problems among states by peaceful means (Haas, 1964:48).

This understanding emphasizes that integration can be realized through cooperation among the states based on multilateral interests, and this process can provide the establishment and protection of peace. In particular, countries from the same region can initiate an integration process by adding an institutional dimension to their cooperation. According to Ernst B. Haas, the incentive that leads the states to join an integration processes stems from the expectations of decision makers that cooperation would benefit them (Haas, 1964:34).

Karl W. Deutsch is another prominent figure who has contributed to the debates on integration and cooperation in the aftermath of the Second World War. In his book “Political Community and the North Atlantic Area” he investigates how ruling elites learn the conditions for sustainable peace. In some units, which Deutsch and others call security communities, war or possible social conflicts are resolved through institutionalized procedures. According to Deutsch et al., the following nine essential and three subsidiary conditions are required for the formation of such security communities (Deutsch et.al., 1998: 121-143):

**Figure 3:** Essential Conditions for a Successful Integration Process



When the process of integration turns into a pluralist security community, within the member states of the community, pro-cooperation public opinion may be formed and the tendency to solve the disputes by resorting to armed forces may weaken. Thus, integration through power transfers that will be made to the international organizations established for the common needs of member states, will lead to progress and intergovernmental ties will be strengthened (Deutsch, 1978, 244-252).

One of the most important developments that re-engage liberal theorists after the Second World War was the start of European integration. The development process of the EU is a good example in this context. Founded by six Western European countries in 1957, the European Economic Community has progressed successfully from the common market to the monetary union, and today the twenty-eight-member states of EU, develop a common security and defense policy along with economic integration, as well as heading towards a political integration.

The European integration has gone through various successive enlargement and deepening processes, that pave the way for the EU to implement common policies in many areas, from the common currency to agricultural and migration policies. The enlargement policy became the most important foreign policy instrument of the EU in this journey (Schimmelfennig and Scholtz, 2008:187-215). By incorporating new member states, the EU has become a much stronger Union in economic, political and geopolitical terms, and has increased its effectiveness within the international arena.

In particular, the recent enlargement wave, in which Central and Eastern European countries have gained membership, helped EU to institutionalize the enlargement policy and principle of conditionality. The criteria which are set during the Copenhagen Summit in 1993, the conditions for membership determined and subsequently membership requirements monitored regularly by EU through documents such as Accession Partnership and Progress Report. As a result, during the enlargement process, EU has managed to maintain its democratic accumulation and contributed to the peace and stability of its member states. Underlining the enlargement policy and conditionality, EU is generally being defined as a soft power, civil power, normative power or transformative power (Diez and Manners, 2007).

With the determination of the Copenhagen criteria, enlargement was first depicted as an indispensable instrument of European values. For this purpose, it is claimed that the expansion is aimed at spreading European values to non-European countries (Mjoset, 1997: 1). In support of this argument, Manners

(2002) also describes the change and transformation of the candidate countries as an example of normative power of EU.

There are many emphasizes on the possible gains of enlargement policy through the common goals and values of EU. The Enlargement is defined as a historical opportunity that will contribute to peace, security, stability, democracy, the rule of law, as well as to growth and prosperity (Presidency Conclusion, Brussels, 16-17 December 2004: 2; Brussels, 15-16 June 2006: 17). It is underlined that the principle conditionality would ensure the preservation of peace and stability by preventing tensions and potential conflicts in Europe and abroad, through developing neighborly relations and encouraging border security and resolving minority problems (Presidency Conclusion, Brussels, 10-11 December 1993: 18; Essen, 9-10 December 1994: 5; Madrid, 15-16 December 1995: 6; Luxembourg, 12-13 December 1997: 1; Helsinki, 10-11 December 1999: 1; Copenhagen, 12-13 December 2002: 2; European Commission, 2000: 7; 2002: 6; 2004: 2).

Thanks to its normative and transformative power, EU plays a very important role in transformation of disputes through peaceful means and provision of prosperity and stability within the framework of its neighborhood policy, even in regions outside the borders of the Union, from the Balkans to the Middle East and North Africa. EU supports the reform processes in the countries from these regions and carries out joint efforts on issues of development, environment, disarmament and terrorism.

The main objective of this policy is to mutually increase the welfare, stability and security, as well as to promote political cooperation, freedom and democracy in the framework of common values and interests. The fact that EU membership is an important source of motivation in candidate countries' willingness in adapting these values, some experts argue that countries targeted with neighboring policy could face difficulties in persuading public opinion to show patience to problems of the transformation process (Lynch 2003; Missiroli 2003; Balfour 2007). However, the European Commission claims that there are solid advantages that would encourage these countries and provide the necessary public support to for transformation process. Some of these advantages are suggested as

follows(COM 2006): Economic advantages arising from increasing commercial and economic relations, facilitating of visa procedure, assistance in resolution of regional disputes and conflicts, providing more education and research opportunities for citizens of these countries within the framework of EU programs.

As a result of these efforts, the EU, which has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012, confirms how democratic integration processes are an important method in transcending war and transforming conflicts in order to establish a lasting peace order.

## 2.2. REALIST APPROACH

In International Relations, Realism developed as a challenge to liberalism, especially after World War I, as a result of the failure of liberalism to assert international peace and security in the inter-war years. It has gained even a further importance, following the World War II period, with the emergence of the security and stability problems in the international system.

The destruction of the World Wars brought to light the need to develop a new understanding of international relations that would hinder the transformation of disputes into wars and protect international peace. Supporters of Realism argue that the idealist understanding of international relations could not be able to prevent conflicts as it misjudges the nature and priorities of states.

For example, as E. H. Carr has elaborated in his book, "The Twenty Years' Crisis", the realists accused the liberal scholars for failing to prevent the emergence of a second major war (WWII) in the same generation, because they could not comprehend the international political structure and international power struggles properly.

The intellectual roots of realism lie in the works of Greek philosopher Thucydides, who had lived during the period of war between Athens and Sparta. Edward Hallett Carr, Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz, Kenneth Thompson, George Kennan and Henry Kissinger are also among the prominent figures of the realist approach.

The realist approach, focusing primarily on the power struggle between states, explains the preference of states to give the decision of war based on the tendency of competition and violence in human nature.

According to essence of this approach, as many realist scholars argue, human nature, which has with a fixed tendency for power struggle and violence, is the fundamental dynamic which forces the states to arm, conflict and eventually go to war (Morgenthau, 1967, 30-32). Stating that human beings are in a constant

conflict situation with each other in their “*state of nature*”, Hobbes also believes that without the existence and survival of states, people will only have to live in pain and misery (Hobbes, *Leviathan*: sect 13)

The irregularity in the international relations of sovereign states gives them only a zero-sum form of interaction and lead states to maintain their existence with their own means and capabilities. In such an international environment, war is inevitable and there could be no sustainable peace at the interstate level. Due to this, establishing an international peace order that is altogether designed and agreed by the states is not possible.

Since nation states are the key actors in the international politics for realists, there is a constant conflict in the international arena because each state has a different national interest, and there is no single world state as a supreme authority to determine rules and regulate the relationships. Therefore, the role of international organizations, national/international NGO's or media organizations are not taken into consideration. Thus, in realist approach, foreign policy analysis is reduced to the requirements of national interests. In this respect, there is a significant relationship between power and national interest. This pro status quo perception, which has a pessimistic view of the world, paves the way for an analysis that sees the international system unchangeable (Beitz, 1979:15-27).

Anarchy, power politics, national interests and war are important concepts for realist thinkers. They are not interested in what “must be” or what is “ideal”. For the realists, the only thing worth discussing is “the truth itself”. To them, there is no “international community” or other similar concepts. Realists believe that the existence of international law and international organizations will continue only as long as powerful states believe that these institutions serve their own interests.

In such an environment, the instabilities in the international order jeopardize the security of the states. As a result, each states attempt to reach the maximum power to provide their own security. All states also target maximum power to prevent other states from risking their securities. Realists emphasizes the



importance of balance of power or the existence of a hegemonic power in order to achieve stability and peace in international relations (Levy, 2006: 354-355).

Carr, an important representative of the realist thought, underlines the importance of the power for states in international relations. He states that, in the first place, the imbalances in the distribution of power should be examined in order to understand the conflicts and wars. Erupted as a defensive war with security concerns at the outset, the WWI eventually turned into a power struggle among states with the purpose of seizing other states' territories, he claims. According to Carr, states that desire to increase their power will naturally also want to expand their zone of influence.

Morgenthau, another well-known realist scholar, also defines international politics as a power struggle and says that competition for power is inevitable. He claims that the source of the problems in the international system is human nature itself. States act like human beings, pursue their own national interests and desire the power to guarantee their own security. This quest is the only way of securing international peace and stability. As a result, this effort of obtaining power will create a "power balance" among the states, sooner or later (Morgenthau, 1967:195). John Mearsheimer also put forward ideas in the same line, supporting that European peace in the post-World War II period could only be explained by the then balance of power that existed between the competing poles (Mearsheimer, 1990:11).

Morgenthau outlines the basic principles of realist international relations theory in 6 steps (Morgenthau, 1967: 4-14):

1. In general, international politics, as well as domestic politics, are manipulated by objective laws in human nature. The attempt to change this brings about failure. For realism who believes in the objectivity of political laws, the theory is to identify facts and to give them logical meanings. In order to create a rational framework, we must empathize with decision makers or statesmen.

2. The starting point of political reality is “*interest defined in terms of power*”. This assumption makes politics an autonomous term which cannot be reduced to economic or moral values. Decision makers or statesmen have to act according to the imposition of political foresight and the “*interest defined as power*”.
3. Politics are a battleground where the selfish human desires are expressed, so sooner or later the area where they clashes. International policy is also a battleground for conflicting interests of states. But the interests of politics are not constant and can change over time. Realism follows the spirit of a changing political reality.
4. The foreign policy actions of states cannot be evaluated according to universal moral values. The values of international relations, unlike the personal moral values, are political and situational. A political leader does not have the freedom to “*do the right thing*” that an ordinary citizen has. The responsibility of the state is not to obey ethical values, but it is to sustain cautiousness and the continence, which are the supreme values of politics.
5. Preferences of any state can be identified as the driving values of the international politics. What protects us from moral extremism and political mistakes is the concept of interest which is defined within the framework of power. If we consider all states rightfully as actors pursuing their own interests, we would not fail and may become fair in evaluating their political attitudes.
6. Each term should be evaluated in regard to its own criteria. Within this framework, politics, which is an autonomous field, should be dealt within the axis of its own principles.

The dynamics such as inter-state trade relations, interdependence, cooperation and the spread of democracy, which Liberalism considers necessary for the realization of world peace, are not equally important according to Realism. The realist approach argues that economic relations do not have an impact on

interstate relations, but on the contrary, politics determine commercial ties (Levy, 2006: 357).

Starting from 1970s, a new form of realism emerged under the name of structural realism (or neo-realism), especially with epochal works of Kenneth Waltz, which replaced the use of the anarchic structure of the international system as the main variable in order to understand the politics and strategies of states, instead of underlying the characteristics of human nature.

Waltz's main criticism to classical realism is that it is a theory with many shortcomings and gaps. According to Waltz, a theory should be able to give answers to intellectual events, yet classical realism has lost that function and the developments in international relations can no longer be explained through this theory.

In structural realism, although the main actors are still the states, a more important role is attributed to the international organizations and it does not deny the effects of economic and technological cooperation. But ultimately neo-realists place the dominance of power and the inevitability of conflict at the center of their theories.

Waltz claims that international political system is composed of separate and unified units. Neorealism ensures the autonomy of international politics. According to this view, structures within the international system can only be understood by defining them separately. According to Waltz, human nature is not evil in essence, but anarchic situation within the international system forces states to increase their power. While the realists try to explain the international system from the whole system, Waltz explains it with taking states in the center.

Structural realism, which foresees an anarchist order, not a chaotic disorder in international relations, suggests that it is the balance of power that creates the order in this anarchist system where there is no superior authority above the sovereign states.

Waltz assumes that the minimum interests level of the states is represented in vitality to maintain their existence, while the maximum level of states' interest is the pursue of establishing global domination (Waltz, 1979: 117)

In his famous book the "Theory International Politics" Waltz argues that the ideal international system is the bipolar world order dominated by the two greatest powers. These great powers, are accepted as the sole shapers of system-based change movements and main actors within the international system (Waltz, 1979: 162).

Supporters of the realist approach suggest that identity based groups will enter into a fierce struggle over power, status, cultural dominance, allocation of economic resources, and so on, in a state where the central authority is absent or broken. So, it is a matter of time and very easy for these struggles to turn into a widespread violence in such a state.

Adequately grasping the interests and power based tendencies of states will help determine the framework of any peaceful intervention initiative to end a conflict. Realism, at this point, emphasizes that states will not enter into a negotiation process that could pose a threat to their sovereignty and opt for the continuity of their authority. Similarly, it argues that a situation of peace between the two countries is related to the balance of deterrence between the parties rather than good relations or economic gains.

Moreover, interfering with the conflicts before being able to accurately detect the "moment of ripeness" for conflict, which is a critical threshold in conflict transformation, can have negative consequences and increase the level of violence. Realist approach also sheds a guiding light at this stage and suggests that such transformation efforts should be implemented only when the balance between the parties is created and both parties agreed that ending the conflict will not harm their core interests and would in fact benefit them.

### 2.3. MARXIST APPROACH

Marxist theory is among the important theories that explain the concepts of peace, conflict, state and society at the national and international scale. Although some experts claim that the collapse of the Soviet Union and the triumph of the capitalist system have led to the end of Marxism, another group advocates that actuality of Marxism has increased with the acceleration of economic globalization, especially after the 1990s when the bipolar world order ended (Burchill et al., 2014: 156).

In this part, Marxist approaches were described in light of the key conceptual foundations of the process in which they were born in the 19th century, such as historical materialism, dialectics, the transfer of surplus value, the formation of classes and alienation.

Although the Marxist influence in international politics seems to have been sheltered for a while in the shadow of international institutionalization and liberal policies in the aftermath of the two World Wars, it has reemerged in industrialized countries in response to liberal policies that lead to the Great Depression. At the same time, in underdeveloped countries, dependency theory and the world systems theory which are opposed to modernization theories have evolved with the effects of Marxism and have been very effective in this period.

The theories of Karl Marx and those of his successors could not focus on the debates about the international system and its problems, its conflicts or the possible future of the international system. While Realist and Liberal theory focused on states as the main actors of international politics, Marxism has considered the relations of production and the class wars arising from these relations as the main carriers of history (Canbolat, 2006; 77- 78).

For Marx, people do create their own history, but not according to their own wishes or within the conditions they desire; they do it directly in line with the data and conditions that are inherited them from the past. These data and conditions are determined by ownership of the means of production and production

relations. The basic concept for Marx is “mode of production”. This concept is traditionally defined as the property system of the means of production and the development level of productive forces (Marshall, 1999: 778).

Generally, leading figures of Marxism has asserted that the main obstacle to international peace is the modern capitalist world order. International trade in accordance with free market rules, causes an asymmetric dependency between the center and the periphery countries, in favor of the developed center countries. Lenin also considers the capitalism as the greatest obstacle to international peace due the assumption that it led to imperialism. Another prominent Marxist thinker, Trotsky, supports this suggestion claiming that capitalism is the main cause of international conflicts because it causes an unequal development among the states (Sandıklı, 2013; 148-149).

The Marxist approach examines conflicts through the prism of disparities in economic, political, cultural and statutory needs and interests, as well as the conflicts related concepts such as discrimination, opportunities, resources and power. It is possible to classify this theories under two subheadings.

### **2.3.1. Class Conflicts**

Within the framework of political sociology, the conflict was primarily defined as a culture-oriented process, through the negative reflection of social change and disintegration, in which values and norms are influential. Consequently, especially with the effect of structural /Marxist sociological currents, while the effects of values and norms are not ignored, economic and structural elements have been put in the central position in explaining conflicts. In other words, this approach emphasizes that conflicts emerge due to non-compromise or differentiation in power struggle among the groups that define themselves through class identities (Marshall, 1999).

The Marxist theory of conflict is based on Marx's claim that social class conflicts lie at the root of social discrepancies, and that history goes through conflicts that arise because of inequalities between these two classes, namely the privileged class and the non-privileged class. Marx does not completely ignore the struggle among different groups for the means of power, but he leaves them in the background of the economic-oriented struggle between the classes.

According to the basic approach of Marxist theory, peace can only be built in a classless society where social justice and economic equality can be achieved. Similarly, establishing an international peace is only possible through removing the global capitalist system and establishing international justice, as a result of the resistance that should be led by transnational organizations among working classes. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx defines the state in a purely class-related framework by saying that "the modern state is nothing but a committee that carries out the common work of the entire bourgeois class" (Marx and Engels, 2009: 54-55).

Due to this, permanent peace in the international system can be sustained by the abolition of capitalist system and states that boost imperialism and by providing the equal allocation of resources. Thus, Karl Marx, from a materialist point of view, has argued that inter-class conflict plays an important role in the emergence of a new economic, social and political order (Marx and Engels, 2009: 54-55).

Additionally, the Marxist tradition attaches great importance to the superstructure which determines the economical substructure. In other words, Marxism claims that substructure (economy) forms the basis of a society, determines the processes in the superstructure (politics, law, ideology). With the acceptance of this assumption, it is seen that Marxism, which attempts to explain social relations and historical transformation with an abstraction from the relationship between substructure and superstructure, argues that all political and ideological phenomena are merely a reflection of economic relations (Uğurlu, 2014; 89).

### 2.3.2. Modernization and Alienation

Another theorization of Marxist approach over the conflict is based on the concepts of modernization and alienation. Many Marxist thinkers have examined this theory, which explores the contradictory consequences of rapid industrialization and modernization.

Marxist philosophers such as Fromm claim that the psychological walls surrounding people for centuries have collapsed after the long development processes, including Renaissance, Reform and subsequently Modernity. In a contradiction, the sense of psychological security that these walls had created disappeared as a result of the destruction of taboos. The contradiction that people face about their perceptions of “right” and “wrong”, the weakening social connections and declining self-control mechanism have created a typology of unhappy, weak and anxious individual. They argue that this reality pushes people in situations of extreme work dependence, addictions, and leave them vulnerable to radical religious and ideological movements, and can easily give birth to violence and conflict which is another way for an individual to escape such crisis of self-confidence. It should not be ignored that, in addition to material needs, there are also spiritual needs such as respect, love and security, which human beings need for a healthy life maintenance (Yilmaz, 2010; 15-17).

Another argument that modernization will lead to conflicts suggests that conflict will inevitably arise as a result of the attempts to melt the different identities for the construction of a single new identity, and the exclusion of those who refuse to adopt this new identity from accessing resources, power structures and the socio-cultural life (Çelik, 2009).

On the other hand, Marx points to another process which he calls ‘alienation’ as a source of violence and conflict in society. He defines the term of alienation as people being deprived of their own sense of production and labor, since they are forced to be a small piece of a huge structure of production that they cannot control and being removed from their own products after the industrial revolution. Marx foresees that sadness and anger that is created by this process can easily



lead them into violence and conflict by reflecting the traumas they experience in their inner worlds.

## CHAPTER III

### FACILITATING METHODS FOR CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

International crises and conflicts are dangerous events that can undermine the balance and stability of the entire international system, and not only just for the actors and parties involved. They can create enormous problems and difficulties for the established institutions and the international order, and can disrupt the balance of power within the international system and regional sub-systems.

Considering the aggravating role of crises and conflicts in international relations, many scientists are increasingly engaged with the development of mechanisms for the prevention, resolution and transformation of conflicts and crises. States, together with other members of the international system, historically use a wide network of mechanisms in order to control, manage and solve the conflicts and crises, in which they themselves are sometimes also involved.

Currently there are numerous conflicts in the world, some of them among states and some of them in the form of civil wars. The involvement of third parties in these conflicts, one way or another, has now become a common formula applied within conflict and peace studies.

The hardship of remaining neutral in handling the situation by the parties of the conflict, the potential capacity gap in all institutions of the states following the violent conflicts, security and emergency aid needs are among the reasons why third parties are involved in the conflicts.

How this involvement process work depends on the distance between the current statues quo and the desired situation, as well as to properly know what the main needs and the motivations of the parties are.

Thus for an effective conflict transformation process, involvements and interventions from third parties, in line with the dynamics of the conflict, are required to stop the violence and then create a fertile environment for meaningful peace efforts.

Three prominent methods stand out in this regard, which are often the subject of research and widely applied to intervene in a conflict and pave the way for the conflict transformation approach to be implemented. Each of these methods have a different background, field of political application and a probability of bearing success in accordance with the essence of the conflict in question.

### 3.1. DIALOGUE

Dialogue is the most critical means of making peace. It is not possible to talk about peace or a peace process in which the parties do not communicate with each other. Therefore, in any dispute, the parties should be open to talk to each other, to know each other better, to build mutual trust and be willing to transform their relationship and the conflict itself, as the first step (Pruitt and Thomas, 2007).

In an environment where inter-communal tensions, animosity and hatred are dominant, it would not be realistic to talk about any kind of peaceful integration. Therefore, it is very important to have good channels of dialogue in order to improve inter-communal communication, to ensure good will and to implement programs to develop inter-communal trust.

To overcome hatred, hostility, mistrust and misperceptions and to open dialogue channels that can help communities to tolerate differences, promoting dialogue can be seen as a practical objective to help societies reorganize their relationships.

Breaking the cycle of violence and providing social reconciliation will only be possible through the humanization of the enemy, the development of empathy, overcoming of pains and the transformation of individual perceptions. The aim is to create a historical background that is based on an individual's perception from its own interactions, rather than a past history which is created independent of their will. (Reychler and Langer, 2006).

Dialogue is a process-centered tool that aims to develop mutual understanding that involves various segments of society and political actors. In this respect, this tool should not be confused with methods of mediation and negotiation. In fact, in case of the possibility of having a negative effect on the functioning of the process, the problems at the root of the dispute should not be raised immediately and should be left to the next stages of the conflict transformation process.

The development of dialogue and the functioning of the process require both parties to come together and to express themselves without any prejudice or

restriction; to express their concerns, to be treated humanely and equally, and most importantly mutual empathy. Besides, the fact that parties accept the differences of each other and that they are open to change and transformation can be counted among other factors that will affect the success of the dialogue process.

It would not be a rational approach to expect the revival of relations automatically following the end of the conflict between the societies in which conflict is experienced. In order to repair the disorder in society and recreate the lost harmony and to revive mutual trust, it is necessary to help the society through dialogue to help improve a better understanding of the differences between different generations, ethnic and religious, cultural and regional groups (Colletta and Cullen, 2000).

Civil society actors play a vital role in the process of dialogue to be developed for socialization and the reconstruction of peace and harmony. The creation and expansion of the public sphere can be ensured by cooperation with non-governmental organizations (NGO's). Restructuring social perceptions through such formations could help to draw the relationship between society and the state on a positive plane through creating the perception that the state attaches a great importance to the leading segments of the society and needs their contributions.

Along with NGO's, religious leaders can also participate in the dialogue process. Religious leaders can play a multifaceted constructive role in the development of faith-based dialogue, ensuring negotiation and reconciliation, giving constructive religious education that only laws have the capacity to overcome the emotional and moral damage of the violence (Bouta et al., 2005). In other words, those who expect personal revenge rather than trusting the law for punishment of perpetrators after violent incidents will only lead to deepening of the sufferings.

Ensuring lasting peace will be possible with good calculation and the elimination of preventive and incentive factors. Difficulties in the post-conflict environment are closely related to what the parties expect from the post-conflict period. Preventive strategies should be developed in order to find out who are supportive

of the peace and who are opposing it. The cost of peace building, the level of economic development of the country, the existence of deep inequalities between the parties, the priorities and capacity of the country and the difficulties must be analysed in advance. All these preparations are possible through dialogue as the first step (Brown, Langer and Steward, 2008).

### 3.2. MEDIATION

The mediation method is another effective peaceful mechanism and has a history dating back to even pre-historic times. There is evidence that within the early hunter-gatherer societies there were shamans or witch doctors which were acting as bipartisan mediators in the case of intra-communal and inter-communal disputes. Almost in every culture elders are respected as mediators and usually they are the first responders to conflicts among small groups or families.

After the emergence of the states, diplomats were to play this role of mediating conflicting interest and sharing sensitive information between parties. This method, which was first developed as an act of customary law, has been turned into a written agreement after The Hague Convention on the Peaceful Resolution of International Disputes.

In order to contribute to the peaceful settlement of disputes between the parties, including the arbitration procedure, Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) was established during the First Hague Peace Conference. (Alsan, 1948:71)

While the Convention was amended during the Second Peace Conference in 1907, the PCA was retained. Initially assigned to handle inter-state disputes, PCA now offers arbitration, mediation or other mechanisms in resolving the disputes between states and private law parties or intergovernmental organizations.

The Mediation method is also used by the UN effectively in the resolution of international disputes and conflicts, and is a method that has strong international legitimacy. According to the UN Charter, conflicts should first be resolved through peaceful mechanisms. Mediation is these one of this mechanisms. In the sixth chapter of the UN Charter entitled Peaceful Settlement of Disputes (UN Charter art. 33/1) it reads:

*“The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.”*

Mediation is generally a method which during a third state, an international organization or an effective person intervene in a conflict situation to bring the conflict parties together, to facilitate the talks and offer solutions to the problems (Buerghenthal and and Maier, 1985: 66). Some features of this method, such as being economically profitable, it's result-oriented nature and being capable of producing solutions, increases the popularity of the method and raises compatibility with the perception of international public opinion (Bercovitch et al., 1991: 7).

The success of the mediation initiative depends on the consent of the conflicting parties. This method is closely related to the principle of mutual interest, independent decision-making and consensus principles. The mediator is not supposed to make decision for the parties, but can only pave the way for them by helping them to change their realities which is consistent with both parties' needs and perspectives.

Two means are generally used in this context: *Empowerment* and *recognition*. Empowerment reflects the enhancement of parties' perception about their resources and allow them to realize the importance of self-determination. If the mediator is to make decisions on their behalf that means a transformative effort is not underway. On the other hand, recognition in mediation points the good behaviors of the parties such as being open, polite and emphatic against each other with their free will. Otherwise, the efforts of the mediator will inevitably fail (Bush and Folger, 1994).

A mediator, first of all, must have two important features which are trust and persuasiveness. As mentioned above, the first ever mediators such as shamans, elders, and religious leaders were chosen because they were trusted by their communities. An untrusted mediator cannot play a positive role in relieving the doubts of the parties regarding each other or help them to find a compromise on the basis of common interest.



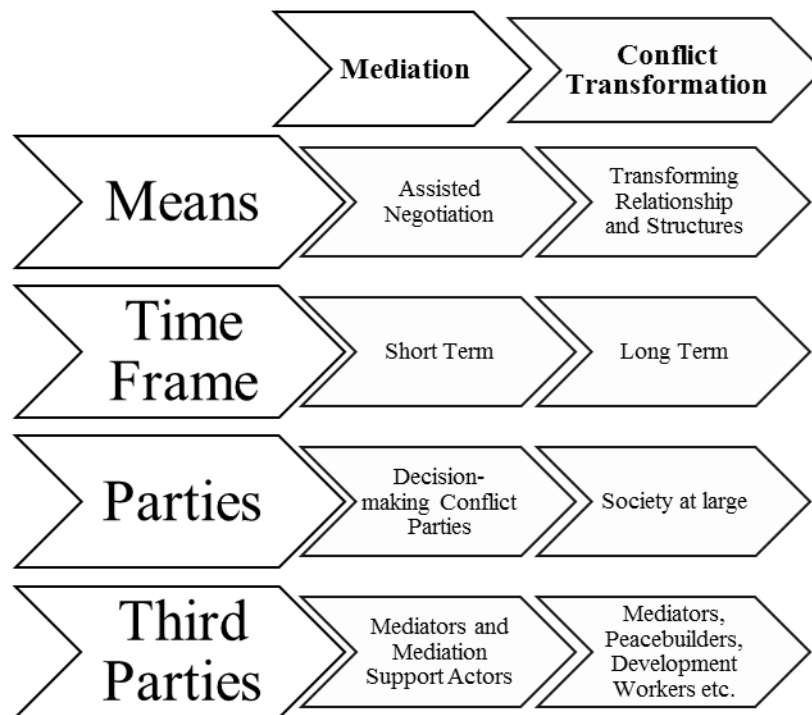
The other key factor for mediator's success is persuasion. Persuasion is a steady arbiter when it comes to human affairs in all means. Although it is mainly about good communication skills, persuasion is not only gained through effective communication. To be persuasive, a mediator should not have a secret agenda and be clear in his/her intentions and speak in more precise terms.

Despite the fact that mediation is not in itself a conflict transformation process, it plays a crucial role in creating the necessary ground for transforming the conflict successfully.

Mediation is an optional institution, which applies both to the parties of the dispute and to the mediator. In other words, the parties have the right to reject a request made for entrusting a mediator. The mediator's right to reject to take the position is reserved. This condition also leads to the fact that the outcome of the mediation process is not binding. So mediation is a right, not a liability, for the conflicting parties and the third parties according to international law.

An exception to the optional nature of mediation is the existence of an international treaty which makes this method binding for the parties. As mentioned above, there are international conventions and courts on mediation, so if the parties have agreed with an international treaty to accept mediation on certain dispute matters, then the outcome of mediation becomes binding.

**Figure 4:** Mediation and Conflict Transformation



As clearly seen in Figure 1 mediation is an effective tool in the short term to lay the ground for the transformation of relationships and structures within a conflict to achieve lasting peace through assisted negotiation among the parties. While the parties of the mediation are generally limited to decision-makers from both sides, the conflict transformation processes usually encompasses all segments of the society.

Some basic goals of a mediator which are listed in the work of Landau et al. (1987:47) are as follow:

- To develop trust and cooperation between the parties, so they can share relevant tasks and information.
- To improve communication between the parties, or, in other words, to understand the feelings of their counterpart, and share the decision making.
- To assure all the relevant parties that their perspectives will be heard, and therefore, make them feel that they are fairly treated.

- To reduce tension and conflict, so those who have a close relationship with both parties are not involved in a conflict of loyalties.
- To help the parties appreciate relevant information, in order to make decisions based on proper data, after having considered alternative proposals to solve the same issues.
- To favor confidentiality, while developing a voluntary resolution to the conflict.
- To reach a reasonable and fair agreement, unlike what usually happens in court.

Briefly, all these basic goals of the mediator ultimately serve to create a feasible environment for negotiation to allow the parties understand and appreciate their own demands and interests respectively, and help them to reach a comprehensive and lasting agreement to end the conflict.

Besides all that, mediation also has an aspect which can be the subject of social psychology. Social psychology seeks to scientifically analyse how people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are influenced by real, imagined or implied factors. Additionally, it is productive to measure whether some factors such as personal factors, role factors, situational factors, and mutual interaction factors have positive or negative effects over the mediation process. Social psychology systematically deals with all aspects of a mediation and brings us closer to answering the question of whether the mediation is run effectively (Bercovitch and Jackson, 2009:24).

Social psychology helps us understand the key factors that yield success in mediation. For example, it tries to demonstrate which circumstances, repressive or rewarding strategies are fruitful and how can they generate complexity or become counterproductive. For instance, social psychology can tell us that respecting the confidentiality principle during the process will most probably facilitate the talks and vice versa. It enables us to analyze the experiences which we have gained in real life, together with empirical evidence, and to make a

theoretical interpretation of them in order to create models that lead us to successful results (Bercovitch and Jackson, 2009: 24).

### **3.3. NEGOTIATION**

Negotiation is a conflict settlement strategy that aims to curb violence and reach an agreement through the joint decision-making process which encompasses all parties of the conflict (Bercovitch ve Jackson, 2009: 33).

According to another definition made by Sir Harold Nicolson negotiation is a method by which the relations between the parties are set and managed by the ambassadors, thus it is a diplomatic action (Nicolson, 1950: 7).

It is one of the purposes of the diplomats and foreign policy elites to prevent and terminate conflicts. In the natural course of any negotiation, the parties have to find a way forward to convince their interlocutors which are expected to have different interests and different judgments on how best to develop common interests (Avenhaus and Zartman, 2007: 9).

Negotiation is a dialogue process between two or more people or parties. In this method, the parties of a conflict may have numerous agendas ranging from reaching an understanding to solve the differences or to gain advantage through dialogue, to negotiate for individual or collective interests, to harmonize the various interests of the parties in the negotiation process.

Negotiation is not a one-time activity. The negotiation is a series of well-organized interviews with a number of phases, a multi-subject diplomacy or a series of conversations that overlap excursively.

In other words, negotiation is a verbal or non-verbal type of communication process in which the interests of the parties to the conflict are discussed, and taken as a joint action by the parties to manage or resolve their conflict (Morley and Stephenson, 1977: 7).

**Table 4:** Steps during Pre-Negotiation and Negotiation Stages (Fisas, 2012:24)

<b>Pre-Negotiation Stage</b>	<b>Negotiation Stage</b>
Preliminary negotiations	Legitimate interlocutors
Convincing the parties	Main actors
Security assurances	Comprehensive approach
Guarantee of observance	Victims do not participate, but are taken into consideration
Methodology and Procedure	Installation of win-win approach
Determination of agenda	Determination of agenda
Possible road map Clarification of the basic disputes Abandoning deceptions Recognition of the opposing party	Working majority for fundamental changes
Confidence building	Efforts for personal relationship
Determining the role of mediators	Final agreement

Table 3 and Table 4 clarify the important steps and sources of motivations to carry out a successful negotiation process. While these defined steps are revealed by the lessons learned from the history and past experiences, it should not be ignored that these steps do not guarantee an absolute success, considering that each negotiation process will have its own characteristics and challenges.

**Table 5:** Negotiation Process (Sahadevan, 2010:189).

<b>Process</b>	<b>Questions</b>	<b>Motivations</b>
<b>Entry into negotiation</b>	a) When should a negotiation start? b) Why should parties negotiate? c) How should parties negotiate?	-Development of a common perception. -States' failure in disposing their asymmetric power position. -Increasing clarity of demands, reactions and perceptions.
<b>Progress of negotiation</b>	a) When should a negotiation process progress? b) Why should a negotiation process progress? c) How should a negotiation process progress?	-Improvement in negotiations. -Elimination of use of military power as an alternative. -Harmonization and friendly relations between the parties. -The effect of internal and external pressures. -Emergence of desire for political consensus.
<b>Conclusion of negotiation</b>	a) When should parties reach an agreement? b) Why should parties reach an agreement? c) How should parties reach an agreement?	-The effect of mutual damage dilemma. -Desire to end disasters and sufferings -The active role of the third parties in making and implementing the agreement.

Table 5 analyzes the different stages of the negotiation process. According to the table, the process is divided into three separate stages and each of these stages have factors of varying significance that should be taken into account.

For example, during the initial phase of the negotiation, the most important factor is timing. Then, when passed to negotiation, the parties should give their attention to protective measures against sabotaging actors. If these two stages are completed successfully, avoiding possible obstacles during the ratification of peace agreement prevails as the most important priority.

Regarding the importance of timing in a negotiation process, some scholars highlight the cost effect of a conflict. In other words, the parties will not compromise for a negotiation if the cost of the negotiation remain lower than the cost of the conflict itself.

Unless they lose their belief in defeating the adversaries through violent means, they will not give concessions for a peaceful termination of conflict. When their expectation about a military triumph changed and a deadlock occurred, negotiation becomes optional. At this very condition, the parties' perceptions will be changed and the conflict will emerge as "ripen for a settlement". This implies that a political resolution ultimately promises a lower cost than the continuation of conflict. Called as ripeness theory, experts suggest that before that moment arrives, an intervention to start a negotiation may collapse, so timing is crucial in these efforts (Zartman, 1989).



**Table 6:** Key Questions in Different Stages of Negotiation

<b>Entry into negotiation</b>	<b>Negotiation stage</b>	<b>Concluding the negotiation</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Timing</li> <li>- Building trust</li> <li>- Which topics to start with</li> <li>-Pre-conditions for disarmament</li> <li>-The effect of saboteur actors</li> <li>- Impact of behavior</li> <li>- Impact of controversies</li> <li>-Violence</li> <li>- Impact of public opinion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The impact of saboteur actors</li> <li>- Impact of behavior</li> <li>- Impact of controversies</li> <li>- Violence</li> <li>- Impact of public opinion</li> <li>- Failure to separate political negotiations and negotiations over disarmament</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Problems occurring during the ratification of the peace agreement</li> <li>-Problems occurring during the ratification of the peace agreement</li> <li>-Violence</li> <li>- Impact of public opinion</li> <li>- The impact of saboteur actors</li> </ul>

Those who want to make a meaningful involvement to start a negotiation process should take into account that before embarking such an action, the more the parties are exhausted with the conflict, the higher the possibility of a willing attitude for a negotiation from parties (Rubin, 1991).

In case of unripen conflicts, there are some steps that could be taken by the third parties to accelerate the process. In other words, it is possible to adjust the timing by external interference for urgent situations, instead of letting time to take its natural course. Those third parties must have some powerful instruments, a requirement which Saadia Touval calls 'mediators with muscle' (Touval, 1982). Third parties' capacity to use leverage over disputants may well override its other qualifications such as impartiality and objectivity. Though the pressure from that muscled intervener can be taken as a great potential in effecting the negotiation process, if this pressure is the only reason keeping the parties around the table,

the result will probably be failure because disputants will flee the talks as soon as this pressure is gone (Azar and Burton 1986).

Those relevant third parties can create benchmarks and signposts to help the conflict parties to recalculate their expectations about the cost of conflict. Changing the current balance of power through taking measures to curb the resources or weapons of the parties, those actors can also strengthen the incentive to start a negotiation, since it will make it harder for the parties to maintain conflict with insufficient military capabilities (Crocker, 1992: 72). But it has to be carried out in a sensitive manner, since it may create an opposite impact and aggravate the situation.

## CONCLUSION

Although the definitions and the instruments that are used to find solutions to conflicts can differentiate, the conflict transformation approach actually marks the final point which all other conflict resolution methods scramble to reach. Because conflict transformation not only struggles to terminate a conflict, but also aims to analyze and understand the basic dynamics of it, to obtain a continuous peace result with the right methods.

Conflicts can have many reasons, including social, economic, political and cultural controversies. Not taking into consideration deep-seated unrests, and seeking to get results by dealing only with superficial reasons, a conflict resolution approach would have no chance to get permanent results.

Stages of conflict resolution and calming of the conflict can only be considered as temporary steps in setting the stage for sustainable peace. In other words, no conflict resolution strategy which does not aim to transform the conflict can achieve a sustainable peace in a society. Any peace initiative that does not aim at social, economic, political and cultural transformation based on structural changes is undoubtedly lacking.

In this respect, conflict transformation aims to change the mental structure as well as the social, cultural and political structure of the society and build social peace by providing social justice based on long-term strategies.

In regard with these strategies, the idea that social differences are a positive phenomenon for the society should be empowered, the war and its devastating effects on human life and the need for peace should be emphasized and various means of communication should be developed to strengthen the understanding to resolve disputes based on peaceful resistance methods instead of violent means.

The conflict transformation approach is based on disseminating a culture of dialogue and tolerance and promoting negotiation and mediation in order to

achieve this goal and to find permanent peaceful solutions to disputes. In this approach, the aim is to highlight the need for a continuous and satisfactory result for the parties after the conflict resolution.

This can be possible through implementing a will to follow a serious approach to conflicts, in order to overcome and then transform them. A situation of “win-lose” is not the only possibility for the parties of conflict in the face of basic humanitarian needs such as survival, good life, freedom and identity. There is always also a “win-win” condition for any conflict to be gained with a common ground.

As mentioned above, unlike other conflict resolution methods, the ultimate purpose of the conflict transformation approach is to not only terminate a conflict but also to establish a healthy environment for sustainable peace through eradicating the dynamics of conflict and eliminating injustice in society. The approach of conflict transformation aims to create a peaceful environment that will prevent the reoccurrence of conflict by eliminating the dynamics that give rise to the conflict, not just the termination of the conflict.

In order to achieve this permanent peace ideal, the unequal system in a society, which Galtung calls structural violence, also needs to be overcome. This long term struggle sometimes can be interrupted at the stages of appeasement or resolution of the conflict due to the initiative of different actors and wrong steps taken in handling the process. In this respect, for a successful implementation of conflict transformation, interrelated concepts such as peace, conflict and power must be understood and explained.

The success of an attempt to transform a conflict can sometimes depend on the mediation of a bipartisan and effective third party who is well-informed about the nature of the conflict. At the same time, this can sometimes depend on behaviors of the conflicting parties such as being open to dialogue, being sincere about peace, as well as having good intentions regarding the realization of the peace.

Since an adequate and comprehensive approach to conflict transformation approach requires the clarification of all related concepts such as power, peace and conflict. The first chapter of this thesis has been devoted giving an academic

background of these terms. Without making an implicit conceptualization of terms such as peace, conflict power etc., reflecting ideas whether transformation of a conflict or achieving peace in any form is possible or not would be impossible.

The thesis also aims to reveal the association of the International Relations theories with peace and conflict. Because some school of thoughts only see a possibility of the peace through implementation of the principle of these theories. For instance “liberal peace” or democratic peace theories suggests a solid understanding of these theories before making any attempts towards establishing peace.

Likewise, in terms of both the international system and the administrative structures of states, International Relations theories about the requirements of international peace and war will also help to comprehend the methods of transforming a conflict. Thus, in the second chapter, the literature review of the perspectives of some of the basic International Relations theories about how they evaluate peace and conflict has been given in order to facilitate the creation of an appropriate ground for the implementation of conflict transformation approaches. The main reasons behind the conflicts and the literature review on external interventions to curb the conflicts are also important in this context.

For more successful conflict transformation it is necessary to widen the understanding of the multilevel and multi-dynamic nature of any transformation process.

After creating this conceptual framework, the basic methods that can be used in the conflict transformation process have been elaborated and the conditions for effective and successful implementation of these methods have been explained. These methods should be selected in accordance with the character of the conflict, and in some cases one should take into account that, for a successful implementation, sometimes more than one of these methods may be necessary to implemented in a certain conflict.

Whereas classical mediation brings parties together for negotiation and compromise, the transformation approach starts with one party at a time, in deep

dialogue, and in a joint creative search for a new reality. After that comes the classical approach, bringing them together for negotiation, sometimes with the before-the-negotiation efforts of a mediator.

The conflict transformation approach is holistic, with a dynamic process model relating to conflict and peace. The thesis strongly supports the idea that, among all the other conflict resolution approaches, the most effective method would be the application of the conflict transformation approach, to achieve the ultimate goal, which is ensuring a lasting peace.

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HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ  
YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ORJİNALLİK RAPORU

HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ  
BARIŞ ÇALIŞMALARI ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih: 13/05/2019

Tez Başlığı: Çatışma Dönüştürme Yaklaşımları Üzerine: Teorik Bir Çerçeve

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 76... sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 13./05/2019 tarihinde şahsım/tez danışmanım tarafından Turnitin adlı intihal tespit programından aşağıda işaretlenmiş filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallik raporuna göre, tezimin benzerlik oranı %13. 'tür.

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- 1-  Kabul/Onay ve Bildirim sayfaları hariç
- 2-  Kaynakça hariç
- 3-  Alıntılar hariç
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**Programı:** Peace and Conflict Studies

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