

Syllabus

PhD Course on International Mediation: Theory, Cases and Skills

Research School on Peace and Conflict, Oslo

In partnership with Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, Notre Dame

12 – 16 June 2023, Oslo

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1. Context

International mediation is a process whereby a third party assists parties in conflict, with their consent, to reach agreements they find acceptable and are willing to implement. It has been widely practiced for many decades, particularly since the end of the Cold War. There are few major intra- or inter-state conflicts in the contemporary era that have not been subject to mediation by the United Nations (UN) or a regional organization, and often also by states and non-governmental groups.

The stakes of mediation are very high in deadly conflicts: success or failure determines whether the country remains locked in strife or is able to embark on a path of reconciliation and reconstruction. In the case of Rwanda, for example, the peace agreement mediated by Tanzania in 1992-3 broke down and was overwhelmed by the genocide. In Kenya, by contrast, the 2008 mediation led by Kofi Annan on behalf of the African Union (AU) prevented a descent into protracted violence. In Syria, mediation has failed to stem the killing of thousands of civilians and the destruction of large parts of the country.

Where mediation in civil wars is successful, the peace agreement has a major bearing on justice, security, governance and the risk of violence in the post-war society. Mediation and negotiations are thus the bridge, sometimes tenuous and sometimes robust, between war termination and long-term peacebuilding, statebuilding and conflict transformation.

2. Literature

There is a rich academic literature on international mediation. It includes single volumes, edited volumes and journals such as the *Journal of Peace Research*, the *Journal of Conflict Resolution and Negotiation* and *Journal of Peace Research*. It encompasses reviews of the scholarly debates (e.g. Kleiboer 1996; Wallensteen & Svensson 2014); comparative studies on specific themes, such as co-ordination among different mediators (e.g. Lanz & Gasser 2013); theories on particular problems, like the ripeness of a conflict for resolution through negotiations (e.g. Zartman 2001); case studies of particular mediation initiatives (e.g. Menkhaus 1996); and quantitative studies seeking to ascertain the relationship between specified variables and the outcome of mediation (see Wallensteen & Svensson 2014). In addition to the academic literature, there is a large policy literature that seeks to identify lessons from prior mediation experiences (e.g. UN Secretary-General 2012; Brahimi & Ahmed 2008).

References for the Course readings are attached as Appendix 1.

3. Orientation and Learning Outcomes

A distinguishing feature of the Course is its combination of scholarly, policy and practitioner perspectives on international mediation. We will review the literature on international mediation; explore relevant theories and examine their validity; and share practitioner experiences of mediation. We will also learn and practice the skills of conflict analysis; strategic planning and process design for peacemaking; and convening mediation talks.

Upon completion of the Course, students will be able to:

- Describe and analyze critically key debates and theories in the academic and policy literature on international mediation.
- Identify the factors that determine the success and failure of international mediation.
- Explain the complexity of international mediation.
- Analyze cases of international mediation in high intensity conflicts.
- Apply the practical skills of conflict analysis, strategic planning, and engaging the parties.

4. Format and Style

Three different formats will be used in the Course: thematic seminars based on the Course readings; simulation exercises aimed at skills development; and practitioner case studies led by mediation practitioners over lunch.

The thematic seminars will begin with the facilitator framing the key issues, questions and debates. This will be followed by student presentations of two Course readings. Each presentation should be 10 minutes; it can be presented with a PPT; and it should capture the essence of the article (i.e. the main question, argument, findings and conclusion). Thereafter we will have open discussion and debate.

The Course organizers will liaise with the students regarding allocation of the presentations.

The style of facilitation and learning throughout the Course will be based on the following:

- We do not seek to reach consensus. Disagreement is good for learning!
- Discussion should be grounded in the Course readings and in practitioner experience.
- We will promote continuity between the different sessions, building incrementally a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics and complexities of mediation.
- Students are encouraged to contribute insights from their own experience, research and studies outside this Course.
- Participants should be mindful of time constraints and avoid dominating discussion.

Students are expected to read the Course readings for each session prior to that session.

5. Essay Assignment

Students who intend to write a course essay (equivalent to 10 ECTS) have two options:

- Option A: Write an original case study of an international mediation case of your choice. The case study can draw on published material but must also include original material (e.g. through interviews or archival research).
- Option B: Write an original theoretical paper that explores one or more of the mediation themes covered in this Course. The paper must present an original argument and a research plan to test the argument.

Student can use any method(s) appropriate to the research question and focus of the essay.

Normal academic standards apply: there must be a sound abstract, introduction and conclusion; the argument must be presented clearly and logically; the argument and conclusions must be supported by evidence; and the essay must have a consistent referencing style (of the student's choice). The required length is 8,000 – 10,000 words including footnotes and references.

The essay must be submitted by 1 August 2023.

6. Program

Date and time	Topic	Facilitator / presenter
Mon 12 June		
9:00-10:30	<u>Session 1</u> Introduction to Course and international mediation <i>Readings:</i> Greig & Diehl (2012), chs. 1 & 2; Zartman & Touval (2007); UNHLCM (2019), Briefing Note on Definitions; Brahimy & Ahmed (2008); Palik, Rustad & Methi (2020)	Nathan
10:30-10:45	Break	
10:45-12:15	<u>Session 2</u> Introduction to literature on international mediation <i>Readings:</i> Kleiboer (1996); Wallensteen & Svensson (2014); UN Secretary-General (2012)	Nathan
12:15-1:15	Lunch	
1:15-2:45	<u>Session 3</u> Theoretical frames (Zartman & Galtung) <i>Readings:</i> Zartman (2001); Galtung (1969); Confortini (2006)	Nathan
2:45-3:00	Break	
3:00-4:15	<u>Session 4</u> Ethical challenges in mediation <i>Readings:</i> Touval (1995); Lorentzen (2020)	Syse & Liden
4:15-4:30	<u>Session 5</u> Preparation for simulation exercise	Nathan
Tues 13 June		
9:00-10:15	<u>Session 6</u> Mediation mandates <i>Readings:</i> Nathan (2018); Forster (2017)	Jensehaugen
10:15-10:30	Break	
10:30-12:00	<u>Session 7</u> Preventive diplomacy <i>Readings:</i> Ackerman (2003); Lund (2009); Nathan, Day, Honwana & Brubaker (2018)	Harpviken
12:00-12:45	Lunch	

12:45-2:15	<u>Session 8</u> Senior practitioner session on Colombia <i>Readings:</i> Herbolzheimer (2016); Nylander & Salvesen (2017); IFIT (2018)	Nylander
2:15-3:30	<u>Session 9</u> Simulation exercise (conflict analysis) <i>Readings:</i> UNHLMC (2019), Briefing Note on Conflict Analysis and Ripeness for Mediation; Briefing Note on Positions, Interests and Needs	Nathan
3:30-3:45	Break	
3:45-4:30	<u>Session 9 contd.</u> Simulation exercise	Nathan
Wed 14 June		
9:00-10:30	<u>Session 10</u> Mediation leverage <i>Readings:</i> Beardsley (2013); Wallenstein & Svensson (2014); Zartman & Touval (2007); Reid (2017)	Jensehaugen
10:30-10:45	Break	
10:45-12:00	<u>Session 11</u> Mediation actors <i>Readings:</i> Lanz & Gasser (2013); Nathan (2017); Duursma (2020); Curran et al. (2004)	Harpviken
12:00-12:45	Lunch	
12:45-2:15	<u>Session 12</u> Senior practitioner session on Sudan <i>Readings:</i> Schiff (2017); Rolandsen (2011)	Johnson
2:15-3:30	<u>Session 13</u> Simulation exercise (strategic planning) <i>Readings:</i> UNHLMC (2019), Briefing Note on Developing a UN Mediation Strategy; Briefing Note on Mediation Process Design	Nathan
3:30-3:45	Break	
3:45-4:30	<u>Session 13 contd.</u> Simulation exercise	Nathan
Thurs 15 June		
9:00-10:30	<u>Session 14</u> Mediation and gender <i>Readings:</i> Bell (2013); Bell & O'Rourke (2010); Adjei (2019); Krause et al. (2018)	Tryggestad
10:30-10:45	Break	
10:45-12:15	<u>Session 15</u> Mediation and emotions; preparation for simulation exercise <i>Readings:</i> Nathan and Devonshire (2023); Lindner (2014); Klimecki (2019)	Nathan
12:15-1:15	Lunch	
1:15-3:00	<u>Session 16</u> Simulation exercise (engaging the parties)	Nathan

	<i>Readings:</i> UNHLMC (2019), Briefing Note on UN Briefing Note on Communication Skills; UN Briefing Note on Mediation Tactics	
3:00-3:15	Break	
3:15-4:30	<u>Session 16 contd.</u> Simulation exercise	Nathan
Fri 16 June		
9:00-10:15	<u>Session 17</u> Inclusion <i>Readings:</i> Paffenholz (2014); Akol (2014); Pring (2017)	Hauge
10:15-10:30	Break	
10:30-12:00	<u>Session 18</u> Mediation and culture <i>Readings:</i> Menkhaus (1996); Salem (1993); Carnevale & Choi (2000); De Waal (2009)	Nathan
12:00-1:00	Lunch	
1:00-2:30	<u>Session 19</u> Dilemmas of peace vs. justice <i>Readings:</i> Hayner (2018), chs. 1&2; Nathan (2020)	Jensehaugen
2:30-3:30	<u>Session 20</u> Course consolidation & evaluation	Nathan

Course Readings

- Ackermann, A. 2003. "The Idea and Practice of Conflict Prevention", *Journal of Peace Research* 40(3): 339-347.
- Adjei, M. 2019. "Women's Participation in Peace Processes: A Review of Literature." *Journal of Peace Education* 16(2): 133-154.
- Akol, Z. 2014. "Inclusivity: A Challenge to the IGAD-Led South Sudanese Peace Process", *Policy Brief*, The Sudd Institute, 7 December.
- Beardsley, K. 2013. "Using the Right Tool for the Job: Mediator Leverage and Conflict Resolution", *Penn State Journal of Law and International Affairs* 2(1): 57-65.
- Bell, C. 2013. "Women and Peace Processes, Negotiations, and Agreements: Operational Opportunities and Challenges", *NOREF Policy Brief*.
- Bell, C. and C. O'Rourke. 2010. "Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper? The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Peace Processes and Their Agreements," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 59(4): 941-980.
- Brahimi, L. and S. Ahmed. 2008. *In Pursuit of Sustainable Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation*, Center on International Cooperation, New York University.
- Carnevale, P. and D. Choi. 2000. "Culture in the Mediation of International Disputes." *International Journal of Psychology* 35(2): 105-110.
- Confortini, C. 2006. "Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/Feminism Alliance," *Peace & Change* 31(3): 333-367.
- Curran, D., J. Sebenius and M. Watkins. 2004. "Two Paths to Peace: Contrasting George Mitchell in Northern Ireland with Richard Holbrooke in Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Negotiation Journal* 20(4): 513-537.
- De Waal, A. 2009. "Mission Without End? Peacekeeping in the African Political Marketplace." *International Affairs* 85(1): 99-113.
- Duursma, A. 2020. "African Solutions to African Challenges: The Role of Legitimacy in Mediating Civil Wars in Africa," *International Organization* 74(2): 295-330.
- Forster, R. 2017. "Toward a Comprehensive Solution? Yemen's Two-Year Peace Process", *The Middle East Journal* 71(3): 479-488.
- Galtung, J. 1969. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research* 6(3): 167-191.
- Greig, M. and P. Diehl. 2012. *International Mediation*, Cambridge, UK: Polity.

- Hayner, P. 2018. *The Peacemaker's Paradox: Pursuing Justice in the Shadow of Conflict*. New York: Routledge.
- Herbolzheimer, K. 2016. *Innovations in the Colombian Peace Process*, Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre, NOREF.
- IFIT, 2018. *The Colombian Peace Process: Practical Lessons for Negotiators Worldwide*, Institute for Integrated Transitions, Institute for Integrated Transitions, Barcelona.
- Kleiboer, M. 1996. "Understanding Success and Failure of International Mediation", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40(2): 360-389.
- Klimecki, O. 2019. "The Role of Empathy and Compassion in Conflict Resolution," *Emotion Review* 11(4): 310-325.
- Krause, J., W. Krause and P. Braenfors. 2018. "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", *International Interactions* 44(6): 985-1016.
- Lanz, D. and R. Gasser. 2013. "A Crowded Field: Competition and Coordination in International Peace Mediation", *Mediation Arguments* 2, Centre for Mediation in Africa.
- Lindner, E. 2014. "Emotion and Conflict: Why It Is Important to Understand How Emotions Affect Conflict and How Conflict Affects Emotions." In P. Coleman, M. Deutsch and E. Marcus (eds.), *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, pp. 268–293.
- Lorentzen, J. 2020. "Women's Inclusion in the Malian Peace Negotiations: Norms and Practices," *Swiss Political Science Review* 26(4): 487-505.
- Lund, M. 2009. "Conflict Prevention: Theory in Pursuit of Policy and Practice", in J. Bercovitch, V. Kremenyuk, and I. W. Zartman (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, London: Sage, pp. 287-308.
- Menkhaus, K. 1996. "International Peacebuilding and the Dynamics of Local and National Reconciliation in Somalia", *International Peacekeeping* 3(1): 42-67.
- Nathan, L. 2017. "How to Manage Inter-Organizational Disputes over Mediation in Africa", *Global Governance* 23(2): 151-162.
- Nathan, L. 2018. "The Mandate Effect: A Typology and Conceptualization of Mediation Mandates", *Peace & Change* 43(3): 318-343.
- Nathan, L., A. Day, J. Honwana and R. Brubaker. 2018. *Capturing UN Preventive Diplomacy Success: How and Why Does It Work?*, Centre for Policy Research, UN University.
- Nathan, L. 2020. "The International Peacemaking Dilemma: Ousting or Including the Villains?", *Swiss Political Science Review* 26(4): 468-486.

- Nathan, L. and J. Devonshire. 2023. "Don't We Have a Right to Get Angry? Integrating Emotions into the Rational Choice Theory of International Mediation", *International Journal of Conflict Management*, forthcoming.
- Nylander, D. and H. Salvesen, 2017. *Towards an Inclusive Peace: Woman and the Gender Approach in the Colombian Peace Process*, Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution, NOREF.
- Paffenholz, T. 2014. "Broadening Participation in Peace Processes: Dilemmas and Options for Mediators", *Mediation Practice Series*, Center for Humanitarian Dialogue.
- Palik, J., S.Rustad, and F. Methi. 2020. "Conflict Trends: A Global Overview, 1946–2019," *PRIO Paper*, Peace Research Institute, Oslo.
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- Reid, L. 2017. "Finding a Peace That Lasts: Mediator Leverage and the Durable Resolution of Civil Wars", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(7): 1401-1431.
- Rolandsen, Ø. 2011. "A Quick Fix? A Retrospective Analysis of the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement," *Review of African Political Economy* 38(130): 551-564.
- Salem, P. 1993. "A Critique of Western Conflict Resolution from a Non-Western Perspective", *Negotiation Journal* 9(4): 361-369.
- Schiff, A. 2017. "Beyond Push and Pull: The Sudan Peace Process as a Case Study," *International Negotiation* 22(1): 33-61.
- Touval, S. 1995. "Ethical Dilemmas in International Mediation", *Negotiation Journal* 11(4): 333-338.
- UN High Level Mediation Course (UNHLMC) manual, 2019.
- UN Secretary-General. 2012. *Guidance for Effective Mediation*, New York: United Nations.
- Wallensteen, P. and I. Svensson. 2014. "Talking Peace: International Mediation in Armed Conflicts", *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 315-327.
- Zartman, I.W. 2001. "The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments", *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1(1): 8-18.
- Zartman, I. and S. Touval. 2007. "International Mediation", in C. Crocker, F. Hampson and P. Aall (eds), *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*, Washington DC: US Institute for Peace, pp. 437-454.