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## **PH.D THESIS**

# **UNDERSTANDING THE DYNAMICS OF PURSUING RECONCILIATION AND PEACEBUILDING IN INTRACTABLE INTERGROUP CONFLICT SITUATIONS USING MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY: A CASE STUDY OF SOMALIA'S DIASPORA IN DENMARK**

**BY**

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## EPIGRAPH

“Even if all possible scientific questions be answered, the problems of life have still not been touched at all” (Wittgenstein, 1921) in *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*.

“There are many tools other than weapons with which to change men's minds” (Freeman, 1997).

## **DEDICATION**

To God, the source of my gifts and talents, and to everyone toiling for the cause of global peace.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AI.....	Artificial Intelligence
AMISOM.....	African Union Mission in Somalia
AU.....	African Union
FGS.....	Federal Government of Somalia
ICISS.....	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICU.....	Islamic Courts Union
IDPs.....	Internally Displaced Persons
IEP.....	Institute for Economics and Peace
IGAD.....	Intergovernmental Authority of Development
MSF.....	Médecins Sans Frontières
MTD.....	Multi-Track Diplomacy
NSC.....	National Salvation Council
O.....	Osmosis
PI.....	Prosperity Index
QUESTS.....	Qualified Expatriate Somali Technical Support
RO.....	Reverse Osmosis

R2P.....Responsibility to Protect

SNRC.....Somali National Reconciliation Conference

SRRC.....Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council

TFG.....Transitional Federal Government

TNG.....Transitional National Government

UNITAF.....United Task Force

UNOSOM.....United Nations Operations in Somalia

USIP.....United States Institute of Peace

WHR.....World Happiness Report

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## **STRUCTURE AND CHAPTER DEVELOPMENT**

The project is divided into nine chapters. Each opens with an introduction and closes with a conclusion. Chapter one discusses why I chose Denmark and Scandinavia to test my hypotheses. It equally explains why I thought lessons of peace could be drawn from these places. Denmark was used as an example of a peaceful territory because I needed to assess what happens when a place with much peace links up with another experiencing conflict and acute peace drought – for this case, Somalia. It helped me to examine how turbulence in one territory is positively affected by tranquillity in another with which it has contact. That is why I used the Intergroup Contact Theory in guiding both my findings and analyses.

Chapter two reviews some major works that have been undertaken and published by different researchers and conflict professionals of this field. It permits the reader to connect with the evolution of work in this discipline including knowledge of the successes and common difficulties faced by those who took interest and had been studying intractable conflicts along the years.

For its part, chapter three focuses on questions surrounding the issue of intractability. It tackles arguments and opinions which have been advanced concerning intractable conflicts including those questioning if there is even anything as an intractable conflict in the first place. It presents my position in relation to prevailing debates supporting it with empirical findings from the research field. This was considered important because through it, readers get the chance of aligning with my analyses and understanding the angle from which this research was conducted. It also allows them to see why I think these conflicts are transformable and have been passionate about weakening their strength and destructiveness.



Since Somali diasporic people in Denmark were used as a sample to understand certain trends about the pursuit of reconciliation and peacebuilding in Somalia, chapter four assesses the conflict in that country tracing its origins and taking the reader through its evolution so as to foster understanding regarding why it is such a stubborn and complex case and why the multitude of peace initiatives carried out over the years have not yielded desired fruits. From the chapter, one gets to know some of the commonest errors that had made peace so elusive and how current actors can avoid repeating them. They just cannot afford to go that same way because that will surely result to them falling in the same pit as their predecessors. It is important to hint that issues which produced particular results under one actor will produce the same under another if repeated without learning from previous experiences.

Chapter five examines why some conflicts are intractable in the first place and last for so long. It traces the origins and development of intractability, identifying many of the things that promote or lead to intractable conditions including what can be done to prevent conflicts from taking such twists. It is worth mentioning that though it deals with intractability, mention of which has been made in chapter three, the two chapters are totally different with different messages. Chapter three looks more into the meanings of key terminologies including intractability, stating how they were used in the project. Chapter five, for its part, exposes why conflicts become difficult and intractable. It looks at arguments and important issues about it in relation to conflict research. Without sufficient understanding of the reasons and nature of conflicts that evolved from simplicity to complexity, it will be hard to carry out effective and long-lasting reconciliation that will survive future storms.

Chapter six tackles the pertinence of multi-track diplomacy in effecting decisive changes in long-lasting conflicts. It refutes arguments that conflicts of this type have no solution and there is nothing anyone can do to cause a change. Instead, among other things, it argues that given the uniqueness of humans as a highly intelligent species coupled with the multitude of other endowments they are loaded with, it is expedient not to rush and conclude on any case as an impossible one. It usually only takes long but usually, humans overcome lots of their obstacles and challenges at the end.

Chapter seven handles peacebuilding in Somalia looking at the contributions of the Somali diaspora in Denmark. It tackles the connection which diasporic people from a conflict territory residing in a comparatively peaceful one have in the restoration or building of strong foundations of peace in their country of origin.

Chapter eight handles the pursuit of reconciliation in a difficult and stubborn context like Somalia's which continues to be unresponsive to efforts. It uses Somali diasporic people in the Jylland area and other parts of Denmark to show how diasporic populations from conflict zones are agents of reconciliation and stable conditions in their societies of origin.

Given that one of the prominent features of the conflict in Somalia is a heavy foreign presence ranging from individuals to countries right up to international organizations, each arguing that its intervention aims at protecting human lives and saving the country from complete destruction, chapter nine examines the connection between the principle of the responsibility to protect (R2P) and intractability in Somalia. It questions R2P's net contribution to peace in the country, showing the challenges reconciliation faces in such settings. It equally focuses on measures which could be applied or avoided to have a quicker breakthrough.

For its part, the general conclusion summarises the main findings of the work. It compresses volumes of work into few phrases. It is worth hinting that though it explains many things about the research and one can connect with a lot of what was done through it, it is not a carbon copy of all what was done and should not, therefore, be used as a substitute of the project. To properly understand what exists in this work and flow with what was done, it is advisable to go through all or at least, much of the project itself as presented here.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Quitters do not win and winners do not quit. That was the message that kept playing in my mind, strengthening my resolve to surmount the multitude of obstacles that kept showing up as I dared the odds and costs of this emaciating project. Of course, making it across the line of victory brought much joy; the joy of an overcomer who refused to be stopped by anything. But I remain aware that things got to such a satisfactory end not solely because of my commitment and hard work but equally because of the tremendous assistance from individuals and organizations who shared the vision of this project and acted in ways that facilitated the successful handling of my different tasks.

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In an interestingly related manner, intractable conflicts are to peacemakers and conflict therapists what incurable and resistant diseases are to physicians and medical science researchers. Both put to test the ability and ingenuity of those who seek to uncover their nature and develop solutions to deal with their difficult character.

In the case of intractable conflicts, they are different in many ways from other conflicts, displaying features which do not only make them hard to handle but set them apart in many respects (Kudish, Cohen-Chen and Halperin, 2015). Unlike a lot of other situations, for instance, they defy solutions and resist what is widely known to work for other conflicts (Bercovitch, 2003; Coleman, 2003; Crocker, Hampson and Aall, 2005). Apart from difficulties posed to those working against them and those living in places where they occur, these conflicts amplify the issues responsible for their occurrence and present themselves as no ordinary challenge. Consequently, dealing with them always requires the taking of special measures as well as having sound understanding of the dynamics connected to the strength and stubbornness they display (Jones, 2015).

The longer they stay the more their character of resistance strengthens, making them a worrisome issue with effects which spread beyond their occurrence zone producing things like displacement, bloodshed, trauma, societal dislocation and a host of other social ills that take away the beauty of life (Vallacher, Coleman, Nowak and Bui-Wrzosinska, 2010; Harris, 2007).

As a result of their complex nature, managing them or securing a definite solution is hard indeed. As shall soon be noticed, it requires the application of not just any kind of remedy but specially tried and tested transformation techniques that can stand the test of time and survive the activities of peace spoilers who are always many in such settings. Complete eradication is hard to achieve as well because of the wounds and unique challenges people have been victim of for long. However, it is

possible to transform them (Arrey, 2013). I talk of transformation not resolution or mitigation because I believe, and have argued in different chapters, that such conflicts are hard to resolve but easier to transform into more acceptable situations. Transformation leads to the birth of new conditions and realities that did not exist before but are capable of working for peace and promoting its preservation.

This phenomenon of intractability is somehow baffling because conflict is not supposed to be difficult to eradicate given that humans generally show greater preference for peace and act in ways that reveal their desire to stay out of hurt than in it. It is true that some works have provided evidences supporting the hypothesis that humans are aggressive in nature, citing the presence of hormones like testosterone in their system as being responsible for this aggressiveness (Mitchell, 2014; Chichinadze, Lazarashvili, Chichinadze, Gachechiladze, 2012; Hermanas, Ramsey, van Honk, 2008). But generally, when in a position to make a choice to foster their well-being, clear-minded humans normally prefer a safe and peaceful lifestyle, not a painful and perilous one. They choose the path of pain only in extreme cases where circumstances like gross injustice or a strong feeling of revenge emanating from memories of victimhood suffered in the past push them to undertake actions that might put their lives at risk.

Since humans shun pain and prefer scenarios where things go well with them, one might wonder why there are so many conflicts with some lasting for long and having a seemingly eternal lifespan. This is intriguing especially given the fact that information now exists regarding why conflicts occur, what makes them grow in intensity and last for long in some cases and how they can be handled. Not surprisingly, a lot of the reasons explaining the prevalence of conflicts are connected to realities like incompatible interests, betrayals, survival struggles and irritating behaviours from others; not natural aggressiveness on the part of humans (Mayer, 2012). Evidently, to be aware of why some conflicts exhibit strange behaviours and defy the efforts of conflict therapists is not enough to effect change and bring in peace. It takes far more than this to get desired results. This include, though not limited

to, a sound understanding of some important dynamics connected to why the conflicts act the way they do and, very important, the application of proper reconciliation and peacebuilding approaches that can orchestrate a change.

First, one must be careful not to subscribe to anything that promotes pessimism and the belief that a particular case is an impossible one. That is why linking conflicts to a naturally aggressive lifestyle on the part of humans did not appeal to me quite much; at least not in the case of Somalia's intergroup conflict used as the case study of this project. There was not enough evidence to justify such a position in an empirical manner. It is a hard case, yes, but it remains transformable. I have contributed in showing how to go about things and get a stalled situation making progress once again.

This increasing understanding of conflicts has led to the production of different works, some of which contain tools and techniques to apply in specific situations to produce results that decrease strife and foster the prevalence of peace between people and societies (Heap, 2015; Dana, 2001; Rosenberg, 2012; Hornickel, 2014). It should be indicated that many of the things that make conflict what it is do not just occur naturally but are learned. They are real and explainable occurrences. This implies that solutions will equally not suddenly appear but have to be learned or taught to be wisely and effectively applied. That is why the concept of understanding, not just knowing, is so vital in having victory over recalcitrant conflicts of our time. It is one of the key goals of this work. People currently know a lot about conflicts but I noticed that there is real need for more understanding. Things are lagging behind in this area.

Even with the increase in understanding, many things still cause puzzles at the end of the day. For instance, if the reasons why conflicts occur are known including knowledge regarding why they flourish, logically, there should be no delay in getting a solution and restoring peace. Ironically, this is not the case. Conflicts abound everywhere in kinds and types in spite of the increasing availability of knowledge and growing understanding. As highlighted in different chapters, contrary to what



normal thinking suggests, once the issues that orchestrated a conflict and those giving it life are identified and addressed it is no guarantee that peace will automatically return.

This is partly because it takes a lot to restore peace once it gets disrupted. That is why protecting, harnessing and promoting it remains an assignment both individuals and societies are expected to be engaged in daily. The dividends are obvious and it is far easier and cheaper to keep peace in tact than to restore it when disrupted. In fact, once lost, the price of having it back is extremely high and full of emaciating efforts rational thinkers should shun.

For example, the immediate and most publicised factor that began a conflict is not usually the sole root feeding it and responsible for its continuity (Farah, Muchie and Gundel, 2007). Therefore, defeating it is no guarantee that the conflict will be over. It is just one of the many steps required to get things going again. Moreover, the behaviour of certain conflicts, especially intractable ones like Somalia's, are unpredictable and do not follow specific patterns all the time which once mastered can guide the application of specific solution packages to obtain desired results (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2015; Kleist, 2008, 2010; Samatar, 2001).

As the project has shown, conflicts are the products of a lot of forces. The issues involved are simultaneously subtle and complex and can dribble even an experienced peacemaker or shame the wisdom of knowledgeable conflict experts as has been observed in Somalia and many other intractable cases around the world. Consequently, overturning a conflict to restore peace is not solely a function of what one knows and how successful one had been in previous occasions. This is because each conflict is unique in its own way and responds differently from others when approached in a given manner instead of another.

Therefore, the specifics of each case need to be adequately mastered without which the prospects of getting a satisfactory solution will be narrow and elusive (Mayer, 2012). This is partly why some

conflicts stay for long though many experienced actors may be involved and doing their best against them.

Worthy of note is the fact that the road that takes a society from peace to conflict will not necessarily take it from conflict to peace when used to make the return journey. Going back to peace from conflict is usually a more difficult, longer and bumpy ride with greater and suffocating challenges. Here, the stakes are higher involving multitude of issues which were either not seen or were simply ignored when taking the decision to use coercion and brutality, instead of a different less injurious alternative, as the means to achieve set goals (Arrey, 2013).

As I get ready to present the wider picture and look at things more profoundly, it is helpful to consider a common example from the family, the basic unit of society. The roots of intractable conflicts usually extend as far down as families because they are the blocks that make up human communities. This implies they should be part of any solution parties are seeking today. Moreover, it is wise to keep an eye on them and monitor their fate when trying to develop a remedy for any society's conflict or formulate an equation that can be applicable in a larger political grouping. Inasmuch as these larger units are important and convey the intractable message clearer they are simply a combination of families and will not exist without them.

Now, taking an example from two families, consider the situation where an intense conflict erupts because one of the parties took a member of the other, say the spouse. If the issue is not confronted early enough and dealt with it can grow and become destructive with the addition of allies, advisers and backers, which is what usually occurs in conflict situations. Normal thinking will have it that since the spouse is the cause of the conflict, returning them to the legitimate family will lead to peace.

Practically, even in simple cases like this, it is not what usually happens. It gets even more complex in bigger intractable contexts. Yes, dealing with the main issue can defuse tension and move the situation towards peace but usually, that does not lead to total normalisation of relations. This is because once an issue develops into a conflict, a platform gets created where the conflict reproduces vectors and negative energy that cause outbreaks of other conflicts or complicate the current. That is why understanding the context and subtle realities of any conflict is a necessity and should not be compromised no matter how much one is tempted to make them play second fiddle (Harris, 2007).

In this example, the return of the spouse is unlikely to be the endpoint of the matter because many other issues always get created by the initial problem. Here, it is most likely going to include things like hurt, trauma, betrayal, emotional wounds, loss of trust and even pregnancy, which require time and other initiatives, other than simply the return of the spouse, to rectify.

Perhaps, one might be wondering if the situation will not be different in the case of states given that they are bigger than families and play by different realities. It was discovered that it is even a bigger issue with them. Here, returning to peace is a journey which can be both exhaustive and risky not only to the parties in conflict but the peacemaker as well (Lederach, 2007). Whenever a state has to make this return journey, it is obliged to go through a lot of detours and challenging realities because lots of damages usually occur apart from the disruption of peace which must be fixed before life can come back to normal as it once was.

Even when it deals with what was thought to be the cause of the issue and uses the same route which moved it from peace to return there, it will not get there easily. In intractable intergroup conflicts, it never even gets there in a lot of cases because it becomes impossible to take the society back to the exact state it used to be after its people have lived for years and even generations in irreconcilable division.

That is why intervening parties must know which solution package to apply in specific cases by mastering when it is better, for example, to use conflict resolution techniques as expounded by the likes of Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall (2011) and when conflict transformation or any of the other ones expounded by the likes of Bar-Tal (2010, 2013), Kriesberg (2012), Lederach, (2007, 2010), Diamond and McDonald (1996) are preferable.

In Somalia, the focus of this study, many peace conferences and other such initiatives have been organised but failed to lead to peace. A key reason responsible for the lack of success of many of these initiatives and hence the longevity of the conflict is the fact that intervening parties kept struggling to re-establish the kind of unified state that existed before conflict and chaos began which had all Somalis in the same political box controlled by power from Mogadishu (Menkhaus, 2010; Samatar, 2001). This is no objection to unity. In fact, the reconstitution of public political authority and the remaking of a prosperous, stable, safe and economically vibrant Somalia is not only the dream of many Somalis but others around the world (Farah, Muchie and Gundel, 2007) including this researcher.

However, inasmuch as getting things back to where they used to be is important, it is not forcibly the best or only thing to try to do at all cost. It is one of the traps that have kept conflicts grounded, making no progress. Of course, thinking of the past and hoping for its restoration is not bad. The past is part of the people and many of them actually miss it and have great memories they want to experience again. But in a lot of instances, events have kept reminding scholars, professionals and other stakeholders of problematic conflicts like Somalia's that a return to a specific past can be an impossibility and any effort in this regard, no matter how nice it might seem, will not only complicate things but can promote intractability because given current realities, things cannot just go back there. It is wise to quickly come to that understanding when one should. That is why it matters a lot to know whether a conflict is best suited for transformation or resolution or none of them but something else.

Those kinds of memories and feelings of nostalgia about the past are known to foster an extreme determination in people to keep fighting – a situation which can indefinitely hold a conflict hostage and deprive societies of the abundance of other peace options they can use to make life blissful for their people even though it might be different from what they used to have before.

The reason is not because of any low sense of peace or natural aggressiveness of Somalis and those from outside who have intervened but because such efforts are usually driven by strong emotions and memories of a once glorious past that should be restored and not by any empirical justification emanating from the situation that such a move is the best and right thing to do. Returning is usually complex because many things fall apart once a conflict escalates. Some of them lead to divisions and deep wounds that require a long time, even many generations, to heal (Handelman and Pearson, 2014). Even after the healing process is completed, scars usually remain that need to be treated in a special way so as not to open and expose old wounds parties thought had gone for good.

Therefore, parties should guard against nostalgia from certain group members and be sufficiently pragmatic in their handling of conflicts because certain emotions can keep a peace process in a state of stagnation for long. In addition, they can fan flames of fighting, causing massive destruction while disguising themselves as drivers of a legitimate struggle for peace and restoration of a society's glorious past.

This implies that any attempt to unite the people to eat from the same plate without adequately taking other realities into account just because unity is a nice goal is not only unwise but dangerous and might not help the cause of stable peace as supposed (Netabay, 2007). There are different forms and ways of staying united. The best for the moment should be the target of the peacemaker not forcibly the one that had always been there from the days of old.

As can be observed in Somalia, it is clear that the people desire peace and consider it a positive development. Speaking to Somalis in the streets of Denmark, many expressed eagerness to see a vibrant and successful Somalia come into existence soonest (Interview with Ahmed, 2015; Mohamed, 2015). They want their country back on its feet. But many are concerned that going back to the experience of old and reviving the central, powerful government is not expedient. They prefer a political arrangement where they can be sure of being in charge, having a say in state affairs without any excessively strong political body jumping in to swallow up their voices or menacing their liberty the way Siad Barre's regime did before its overthrow in 1991 (Menkhaus, 2010).

As Dietrich and Sützl (1997) indicate, there are many peaces, not just one peace. There are equally different ways of attaining each. Reversing or overcoming a conflict is not a one way traffic. It is important to note this and also know which kind of peace is best for a particular society given the uniqueness of its context. This is important especially for societies that suffered from long and traumatising experiences that left deep, bleeding wounds in their people. Such usually live with a strong feeling for revenge.

Not paying attention to this and just going ahead with the target of achieving peace by putting an end to fighting will lead to difficulties in the future no matter the level of determination and sacrifice of those involved (Dietrich, 2012). This is because in such situations, it is mostly eye-catching incidents like bloodshed, starvation and killing that will be targeted and either reduced or stopped; not the underlying issues like hurt and feelings of victimhood which are the veritable propagators of fighting and intractability.

Though one might wonder why this monolithic approach dominated the thinking of many in the peace and conflict world for so long even though it was clear that things were stuck and progress was not being made in lots of cases, their difficulties are understandable. First of all, the languages used in societies, it should be recalled, are not just a medium of communication but a shaper of thoughts

and an influencer of actions. Many of these languages give the impression that peace is one thing; not many. For example, a lot of them have the word peace only in the singular form, not plural, even though it is not a verb but a noun (Arrey, 2015).

Any attempt to break free from this linguistic confinement to approach peace in plural terms looks absurd, unfashionable and usually attracts some kind of opposition. This confinement stripped peace of much of what it actually entails. This stirred the ire and disapproval of certain researchers and writers. Not only did some become vocal against the impact of accepting and remaining in such a trap but actually proposed that peace should no longer be used as a noun but a verb in languages or at least in the vocabulary of peace studies (Wolfe, 2012). Making it to stay as a noun and obliging everyone to view it as a single-destination word is inadmissible and one of the most linguistically grotesque phenomena to live with in a world that needs and seeks peace like ours.

Muñoz (2010) holds that peace means different things in different contexts and it is helpful to recognise and yield to its multifaceted nature to allow it fit in different contexts desirably without being compelled or restrained to manifest only in a given preconceived way. As he contends, all peaces – big, small, medium, local, international, among individuals or societies should be treated contextually, bearing in mind that they differ from one another and should be approached based on the circumstances in question. That is why the researcher referred to it as imperfect peace because it is a process that is always in progress – a kind of unfinished task that can always be ameliorated or made better.

Languages have been inflexible and slow to accept this. When one writes the word in plural to be able to use it in a plural context of conflict it will be rejected by both machines and other established systems. In English, for instance, the word *peace* is accepted by machines, people and systems but not *peaces*. This will be underlined or marked as wrong, sanctioning an immediate disapproval of any attempt to break the limitation and think out of the box.

In Denmark where the Somali diaspora studied by this work was based, *fred* (peace) is accepted in the Danish vocabulary (Vigh, 2015, Thompsen, 2015) but not *freder* (peaces). The definite singular *freden* (the peace) is accepted (but not the definite plural *fredener* (the peaces). In French, *paix* (peace) is accepted but not *paixes* (peaces). Similarly, the definite singular, *la paix* (the peace) is accepted but not the definite plural, *les paixes* (the peaces), and the list continues with lots of other languages used both internationally and locally to promote the cause of peace.

One can begin to notice the tight box in which many peace workers were compelled to operate along the years. Consequently, while they did not break free from this and many other things tying them down, they continued pursuing peace using linear and single-target approaches which compelled them to have their eyes fixed on one particular peace that continued to be elusive. They worked hard and strove to reach it by all means like sailors striving to reach an island they can spot from a distance but hard to reach even though there are many other shores, not just the one in sight, they can safely anchor or dock their ship at and be free from whatever raging storms they might be in.

With the kind of challenges and realities conflicts of the current era pose, operating like this cannot work. The peacemaker has to come out of all boxes and fully engage as many options as possible. There are some interesting changes happening now. For example, many currently see, write and pursue peace as many things, not one. In addition, it is increasingly becoming common to find words like peaces used in official contexts. Actions in the field have also adjusted to accommodate these developments. There is actually a paradigm shift in the view and pursuit of peace.

After the Rwandan genocide, for example, many were so angry and bent on having all perpetrators brought to justice immediately. This was correct and fair, of course, because impunity is never a way of achieving peace. But while angry minds felt a kind of an-eye-for-an-eye justice should be implemented without delay to bring peace to the country and eternally discourage Rwandans from ever pursuing such a brutal, bloody path, the society opted for a different and strange kind of justice.



In many instances, it instead went for the Gacaca courts system that involved a heavy participation of the local people themselves in the search for an inclusive, long-lasting reconciliation that adapted properly with the need for durable peace in the country (Sosnov, 2008; Clark, 2007; 2012). It was a huge success. This challenged mainstream thinking and baffled many experts. Some scholars have described it as a sound example of justice without lawyers (Clark, 2012). This does not mean it did not have its own challenges but it demonstrates the effectiveness of adapting the peace with the needs to produce a durable outcome.

We observed this one-focus phenomenon in a number of conflicts including Somalia's. One of the discoveries made is that contrary to a common belief in conflict scenes which holds that once the main thing responsible for a conflict is taken away everything will fall in place for peace to speedily return and flourish the way it used to, this is not actually what mostly happens. It is a misconception. Peace neither returns that fast nor shows up in its original form, notably in cases where conflict has been ongoing for long. The probability of continuing is instead higher especially if it concerns the society's survival or existence which is one of the things that make conflicts intractable (Bar-Tal, 2013, Kriesberg, 2009, 2012; Crocker *et al*, 2005).

In Somalia, many things have been identified on different occasions as the core problem which once solved, will move the country to the path of peace and make it step into the blissful future many have been looking forward to. But that never happened even though such problems have been dealt with repeatedly.

For instance, beginning with President Mohamed Siad Barre, he was identified as a thorn in Somalia's flesh which once removed, pain will leave for peace to come. It is worth indicating that he himself came to power through a military coup after ousting his predecessor who was seen as the problem which once eradicated, Somalia will be fine and rise to the level generally thought it should. This did not make the country what observers and even experts prophesied about, surprisingly. Instead,

people's enthusiasm quickly vanished as, overnight, Barre's government became characterised by repressions, brutality and the use of severe measures which rather complicated the country's troubles, drove many underground and made it a difficult place to live in, especially for those who opposed the regime (Neier, 1988; Greenfield, 1991).

Consequently, regrets and the search for a true solution continued as it did not take long for people to realise the falsehood in thinking that the main problem is always the problem in an intractable intergroup conflict. The changes and better conditions they dreamed of never came but kept being elusive, compelling both Somalis and outsiders to begin clamouring for Barre's removal with some arguing that a vacant presidency was better than his regime (Leeson, 2007).

Coming in as a solution and eventually finding himself in the cockpit of Somali affairs, Barre struggled in vain to make the country become what he thought it would once he assumed power. To compound things and further embarrass and prove many wrong, the country failed again to become what both Somalis and sympathisers thought it would once Barre was gone. They mobilised and overthrew him in 1991 and instead of the country finally stepping into peace and rising to the height predicted by many, including insightful political prophets, it rather slipped into more chaos and anarchy, becoming the world's most notorious failed state characterised by famine, bloodshed, piracy, and other ills which earned it the reputation of one of the world's most preoccupying humanitarian cases at the time (Loubser and Solomon, 2014; De Torrente and Weissman, 2009).

What then is to be done now that almost every option has been tried? These complications are not unique to Somalia. They are a common cycle in many intractable intergroup conflicts. It is one of the reasons why they sap energy and tremendously exhaust intervening parties compelling some pundits to think that abandoning them to evolve on their own is an option that could be tried at some point in time.

In order to go about these complex cases successfully, one of the first things to do is to recognise that restoring peace or overturning them is a demanding task no matter how simple and straightforward the issues might look. Merely reconciling two lovers when conflict erupts is demanding (Turndorf, 1999; Hicks, 2011). It cannot be easier for an intractable intergroup case comprising multitude of people with parallel views and antagonistic desires just because things look plane and easy-going.

Many have approached conflicts without this awareness. Therefore, they did not sufficiently brace up for the realities and magnitude of challenges awaiting them. In some cases, though the awareness was there, they failed because of other realities including the rush to urgently intervene and stop ongoing killings without paying enough attention to other things that work together and must be properly approached.

As a result, though their efforts were sincere and their commitment unflinching, nothing significant changed in terms of getting a lasting solution because intergroup conflicts, especially intractable kinds, require not only a sound understanding of the dynamics that are unique to them but also a meticulous application of relevant measures that get to their roots, neutralise their strength and effect durable change. They will give any group of peacemakers a real test of their expertise and require more than just determination to be overturned.

They actually prove that going back to peace from conflict is far more than a simple linear backward journey. It is a task that requires sufficient patience, tact, gentleness, knowledge, trust, understanding and a careful application of a combination of other measures and behaviours depending on the specificities of the conflict in question. The assignment gets even tougher and more challenging in cases of groups that are bent on not giving up no matter the amount of pressure exerted from different quarters for parties to compromise their positions and move closer to each other (Ducasse-Rogier, 2004).

Here, there are even more things involved and parties usually see it as a survival issue – a do or die matter they must sacrifice their all for (Kriesberg, 2010; Bercovitch, 2003). Some parties might even choose to directly hinder a peace process, preferring to continue in conflict because of the benefits they get out of such conditions of chaos than what they feel they will get in an atmosphere of peace and order. Here, talking of peace is actually the wrong topic that will not be appealing to many. Yet in concrete terms, it always remains the most profitable goal that should be achieved.

But what exactly are intractable conflicts and why are they different? Though many definitions exist, they are related and emphasise similar things like durability, complexity, and refusal to respond to therapies or resolution initiatives. Like resistant diseases, they are unyielding to efforts thought capable of effecting a change.

Fortunately, their complex character has not discouraged but triggered interest in them from different quarters ranging from professional peacemakers to researchers in the academia whose works demonstrate current commitment to understanding their nature and providing tips that can help turn things around to make the future more peaceful.

A more elaborate and exhaustive explanation has been provided in chapter three including backup examples of what these conflicts really are and what they are not. That notwithstanding, it was worth having a clue at this introductory stage what we mean whenever we make mention of intractable conflicts. Interestingly, as indicated earlier, their refusal to go has not only continued to be baffling but has attracted the attention of researchers, diplomats, freelance peacemakers and others in the conflict world who are investing themselves to get an understanding of their peculiarities and master what is making them to defy even the best available techniques.

Many interesting results have been flowing from these efforts. This has led to an increase in knowledge of various aspects about them. See for example, Kriesberg, Northrup, Thorson *et al* (1989);

Crocker, Hampson, Aall *et al* (2003); Bar-Tal, (2013). However, even this increase in knowledge has only succeeded in fostering understanding and reasons for the stubbornness they exhibit, not their eradication or the stopping of new cases from arising.

A simple look around proves this clearly and exposes one to the reality that conflicts are still very much around though significant progress has been made over the last decades. Some disappeared in certain places but others appeared elsewhere in worrisome numbers. They grew from simple to complex in many cases and eventually became intractable, adding to the long list that already existed and complicating the nightmare of peacemakers, conflict researchers and anti-war advocates.

Even in cases where aggressors thought they could launch an attack, defeat the enemy quickly and pull out immediately, things backfired, ending up in ways they never envisaged. As Somalia's case teaches, such conflicts trap both the attacker and the attacked in endless struggles which years of negotiations and numerous peace initiatives do not usually succeed to eradicate (Menkhaus, 2007; Hersi *et al*, 2015).

This has repeatedly demonstrated the lesson that any plan to begin a war without planning at least twice more on how peace will return and survive will lead to costly and painful experiences that will severely affect both the perpetrator and the victim as well as others having no direct connection with the event (Menkhaus, 2012). Repeatedly, circumstances have indicated that victory in war is one thing and the quickness with which peace returns is completely another. The latter does not depend on the strength of the attacker or the weakness of the attacked. Specific objectives might be achieved through war but their attainment scarcely means the end of the matter.

It rather causes it to continue changing in form and method. Consequently, everything but a final victory and the return of peace is achieved. This has been a common feature in many conflicts, contributing to the increase of intractable cases around the world.

What then is worth doing in situations of the kind of intractability in Somalia where options seem to have been exhausted and everyone, from individuals to states to international organizations, near and far, have tried what they know? On the other hand, is surrender not a worthy option to consider as well? Not at all. I devoted an entire chapter to empirically show why pessimism and surrender should not be among options under consideration. Many things can, of course, be done about this kind of conflict. Apart from what has been mentioned above, another important thing to start with at the preliminary stage is the acquisition of sufficient knowledge and understanding of the conflict and its context in order to adequately master its strengths and weaknesses so as to place different parties in the position of applying measures that can disconnect it from its source of power and eventually weaken its ability to flourish.

As evidences have shown, intractable conflicts, especially in intergroup cases, flourish not just because of the initial issues that caused them but also because of strong socio-psychological foundations that are built in the course of their evolution, eventually becoming strongholds that are hard to break but remain breakable, anyway (Bar-Tal, 2013; Halperin, Gross, Dweck, 2014).

These strongholds include the belief by one group's members that the other group is bad, dangerous and responsible for why they are suffering. It makes them feel that the other group cannot change and will desire to continue exploiting and hurting them except they rise to the challenge and force it to stop (Tropp, 2012; Bar-Tal and Hammack, 2012).

As a result of thoughts of this kind, especially given the fact that they are formulated and held by both groups against one another, success against such conflicts becomes really hard to achieve as

each side feels it is right and compromising its position is a manifestation of weakness and a mark of victory for the adversary (Halperin, Porat, Wohl, 2013).

Despite the presence of these difficulties, the need to come up with potent ways and ideas of dealing with them remains as important now as always. They cannot continue to flourish, draining the resources of societies and weighing enormously on people.

This project is part of ongoing efforts against them, using Somalia as a study sample. It is worth noting that an intractable intergroup conflict is like a well-established plant with many roots, each serving as a source of support and sustenance. Any initiative that identifies or helps in dealing with any of the roots is a worthy contribution to the general struggle to eradicate the conflict. It helps in moving not only the concerned groups and societies, but also the entire world closer together since societies are interconnected, their geographic locations notwithstanding. It is on this platform of togetherness, love, harmony and complementarity of the world's diverse people that the peaceful global society many are hoping for and which is equally the driving force underpinning different peace and conflict research programs, can eventually be transformed from a dream to reality.

### **Reasons for the Choice of Topic**

To begin on a personal note, world peace is among my highest cravings. I dream to see an era when peace will flood the world and become the acceptable and dominant global culture with the diverse people of the world living in harmony, acceptance, tolerance and inclusion. This currently seems utopian and rhetorical but with the increase in research and knowledge about practical ways of handling conflict and living in peace with one another, it is sensible to hope and believe in a better future.

Staying pessimistic and denouncing talks about a world at peace instead seems unwise and inexpedient. Even common sense teaches that people mostly get what they believe in. Not believing

in a thing has a way of making it unavailable or impossible to be experienced. Similarly, not believing in peace has the power of neutralising its ability to flourish thus depriving the world of it. In addition, disconnecting from the possibility of living in peace discourages efforts that can move people to work for peace. Eventually, there will truly be no peace because it does not just appear or show up spontaneously but must be made to exist by believing in the possibility of having it and then taking concrete actions to transform the believe to something real and tangible.

In addition, I was touched by works undertaken by different researchers on subjects related to conflict transformation and promotion of the culture of peace. We thought it was important to make our own contribution and move things forward. Given the arousing issues covered by some of the projects and the discoveries they made exposing lots of subtle realities about conflicts and why they grow in strength and flourish in different circumstances, we were surprised that there were still so many conflicts. I just could not understand why they, especially the destructive ones, were still so prevalent and hard to defeat.

Works have been carried out on issues such as the connection between emotions and intractable conflicts, intergroup anger and the resistance of conflicts, frames development, parallel interpretations of situations by group members and the longevity of conflict, just to name these few. Despite all what is known, destructive conflict is still the norm in many parts of the world. People and societies are plagued by them and the tough challenges they bring.

It dawned in me that eradicating conflict and having the type of peaceful global society a lot of people dream of and deserve, it requires more than the effort of a devoted few. I equally realised that this is not time to idly fold one's arms wishing to see peace come. It is rather time to fold the sleeves and get to work that can ease the flourishing for peace. It needs everyone's participation be it in academic, sporting, diplomatic or any other form. Consequently, when this academic opportunity showed up I wasted no time settling on this topic that gave me the chance to make new contributions



to existing knowledge about destructive conflicts. It is just too clear that peace will not be ours through mere wishes and positive thoughts that are not backed by committed actions.

Moreover, I admire diplomacy, reconciliation, policy-making, and peacebuilding and desire to serve society in any of these capacities. I realised that lacking what it takes to qualify for such professions will work against my dream of practising them in the future, no matter how passionate I may be. Consequently, I embarked on peace and diplomacy-related studies to develop my capacity for effective service.

It might be nice to draw attention to the fact that I once tried to join the diplomatic mission of my country before eventually deciding to undertake further studies abroad – a decision which took me to where I am now. One of the things that accounted for why things did not go through at the time, as I will choose to explain, was the possibility that my knowledge of diplomacy and the sister fields indicated above was surely still embryonic, requiring further development. I came to the point of acknowledging that it was necessary to feed myself with more relevant academic and professional realities to be ripe enough for the kind of challenges that come with the practice of these professions in challenging times like now.

This partly influenced why I opted for this program and finally resolved to research on this topic. I am convinced that working on the issues it covers will provide supplementary academic and professional nourishment as well as insights required to be firmly grounded to deal with conflicts and carry out peace-related assignments around the world with depth and understanding.

I am equally careful to ensure that my activities at this level have sufficient connection with my academic and professional past and future. As I embarked on this work, it was my hope that new information on intractable conflicts, reconciliation, and peacebuilding will be made available to contribute in fostering and expanding the field of peace, conflict and development.

Besides, the surge of violence as well as abject poverty and suffering I saw in certain places around the world profoundly challenged me. It was so clear to notice that there was need to do more about violent conflicts given the effects they were causing. No action can be too small to make a difference whether it comes in the form of direct involvement in the field or as an academic work. It will be rewarding if more people show greater willingness to step out and make available whatever they have to improve the lot and precariously shameful conditions of certain members of the human family.

These actions can contribute in making the world a more delightful place. After looking within myself, I resolved to contribute some of what I knew I had and can be of help – ideas, innovative thinking and the energy to search for new solutions. This moved me to embark on this intellectual assignment which gave me the chance to dig into issues and get hold of fresh findings.

Moreover, I particularly feel that reconciliation and peacebuilding are vital nowadays. I have a strong passion for them. Though many individuals and groups are already active out there applying different techniques to bring things under control, there is need for more action. Besides, intractable conflicts are soaring, challenging current efforts in a manner that leaves one challenged to join ongoing efforts to halt their spread.

Also, there is need for new and more adaptable approaches to be applied in different cases around the world. It is my intention to contribute in this regard, showing how reconciliation and peacebuilding could be carried out in contexts of stubborn, protracted conflicts using mostly soft power and multi-track diplomacy in a manner that ministers healing to communities and either establishes or strengthens the foundation of sustainable positive peace.

As I round up this section, it is worth mentioning that my background in international relations equally moved me to go for this topic. It was thought expedient to invest energy and intellect in

something I had spent a lot of time studying. Having many links with my previous studies, this project was lively and real to me as I flowed with excitement and passion through the main issues it covers, assessing their connection with the debates, opinions and theses put forward by different scholars. At the end, I easily connected with these debates and what other researchers had done. It permitted me to be properly positioned to see clearly enough to make recommendations thought relevant in the context of challenging conflicts like Somalia's.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The work investigates what are actually the subtle obstacles to peace in situations of intractable intergroup conflicts which when understood and overcome can transform them and make a way for cordial relations to be restored. Having sound understanding of these hard-to-notice realities is vital in pulling a complex case out of where it has stayed stuck for long.

The work also studies the effectiveness of carrying out reconciliation and peacebuilding in cases of protracted conflicts through the daily activities and routine undertakings of citizens from a zone of conflict residing in a peaceful territory. It contends that diasporic people contribute significantly in reconciliation and peacebuilding initiatives but the exact way they do this is not fully mastered. Consequently, harnessing and improving it to be of greater benefit to societies in conflict has also remained wanting in many cases. Filling this gap is a concern to this project and it is one of the key things it exists for and has attempted doing.

As I noticed, the reasons responsible for the complexity of these conflicts are many and interconnected. Coming against them using a single track of diplomacy is not only insufficient but inexpedient. Surely, it does not release enough energy to match their resistance and eventually overcome their intransigence. Multi-track diplomacy is thought to be useful in cases of this nature. Of course, it is not better than others but the fact that it gives the possibility of combating the same

issue from many fronts using different techniques and approaches at the same time, makes a whole difference. Drawing from it, we studied the connection between the diaspora and the level of peace back home where diasporic people came from.

As shall be noticed, this group plays a crucial role in the affairs back of their countries which has the capacity to make conflicts either worse or better depending on certain variables especially in the current hi-tech age where distance is dead and powerless and from one spot, people are capable of carrying out whatever activities they desire in faraway places, projecting their power to have specific effects in other lands.

Using the case of Somalis in Denmark, we argue that diasporic people from conflict zones who have spent much time in a peaceful land absorb the peacefulness of the host territory by means of different kinds of contacts and exchanges, both cultural and otherwise. Through these interactions and multiple levels of contacts with the realities of the host environment, an unconscious but steady transfer and impartation of values of peace take place. It significantly reshapes these people over time making them carriers and distributors of the peace of their host territory as well as much of what flowed into them from it to their homeland through regular visits and other forms of transfers we have explained.

Since people can only give what they have and not what they would have loved to give, the connection of diasporic people with their countries of origin results in the transmission of much of what flowed into them including peace, political flexibility and an inclusive way of thinking. Flows move from an area of higher concentration, which is the host territory, to that of lower concentration, which is the conflict setting.

It is similar to what happens during osmosis and reverse osmosis. Using knowledge from these processes as well as from Intergroup Contact Theory, I have explained how this happens and the

subsequent effects they produce. As hinted above, Somalia's diasporic population in Denmark was used as my working sample with Somalia considered as the land experiencing conflict and Denmark which is currently ranked among the most peaceful and happiest countries in the world<sup>1</sup>, as the territory experiencing peace.

As will be discovered, though intractable conflicts have challenging characteristics, reconciliation and peacebuilding can be pursued in such contexts with impressive results using multi-track diplomacy's systems-based approach to peace with the help of knowledge from osmosis and reverse osmosis.

Though it is my desire to make certain important dynamics of conflict transformation properly mastered, I avoided being prescriptive as though this were a solution manual. Hence, the work has not been structured to appear like a set of guidelines to be followed as the roadmap to where things should or will be if applied. Instead, I exposed the weaknesses of such a linear approach in relation to complex conflicts, highlighting the relevance of a multi-level interconnected approach which lays emphasis on a series of different actions that can be used in any preferred combination to defuse tension and facilitate the transformation of such stubborn conflicts.

The project recognises that what works well in one setting will not necessarily do so in another because there are contextual differences which should be given due consideration. They make each case unique in its own way. If ignored, they will hunt any peace effort, no matter the determination of the parties involved.

Moreover, there is always a multitude of forces responsible for the behaviour, nature and power conflicts display, making it inappropriate to think that there is a particular one-size-fits-all solution to be discovered by researchers and applied to have victory over all cases. Therefore, mine is just a

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<sup>1</sup>See chapter one for details on the criteria that guided the ranking.

contribution or an addition to the options from which societies in difficult situations can draw useful tips to help them overcome their ordeal and step into an experience of durable peace.

### **Objectives of the Study**

First of all, it seeks to expose the kind of things which make the restoration of peace in intractable intergroup conflict situations so hard. Some of them are so subtle and difficult to notice. Knowledge about them is vital in formulating a winning strategy that can overcome the recalcitrance of such conflicts. Hence a lot of these conflicts keep turning around the same circle for years, making no progress, even though many parties are usually at work to eradicate them.

Secondly, it wants to show the effectiveness of multi-track diplomacy in an intractable conflict situation using Somalia as case study but focusing not on its people at home but on its diasporic population in Denmark. It questions if peace can only return to the country and others in similar conditions through Track One Diplomacy characterised by constant high level intergovernmental meetings, peace conferences and other such heavily funded initiatives by states.

Of course, they are important and needed; for their place cannot be taken or substituted given that these conflicts concern nations and spread across entire countries or a significant section of them. But while the relevance of Track One Diplomacy, that is official diplomacy by governments, remains a fundamental part of any peace process in an international conflict, this work is wondering whether too much reliance on it is not causing things to get stuck and move rather too slowly.

Can governments and official institutions do or lead all what is needed for stable peace to return and stay? Moved by realities connected to the type of conflicts we are talking about and evidences collected on the ground, I contend that they cannot. They just will not. There is too much to be done which governments cannot handle no matter how determined and ambitious they may be even when they have all necessary resources and tools.

In many instances, they are the ones who dominate everything and quite often too, entire situations get stuck for years especially when their interests and issues related to their well-being clash. As explained in chapter four, this has been the case with Somalia and there is little surprise why the country has had to face the bizarre fate it has been trapped in for long, having its case frustratingly spinning around an unending circle of violence and failures.

Divided governments, research has shown, especially in bureaucratic and victory-driven circumstances, are less able to act decisively and efficiently in forging a peaceful way forward even when they truly desire to do so and the matter on the table is important requiring quick action that should not allow politics or any form of division to stand in the way (Fortunato, König and Proksch, 2013; Piiparinen, 2008).

Moreover, in such strictly official settings, when peace and justice cannot be simultaneously achieved, one is sacrificed and it is mostly peace (Armstrong, 2014) especially in the current dispensation of the fight against terror where the hunt to bring to justice supposedly dangerous groups and persons as well as the urge to neutralise their ability to cause harm again is considered so high a priority that all other things easily get kept on hold notwithstanding their importance and urgency.

Given the realities on the ground, the future of peace is uncertain in the hands of governments alone. It is risky and unwise to leave it to them. Even they themselves admit this, stating that as a result of the overwhelming hike of international challenges and the constant appearance of new ones, other actors should get on board with new approaches and ideas to help in whatever way possible. For this is an era of collectivism, not individualism; cooperation, not finger-pointing and conspiracies for mutual destruction. Though controversies surround what actors from other sectors can actually do in certain complex situations, it is undeniable that they have much to offer to make a difference and promote peace in an age full of surprises and uncertainties like this (Berdal and Mousavizadeh, 2010; Barbara, 2006).

That is partly why I am undertaking this study to investigate and then highlight the relevance of multi-track diplomacy in reconciliation and peacebuilding as well as the role diasporic people play to ease the transformation of complex conflicts. This type of diplomacy is definitely not the panacea to all stubborn conflicts as it has its own shortcomings. But as this work argues, it is certainly an option to be considered and given due regard as it has the potential to facilitate the attainment of peace, making the processes involved more manageable, effective and practicable (Grozev and Boyadjieva, 2005).

Thirdly, the project seeks to demonstrate that the diaspora of a country in conflict is not just a group of fleeing people or immigrants who, for different reasons, are residing in other countries but is also an agent of transmission capable of causing a flow of much of what exists in the host country including peace and development to where they originally came from. Scholars like Allport (1954) who undertook research before us on the effects of contacts between groups, especially rival groups involved in some kind of conflict, revealed that this type of contact causes flows and exchanges between the groups including positive ones such as an increase in knowledge of each other including their likes and dislikes. This results to better understanding and reduction of prejudices (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Miller, 2002).

As this project has shown, the presence of Somalis in Denmark has not only led to contacts between the two groups but has also permitted much flows between them which saw money, Danish-styled development, values and peace from Denmark flow to Somalia. This was not just because of Danish foreign policy but because, as we discovered, the diaspora is a medium through which both tangible and intangible things travel from one area to another. Evidently and quite undeniably, Somali diaspora is in many ways an agent of transmission of values, change, reconstruction and development back home (Kleist, 2008).



Next, I am a strong believer in reconciliation and seek to demonstrate that as far as intergroup conflicts are concerned, even in complicated cases where brutality, violence and destruction have continued for years and a culture of conflict seems deeply rooted and insurmountable, reconciliation can still be successfully achieved. It has been cautioned, with good reasons, why one must not get too overoptimistic and subscribe to what is impossible about certain conflicts, especially the excessively difficult ones, just because they want to promote hope and assurance (Christiansen, 2012).

Others, including Bar-Tal (2000), while raising the need to have more works on reconciliation in this age, hold that it is not all conflicts that need reconciliation, adding that it is needed mostly in violent conflicts which have lasted for long; about two decades or more, because such cases have deep-rooted psychological and other forms of hurt that penetrated the sub-consciousness of people and will not be removed just by signing a peace agreement.

To a very large extent, this is true. But I am wondering, firstly, why reconciliation should be such a huge, almost unattainable thing in intractable conflict cases and secondly, why it must only be needed in cases of conflicts that have lasted for long and not equally in those that have taken place for a comparatively shorter period, say a couple of months or few years.

As explained in different sections, a lot of times, it is not that reconciliation is not necessary in particular situations. The confusion arises because of differences in what reconciliation is taken to mean. Quite too often, the concept of reconciliation and that of healing are vaguely defined in the literature of peacebuilding and then used in a manner which discriminates between the bottom-top and top-bottom approaches to peace thereby reducing the possibility of capturing the real picture thus affecting the way they are interpreted and applied in conflict cases (Parent, 2011; Zorbas, 2009).

Partly because of this, this work was designed to show the possibility of reconciliation in intractable intergroup conflicts and secondly, the necessity and relevance of reconciliation in all conflicts of this category including those that have been ongoing for a comparatively shorter period.

As I have pointed out, it does not need to take a long period of suffering, attacks or injustice for a group to be badly hurt and wounded psychologically to the extent that special measures will be required to get things going again. Just a moment of these vices is enough to sow seeds of pain and hurt that can last a lifetime, requiring very special and unique initiatives to eradicate.

Cases like this usually require a calm and carefully conducted reconciliation process to attain durable peace because downplaying the necessity of reconciliation or carrying out a hasty and speedy resolution might end up targeting only surface issues like destruction and bloodshed without dealing with other important ones like internal healing and restoration of devastated minds which are things that are mostly handled by a genuine reconciliation initiative (Parent, 2011).

It should be recalled that groups are made up of individuals. Consequently, just as an issue of a moment can keep individuals in a state of hurt for years, so can issues of a brief season steal the peace of an entire group and orchestrate an intense moment of conflict or feelings of revenge that will need no ordinary measures to take away.

This type of reconciliation will need to be gradually pursued in the wisest of ways that exclude haste and denial that it is not required for such a case. It should be noted that actions perpetrated against people are in many instances products of other grievances that had existed for long but had not manifested. As such, assessments should not only be restricted to the duration of the visible violence. Again, the violence or action can last for just a short time as was the case with the Rwandan genocide which stayed for just a couple of months or 9/11 attacks which lasted just for a moment but orchestrated profound effects that shocked the world and is still taking more time to clear from

people's memories especially victims and others who directly suffered from the incidents (Keane, 1996; Hatzfeld, 2008).

This work, in the light of these realities, focuses on exposing the necessity of looking at the violence that preceded the violence. There is always a long sequence of hurtful happenings underlying the visible actions that triggered the start of a conflict. Galtung (1996) differentiated these realities from the ones that easily catch attention stating that they exist as unnoticed wrongs in societies. He called some structural violence, explaining them as different forms of inequality and injustices within systems which a segment of the society is victim of. So, though there might be peace and nothing serious seems to be happening, this is negative peace. It is as dangerous as any other unwanted situation because in just a matter of time, things will erupt into destabilising conditions that can put an entire society asunder. The day this visible violence begins is not the day violence actually began.

That is why things should be assessed in such a way that the concealed issues that triggered the outbreak of the visible conflict everyone saw should be sufficiently taken into consideration and not just the length of the conflict and the horrifying acts carried out in the course of it. There will be much struggle and even failure to achieve reconciliation if the focus is directed at only the things that are seen including the compelling accounts of witnesses and the severity of visible damages suffered.

That is why multi-track diplomacy is recommended to be necessary given that it grants the possibility of looking at the vast web of interconnected forces responsible for the occurrence of issues, opening the way for solutions to be designed in a manner that gives due attention to the role each played and how their effects could be minimised or completely overturned (Diamond and McDonald, 1996).

It is worth indicating that reconciliation, unlike other sub branches in the field of peace and conflict studies, is among the least considered areas where works are still comparatively few even

though it is such an important area whose knowledge is vital in the collective effort to achieve stable peace (Bar-Tal, 2000). It is vital to know how to go about it in a hostile intergroup context. That is why we explored aspects of reconciliation that concerned our work, revealing the power this concept bears and how it promotes rapprochement in polarised situations, guaranteeing a stronger foundation for lasting peace.

As an evidence of the high attention given to other areas, different terminologies have been developed to accurately capture what exists on the ground and the kind of intervention that will be appropriate for each case. These terminologies include conflict resolution, conflict transformation, conflict settlement, conflict management, conflict mitigation, conflict amelioration, dispute resolution, just to name these ones (Lund, 1996; Notter and Diamond, 1996).

Reconciliation is usually not part of the list because of the comparatively little attention it enjoys. But things are changing. We are motivated to contribute to its development because we think it is important and cannot be left to play second fiddle when it has so much to offer the current quest for stability and global peace.

Fifthly, intractable conflicts have been described in certain settings as conflicts with no solution (Crocker *et al*, 2005). This is quite worrisome and moved me to question where all the solutions went to that destructive conflicts would be tagged in such pessimistic terms. It seems to suggest that they will always be around; one should just get used to them and adapt with whatever they bring. This did not resonate well with me. I resolved to study them and discover things that need to be known to promote efforts to overcome their resistance.

The fact that they constitute so big a challenge to peace implies they should always be the object of a continuous, unyielding eradication struggle because no one ever conquered a challenge they did

not confront and success against great challenges never comes without the believe that they can actually be overcome (Blalock, 2014).

Drawing from different examples, I have explained why I have much reservation against the argument of impossibility, showing that reconciliation and peacebuilding are possible even in hard cases. Inasmuch as one must not underestimate the truth that these conflicts are really a headache, it does not mean they will always defy and invalidate committed human efforts.

As explained in chapter three, among the factors that give hope for an eventual breakthrough is the fact that humans are involved. They are a loaded species with an outstanding level of creativity and ability to overcome obstacles. An obstacle is not a thing but an opinion because every obstacle can be surmounted and things considered obstacles by one party can simply be opportunities and stepping stones for others.

Truly, humans might be responsible for why conflicts get bad and become intractable in the first place but they are, at the same time, capable of developing keys that can unlock tight situations and have life going well again. This is because they are endowed with what it takes to bulldoze challenges, paving the way for progress to be made in whatever direction they desire. Consequently, I argue that a challenge from conflicts can only last long but will not remain eternally insurmountable when humans are involved.

Lastly, I am challenged by the rising number of protracted conflicts and seek to contribute in curbing this trend by fostering understanding of their strength and what makes them flourish. It is dangerous to surrender or give up on any conflict, whether it is the heady type or the one which cooperates quickly. I have shown how peace flows into conflict settings using the activities of diasporic people residing in peaceful lands. As indicated already, I believe that these conflicts can be

dealt with. They are not flourishing and full of energy for nothing. If properly understood, they can be disconnected from their source of power – an act which will cause them to wither without delay.

## **Hypotheses**

Two main hypotheses were tested. However, there are a couple of research questions below whose answers I sought: they influenced the course of the work and the way things were done. First of all, I sought to know if diasporic populations of a war-ravaged country, especially those living in places with a noted level of peace, are a decisive factor of their country's peace, stability and restoration. Using Somalis in Denmark and drawing clues from other cases as need arose, we studied this, trying to have an empirical explanation of the actual situation and the trends involved. It seems they do. But I will keep my fingers crossed for the moment and turn to see what research and the reality on the ground will reveal.

Secondly, like in osmosis where water flows from an area of higher concentration to that of lower concentration through a semi-permeable membrane, this work tested if peace does flow from an area of higher concentration to that of lower concentration through contacts and the establishment of connections between communities with abundant peace and those experiencing peace drought.

As observed in the course of my research, peace actually flows from one side to the other as in osmosis. But unlike osmosis where the movement of water from one side increases the level of water in the other and decreases that of the source, the flow of peace from one society to another increases the level of peace in the destination but does not decrease that of the source. This is because peace does not exist in fixed quantities like water but is self-reproductive and self-replenishing. It can be likened to what happens between two candles with different levels of combustion. If one is lit, it has the potential of lighting the other if they have contact. When this happens and fire flows from one

candle to the other, the fire at the source will not diminish even though fire flowed from the source to the other side.

Conversely, just as what happens with Reverse Osmosis (RO) where contaminated water or fluid with a high level of salinity can be made to undergo a purification process by means of direct human involvement using pressure to make it pass through semi-permeable filters such that all particles and impurities are trapped and separated from the water leaving it clean and drinkable, so can peace be separated or extracted from things that mixed with it and defiled its purity thus rendering it good and refined. It becomes available for society's consumption after sieving out these social impurities and contaminants.

In the methodology, I explained the difference between the two. But it is worth noting at this juncture that while osmosis happens naturally and is suitable for cases where events are working on their own and coordinating themselves desirably without any need of too much human involvement to produce an outcome favourable for peace, reverse osmosis requires direct and significant human involvement including the use of peace-producing pressures to influence the way things unfold with the objective of separating peace from the debris preventing it from being effectively enjoyed by societies suffering from a *lack* of it.

The word *lack* is italicised because I found out that no society lacks peace. Even an unstable, war-torn society still has an abundance of peace. Its peace has only been covered, contaminated and suppressed by piles of social debris and mess of all kind such as hatred, bitterness, intolerance, injustice, oppression, killing, discrimination, just to name these few, even though it is there in abundance. With the heavy presence of these vices, peace stays voiceless and powerless, unable to have any real impact in society, regrettably.

Moreover, progress towards achieving peace can be found when due recognition is given to the fact that peace is not only the absence of violence but means a lot more (Muñoz, 2010). It is a multi-faceted word that will easily manifest in situations in a way of its own if given the freedom to express itself without being compelled to adapt to preconceived thinking of what its true and lone identity should be. For there is no perfect or singular peace. This pluralistic approach is necessary because it does not only help people to be free to operate out of the box but opens the way for new perspectives to be formulated which usually ease the way for the attainment of other kinds of peace that would have continued staying elusive even though they had always been around and available for societies to benefit from. Because peace, in many instances, is an ongoing, unfinished process that is always in progress and can be made better or ameliorated depending on new realities of the specific case.

That is why through osmosis and reverse osmosis techniques, for instance, peace can be extracted or helped to flow out of trapped situations in order to be enjoyed by everyone just as water purification technology enables societies to get clean drinking water from dirty, messy, saline solution. The process does not produce water, it should be noted. Water was always there but could not be used or enjoyed because of the heavy presence of dirt and contaminants that dominated the mixture.

This partly explains why I have argued that there is no conflict without a solution. Intractability exists only because accurate knowledge of what to do is either lacking or available but not properly applied. As this project has tried to demonstrate, such conflicts do not have an eternal lifespan. Because they were born by human actions and activities, they remain mortal and can be dealt with by tackling both the actions that birthed them and those responsible for their continuity.

## **Methodology**

To test the project's hypotheses and respond to its research questions, I embarked on interviewing, holding talks, interacting and staying close to Somalia's diasporic population in Denmark especially



in the Jylland area which covers places like Aarhus, the second largest city, Randers, the sixth largest, and others. It was predominantly a meet-the-people approach to connect with their realities and learn among other things, why reconciliation initiatives often end in failure even though their different clans and groups keep saying and showing through various actions that they truly desire peace. We equally worked with prominent diasporic organizations in Denmark like AarhuSomali. Excerpts of an interview conducted with its leader can be found at the Appendix section of this project.

Part of the materials used in this work was obtained when I first came to Denmark in 2011 and 2012 during my Master Degree program. At the time, because I was not writing specifically about Somali diaspora but just reconciliation and peacebuilding, much emphasis was not placed on this group. I turned my focus on Somalia in 2014 when I dropped Cyprus which was initially the case I intended using. This was because major changes were made about this project and Somalia fitted well as a focus area. Moreover, I realised that there were far more Somalis than Cypriots in Denmark and the rest of Scandinavia. They served as a better sample for an experiment like ours.

Scandinavia in general and Denmark in particular are places noted for their record level of peace and stability. They provided an ideal ground to study flows that occur as well as results which are obtainable when people from a conflict-ridden land and those from a place with much peace interact under normal circumstances for a long period. I focused on diasporic people who lived in Somalia during the country's war and are living in Denmark now. This group understands what it means to be part of a society where conflict and bloodshed were the order of the day and what it is to be part of another where money-making economic activities in a peaceful mind-your-business environment is the way of life.

This does not mean I completely ignored second and third generation Somalis. Of course, the views and contribution of many of them form part of this work but those who experienced the war in Somalia and are experiencing the peace in Denmark were really helpful samples from which

significant lessons were learned which have been presented to help the cause of global peace. From this, I easily compared the psychological and other changes they underwent as a result of the different realities they faced in the two contrasting environments.

Apart from working with these people, I equally studied records of money and goods they sent back home which contributed in empowering families, combating poverty and promoting development. These actions contributed in weakening the strength of the conflict since these were some of the vectors identified as giving life to it, causing issues to flare. In order to adequately assess flows that occurred between diasporic people and their host, I used official figures and statistics of certain important realities about the way of life of different immigrant communities, especially Somalis, to determine how much from their old environment has been shed to the new and how much has entered into them from the new. After noting this, I examined how much of this is flowing to their home country to help its desire and struggle for peace and stability.

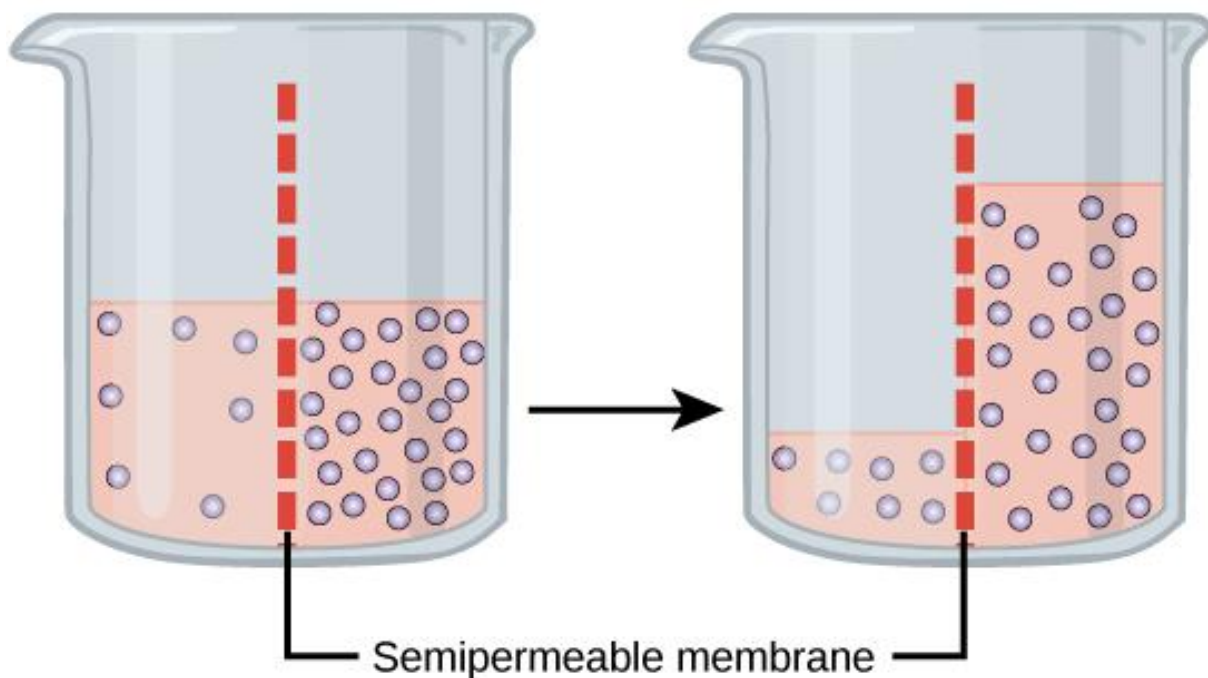
I also did extensive reading and study of works related to this research field in places like the library of Universitat Jaume I, Spain, Aarhus University Library, Denmark, Viby Biblioteket, Randers City Library and attended conferences that dealt with issues connected to this project in places like Universitat Jaume I, Spain; the Centre for Resolution of International Conflict (CRIC) of the University of Copenhagen, Denmark; assessed materials from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI); just to name these few. The conferences permitted me to hold talks and discuss issues of pertinence with researchers, scholars and professionals from different academic institutions and international organizations which helped to enrich our understanding of conflict and challenged some of our positions. As indicated already, I equally drew from natural science, using knowledge of what happens in osmosis and reverse osmosis processes to determine flows between people of different backgrounds and experiences. I noticed that peace actually flows from an area of

higher concentration to that of lower concentration through humans when territories with highly contrasting levels of peace are brought together by means of a mixture of their people.

### **Osmosis**

Simply put, osmosis (O) is the net movement of water across a selectively permeable membrane driven by a difference in osmotic pressure across the membrane (Cath, Childress and Elimelech, 2006; Zhao *et al*, 2012; Kramer and Myers, 2012). In other words, it allows a stronger solution to pull the weaker one or the one that has more solute to pull from that with less solute until both attain an equal level of concentration. Note that though the level of solute concentration will be the same, the water level on both sides will not be the same. **(SEE DIAGRAM)**

#### **ILLUSTRATION OF AN OSMOTIC PROCESS**



**SOURCE:** Khan Academy: Osmosis and Tonicity: Hypertonic, Isotonic and Hypotonic Solutions and their Effects on Cells. Available at <https://da.khanacademy.org/science/biology/membranes-and-transport/diffusion-and-osmosis/a/osmosis>

As can be noticed from the illustration, the side where there was more solute or salt molecules was the side with lower concentration of water. This is because the molecules occupied space that water could have occupied. Conversely, the side with less solute or salt molecules had more water because there was more space for it. As a result, water flowed from the side where it was more to the side where it was less. This causes the water level of the receiving side to rise. The salt molecules could not flow in like manner because they are bigger and could not pass through the holes of the semi-permeable membrane.

This helps in the treatment of water and the separation of things that mixed or existed in the same space with it. The process ensures that what is not wanted can be successfully extracted and kept aside so as to allow what is wanted to stay and be used in a desired manner that can promote better living conditions (Kramer and Myers, 2012).

Many societies are a perfect example of all kinds of mixtures, including conflict, peace, pain, insecurity, hope, wars, injustice, just to name these few. They are so mixed that to successfully orchestrate any form of separation in order to be left with only what is desired can be really challenging. But it remains very possible, fortunately, as we have tried to demonstrate in different chapters of this project, drawing knowledge from these processes.

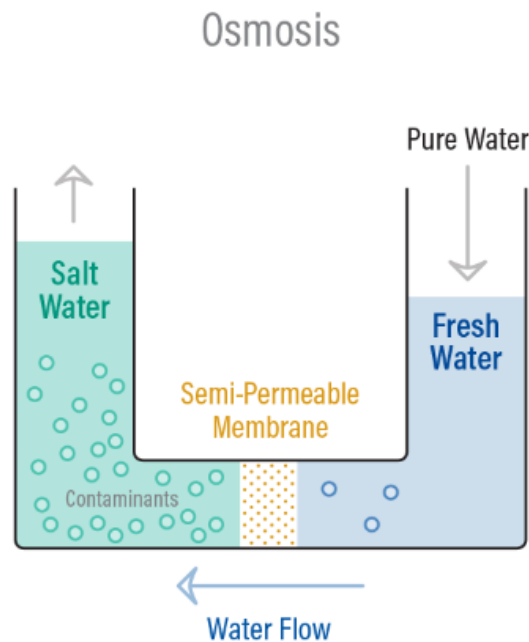
## **Reverse Osmosis**

For its part, Reverse Osmosis (RO) is a membrane-based demineralization technique used to separate dissolved solids, such as ions, from a solution (Kucera, 2010). The membrane, slightly permeable in a way that selectively allows certain components of the solution to pass but not others, acts as a perm-selective barrier with noted effectiveness. This gives RO the reputation of one of the most efficient filtration techniques currently available to separate what is needed from what is not.

It is in use nowadays to purify water by taking out things that tamper with its cleanness and safety. At the same time, it could be used to gather and retrieve important solids and particles when they are needed but have dissolved as a result of mixing with water or other fluids (Çimen, 2014). It is used in hospitals for sterilization, clinical analyses, and other production processes requiring clean and hygienic fluids such as beer brewing and the making of yoghurt. To purify saline water and solve the problem of portable water shortage for instance, the separation process is done by applying high pressure to the contaminated or salt water side of the membrane to overcome the osmotic pressure. This causes the water to flow in accordance with the direction of the pressure from the contaminated side to the freshwater side of the membrane and is then collected for use (Bennett, 2013). The contaminants cannot pass to the other side because they are bigger than the holes of the membrane.

**(SEE DIAGRAMS)**

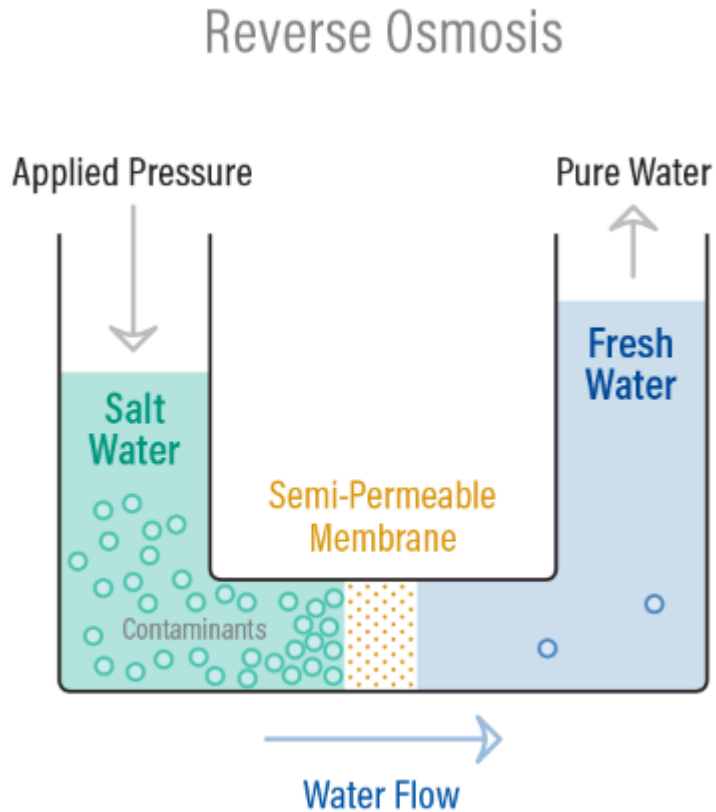
## ILLUSTRATING OSMOSIS USING SALT AS SOLUTE



**SOURCE:** Puretec Industrial Water. Available at: <http://puretecwater.com/reverse-osmosis/what-is-reverse-osmosis>

**Comment:** In the case of osmosis, the water flows on its own in the direction it should go based on natural conditions. Some peace processes are like this. They do not need too much politicking and manipulations. Parties simply need to work and ensure that the right conditions are in place. When this is done, peace and other desired virtues will flow in and take up their proper places where they fit.

## DEMONSTRATION OF HOW REVERSE OSMOSIS WORKS



**SOURCE:** Puretec Industrial Water: Reverse Osmosis. Available at: <http://puretecwater.com/reverse-osmosis/what-is-reverse-osmosis>

**Comment:** Notice the direction of water flow and how it differs from that of an osmotic process. In reverse osmosis, the water does not flow naturally. Pressure is used to influence its direction of flow. It moves to the opposite direction. That is why it is known as reverse osmosis. This is what happens to certain peace processes. They require heavy human involvement to influence things to evolve into an outcome that is preconceived and desired. Left on their own, they get stuck, make no progress and become dangerous.

I discovered that knowledge from these processes is of immense relevance to peace research. It was thus used in conformity with the vision of this project. It fosters understanding of how to separate peace from pollutants or how to put it apart when trapped in a mixture of different kinds of social solutes. I also tried to raise awareness about the connection between a place of peace and the possibility of getting from it solutions that can help in certain conflict settings.

Understanding the dynamics in all of these was a prerequisite to mastering what our model really contained and how it can be used to contribute in making available new, innovative, results-oriented ways of defeating conflict or at least enhancing current understanding of the issue of intractability.

### **Difference between the Two**

Though closely related, these two processes are different. Noticing the difference could be tricky at times but doing so is vital in order to escape the error of using one in the place of the other. In a similar manner, though we used both as a means of salvaging peace, it is important to still know how they differ because in certain circumstances, one will be more preferred than the other because of the greater chance it stands to produce desired results.

To begin with, osmosis deals with the net movement of water through a semi-permeable membrane from an area of higher concentration to that of lower concentration. In other words, the movement is in the direction of where there is less water from where there is more.

For its part, reverse osmosis, as the name indicates, does the opposite. Truly, it also involves movement from one side of a semi-permeable membrane to the other but the water movement is from the area of lower concentration to that of higher concentration. This is done by means of a conscious application of pressure to influence the direction of flow. That is why it is effective in purification processes because water can be pressed from where it is mixed with other things to where it can exist alone and be of use to society in a way which it would not have otherwise been.



In presenting my findings, I applied the comparative research method which permitted us to make helpful comparisons between cases as need arose. However, the main method that runs throughout the body of the work in terms of the way materials have been presented is the correlational-predictive. It was preferred because since we are working on a specific type of conflict and had to deal with issues such as reconciliation and peacebuilding about which some literature exists already, it was thought nice to use a method that would permit us place certain findings and observations side-by-side and see how to make predictions of what should be expected if certain things are done or not done in a given way or group of ways under specific circumstances.

As a result of its application, it was easy for us to assess aspects such as the connection between multi-track diplomacy which in this case is basically about how peace lessons flowed in a rather unofficial manner among human peace carriers into the conflict area influencing processes like reconciliation and peacebuilding. These are practical processes that are achievable even in situations of intractable intergroup conflicts if different actors including the diaspora, sufficiently make their quota of contribution in the collective effort to overcome any particular conflict.

To properly do this, I equally applied the diachronic method. It deals, in this case, with cultural, social and behavioural changes which occur in groups over a given period of time (Chrisomalis, 2006). It was applied because even though we are dealing with a specific conflict, it gave us the liberty to use samples of evidences from other conflict experiences that were out of our focus area to enable us enrich our arguments and make recommendations we considered important and worth passing across. Consequently, I was moved to observe both peaceful and turbulent areas of the world, noting why peace flourished in some and trouble in others.

Regarding our techniques of data and information collection, apart from what has been mentioned already I acquired both primary and secondary information from different sources including books,

journals, and other scientific write-ups. Direct working sessions were equally held which opened me to realities that have enriched the project.

Archival materials, documents from other fields of the social sciences such as Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology and History were equally exploited to bring clarity to a number of issues. As (Welsh, 1971) indicates, the past is a reservoir of knowledge which profoundly helps the present to be understood. Disconnecting from it is to gamble with both the present and the future and there will be sufficient darkness that will not help things at all but will rather oblige human efforts to head to just any direction. In a nutshell, this project was constructed drawing from different disciplines. As one reads down, it will be easy to notice how much was tapped from other fields as the final product is significantly an interdisciplinary blend.

### **Research Scope and Delimitation**

Moved by the necessity to stay focused, this project is limited to just one type of conflict – Intractable intergroup conflicts. There are many types of conflicts but we looked at just this in order not to be dealing with a lot of issues at the same time. Narrowing down the work's focus permitted me to be properly positioned to concentrate on specific issues which permitted greater understanding of this conflict and helped us to contribute tips that can foster transformation – especially in relation to reconciliation and peacebuilding. Because of the difficult character of these conflicts arguments exist contending that though reconciliation is good it is unsuitable for certain conflicts (Christiansen, 2012; Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004).

Others hold that reconciliation can only be difficult to attain but not impossible and is necessary for all conflicts and can significantly transform even those considered intractable when accompanied by remorseful apology and a genuine demand for forgiveness (Govier, 2006; Tutu, 1999). Whatever the case, we have considered these issues and tried to foster understanding of realities that exist on

the ground with the goal of contributing in making reconciliation and peacebuilding better understood, paving the way for them to succeed even in hard cases characterised by the parties' unwillingness to compromise any aspect of their positions.

### **Theoretical Framework**

I used the Intergroup Contact Theory to guide our research and develop our analyses. Developed by Allport (1954), it holds that when operating under normal circumstances and undisturbed, contact between persons leads to increase in understanding of one another as a result of the discoveries each side makes about the other during that period. This diminishes misconceptions, stereotyping, misleading guesses, discrimination and prejudices which develop during separation because an atmosphere of silence encourages the birth and spread of unfounded thoughts, doubts guesses and negativism.

It is one of the most productive ways of reducing issues of disagreement between groups or individuals and helps a great deal in situations of conflict. It should be recalled that conflict, to a large extent, is powered not by visible things like guns, fighting and arguments but by issues in the mind and perceptions about the other party. They drive these actions and sustain people's conviction that what they are doing is right and determine much about how long a conflict lasts (Bar-Tal, 2013; Oren and Bar-Tal, 2007; Halperin and Gross, 2011).

Removing all accumulated things from the mind, including biases, is one of the wisest ways of dealing with disrupted relations (Hewstone, Rubin, Willis, 2002). To achieve this, it is necessary to create situations where these strongly held negative perceptions of others can be extracted or if this is difficult, their effectiveness should be neutralised. It is a plus to any peace process and significantly fosters the possibility of intergroup understanding, making it possible for little efforts to produce great results because the prevailing atmosphere gets transformed from that of hostility and mistrust to that

of recognition of errors and suppression of misconceptions, creating conditions that help peace to thrive with ease (Pettigrew, 1999).

First tested as a hypothesis and then released as a theory, the intergroup contact theory later developed into a veritable academic construction which has been used differently by scholars and conflict therapists as a potent tool to promote interpersonal and intergroup relations. Its effectiveness in defusing tension and then consolidating friendship between previously antagonistic parties is fascinating. This partly explains why Pettigrew (1999), in a tribute celebrating the centennial of Allport, the father of intergroup contact theory, who also has many other important academic works under his belt, revealed the latter's delight in the difference the work made in societies around the world.

### **Weaknesses**

Not all contacts improve the state of relationships. Allport's work laid too much emphasis on the personality and not the character of group members even though this is so vital in helping a conflict situation to be overturned (Nicholson, 1998). Contact can also lead to provocation, anger and fighting. In fact, conflicts, especially destructive ones, are impossible without contact. As much as it can lead to improved relations, it is paradoxically what makes conflict what it is; permitting parties to approach one another and inflict on them what hurts and devastates.

Allport was surely aware of this and that is why he stated, for example, that certain conditions must be in place to produce the ideal atmosphere in which contact can produce the type of results his findings spoke of. These conditions include the call for both groups to have equal status. That is, one should not be hierarchically superior or in any way thought to be better than the other. Next, they should have common goals; cooperate genuinely to achieve these goals; support laws, customs and the authorities in place (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006).

Apart from the weaknesses evoked already, other worries associated with the contact theory are connected to the argument that instead of promoting peace it can encourage an easy flow of intolerance, bitterness, hateful ideologies and behaviours that could be injurious to society. This has been made more valid by the realities of the current age characterised by easy communication, weak or dysfunctional borders and global insecurity marked by unconventional wars and spontaneous destabilising activities.

No one knows whom to trust anymore nowadays especially as societies are a mixture of both those who advocate for peace through peaceful means and those who pursue their objectives through destruction and hurt. Besides, there are certain prejudice-pruned persons who seem to fancy harm and give deaf ears to calls of peace just as addicts do not yield to appeals for a change of behaviour even though such changes are helpful to their well-being and that of the wider society.

Unlike in other cases where contact can catalyse the transformation of a conflict, these ones are like bended sticks which no amount of contact can straighten. It is possible for this kind of people or their ideas to instead become big winners of the opportunities contact situations offer (Hodson, 2011) thus making societies more exposed to danger. The higher the number, the greater the challenge and the need to look beyond contact and question its helpfulness.

This notwithstanding, research still supports the relevance of intergroup contact in conflict situations, highlighting the need to apply it contextually as cases demand because though these are challenging times with new wars and social realities that have strange and baffling characteristics, humans are social animals who will always live in groups no matter their differences or level of individualism. Therefore, tapping the benefits of contact remains relevant. Even imagined contacts still have the capacity to reduce prejudice and improve attitudes toward the out-group (Turner, Crisp, Lambert, 2007).

It is easier and more realistic to seek to draw solutions out of contacts and conditions of togetherness. Whether they are enemies or friends, far apart or close, there is always a degree of visible and invisible contact wires linking people which could be used to transport or circulate peace-promoting virtues that can erode prejudices and related beliefs fuelling conflicts.

This leads us to the Scapegoat Theory of Prejudice which is the other theory we drew from. It has been used to explain intergroup prejudice, resentment, blames and exclusive behaviours that promote conflict and unwillingness to allow a different group come closer or benefit from similar opportunities. The theory holds that when trapped in serious difficulties that trigger adverse happenings against a group, its members get angry and disappointed that out of frustration they blame other groups or people for their predicament (Lindzey, 1964; Zawadzki, 1964). These groups become scapegoats and they vent their anger on them. It leads to the growth of prejudices, exclusion, bitterness, hatred which eventually provokes conflict and alienation that become intense that special measures will be required to restore peace and normalise things.

In a lot of instances, though there might be legitimate concerns within the society, scapegoats are created not really because of any offences they committed but because the angry group needs a way of releasing its accumulated anger. This is directed to whoever they feel is responsible. The latter thus pay the price of the other group's frustrations and pain. These are some of the forces that motivate racial violence and group-based persecution in lots of societies, rupturing peace in a manner that requires much sacrifice and investments to get things back to normal (Denike, 2015).

In Somalia, different clans and groups came against one another on grounds that they were foes and should be dealt with. As we shall see, there are situations where entire groups became victims even though there was really nothing criminalising them. In other cases, it was something connected to the group and not the group itself that committed the offence. For example, some clans and groups got into trouble because a political personality who was an opponent and thorn in the flesh of the

system came from there. Conversely, others faced such challenges because many of the key rulers who were believed to have mismanaged and let the country down came from there.

That is why it could be noticed that Somalia's struggle has not been solely between warlords but equally between clans and tribal affiliations like Ogaden, Isaaq, Hawiye, Darood, Habar Gidir, etcetera, each defending claims thought to be legitimate and showing no mercy to those they felt deserved a serious punch.

Mastering these dynamics is important not only in understanding the key aspects of the conflict but to effectively carry out reconciliation in a manner that will produce long-lasting results. For example, using the scapegoat theory, the peacemaker can look at things when trying to achieve perfect and just reconciliation from an angle which permits them to realise that punishing only warlords and those who directly committed rape and other horrific atrocities during a conflict is neither justice nor reconciliation but scapegoatism. As will be seen in chapter eight, conflicts of the magnitude of that experienced in Somalia are usually the product of a long chain of actors and interconnected forces. The fighters in the field are only one of the multitude of actors even though they are usually the ones mostly seen and reported about by the media.

Other members of the chain include those who produced their weapons, uniforms, trained them, formulated their strategies, provided funding, etcetera. All these actors are usually aware of what the fighters want to do and what their actions will cause to both their immediate society and the rest of the world. Yet they work hard to ensure that every planned operation is carried out successfully (Tutu, 2009).

In moments of reconciliation, only the fighters are usually brought to face justice. The rest of the members of the chain go free. This is not perfect reconciliation; it is victimization and scapegoatism because it usually takes more than the visible perpetrators of an act of violence for

violence to be successfully carried out. It is necessary to break free from these kinds of narrow-minded way of thinking and question everything surrounding a conflict including even the actual role of prejudice when trying to achieve lasting peace (Dixon, Levine, Reicher and Durrheim, 2012). Without paying due regard to some of these measures, reconciliation and the building of stable peace will keep slipping off and remaining elusive even though many actors might be seriously working to make things better.

### **Research Questions**

- Does peace and development flow from a peaceful country to a conflict-ridden country through diasporic people living in the peaceful country who originated from the one experiencing conflict?
- What are actually the things preventing reconciliation and the achievement of stable peace in a conflict like Somalia's even though the different parties continue to speak of peace and stability as their major desire?
- To what extent do gifts, remittances and goods sent back home by the diaspora contribute in combating wars, alleviating poverty, empowering families and weakening the strength of an intractable conflict?
- How effective is multi-track diplomacy in meeting the desire of successfully carrying out reconciliation and peacebuilding in cases of protracted intergroup conflicts?

### **Difficulties Encountered**

Since my approach required talking with people who went about their daily activities and many asking questions, I almost built for myself the reputation of an interrogator and fact-finder some, especially introverts and those who prefer to be left alone or had seen me before, did not hesitate to avoid. It



was challenging and in some cases, discouraging. But I understood that it was a common occurrence in research projects of this nature. Consequently, I chose to always maintain a degree of mental toughness that could handle that. Moreover, I constantly reminded myself that information is not a cheap asset neither has the discovery and establishment of new truths ever been an easy task at any point in the history of ideas and knowledge. This helped me not to waver and compromise my goals. Consequently, I continue steadfastly in a toughminded manner until the job was done.

In addition, given that my university was in Spain, not Denmark where this research was conducted, and it did not have any sister university in the country with which it had direct partnership to aid or make things easy for its researchers, doing field work in Denmark was challenging in many respects. Luckily, Danish officials, academics and even the wider public showed no form of hostility to activities connected to my studies. Instead, they were helpful, encouraging, empathic and very kind especially when some of them realised that unlike my peers in Danish universities who were fully funded to do what I was doing, I had no grant or funding of any kind but battled alone and self-financed every phase of the project to produce the same result as everyone else.

Though it was a huge challenge, I rose up to it courageously, working with patience until my assignment was done. It was fun indeed working in Denmark and I cannot help but hail the hospitality and supportive attitude of the people who demonstrated on many occasions their willingness to promote knowledge, new ideas and initiatives thought to be beneficial not only to Denmark but the wider world.

Lastly, the fact that I could not visit the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy in Washington in the course of this project was frustrating. It was part of my original plan. Not only did my schedule make it hard for this visit to be made but the institute itself did not flow with me the way I wanted when we tried considering the possibility of a visit or internship. Not finally going there was, of course, disappointing but I made up my mind to stay focused on my research since I was already in

the middle of too much work and could not afford to have my attention swayed from things that needed so much of me at the time. Of course, I did not need to visit the IMTD to do what I had started but it would have, most certainly, been helpful holding direct talks or having a working session with the parents of multi-track diplomacy when both of them were still alive. One passed away in the course of this project. That was shocking and devastating. If I had had the chance of presenting a paper or holding some talks at one of their events that would have surely boosted my morale in no small way and exposed me to certain helpful realities of peace as seen by certain advocates of multitrack diplomacy.

To me, obstacles are not a thing but an opinion. They are only as big as the sizes people ascribe to them. I chose not to see the challenges I faced as inhibiting factors. They would have stopped me if I had given them the power to be big, insurmountable blockages. But I did not. Such an attitude was profoundly helpful. Partly because of it, I eventually crossed the victory line. I am glad to have done all what I planned and to have learned so many lessons along the way and grown in experience. Some of these will surely be of immense help to my future research interests.

### **Future Research Interests**

First, I desire to understand why intractable conflicts, after lasting for so long with intervening parties not knowing what to do anymore, usually end in a rather sudden manner. At times, this happens so quick in response to very little effort compared to other very serious measures that were previously undertaken but failed. This has remained a puzzle to me. It is worth mentioning that it equally caught the attention of others including, for example, Ruane and Todd (2011) who questioned why protracted conflicts have a tendency of ending in a rather abrupt way.

I will equally research on ways of improving the quality of peace in societies that are not at war. I noticed that in dealing with conflicts, research focuses a lot on warring communities and those going

through turbulent moments to understand what is wrong in order to get them fixed. This has been helpful. However, I have realised that societies experiencing war used to live in peace and had no clue that they will one day find themselves in a mess as painful and costly as the wars they later got trapped in and have been unable to come out of.

Consolidating the peace of societies is not only a form of preventive diplomacy but is actually a way of fighting future wars and conflicts, depriving them of the possibility of ever existing. This takes away any fertile ground on which they can breed. Consequently, I am determined after this project to work vigorously to promote understanding on how to sanitise, strengthen and promote the peace of societies that are not in conflict by coming up with practical ways of extracting structural violence and other forms of social pollutants from them which cause people not to enjoy the best possible life though they may not be fighting any war and the societies might be outwardly seen as peaceful lands. A lot of societies live in a type of peace that is deceptive. Everything looks fine and peace seems to be in abundance whereas the reality has simply been masqueraded. It is negative and unhealthy peace which can, at any time, explode and become something catastrophic that will be costly in every respect to handle.

In addition, I will research on the connection between living standards and conflicts as well as the connection between languages and peace. Can high living standard and availability of opportunities be deterrents to conflicts and wars? It seems so but how true is this? Poor societies look prone to wars and open, direct conflicts while rich societies seem to be home for complex structural violence characterised by negative, unhealthy peace and different forms of inequalities and domination. At the end of the day, real, positive peace is neither in both. If high living standard inhibit conflict, what do we specially need to know to ensure that the living conditions and opportunities in poor communities are stepped up and those of rich communities are sanitised given that in both of these communities, governments and organizations have been doing a lot in this regard but things

have not improved a lot? Getting it right with these communities and moving their people to a point of satisfaction is a potent way of dealing with future intractable conflicts.

Pending the undertaking of my findings and the provision of empirical and data-based conclusions, it seems to me at this point that once one fights and overcomes things that cause conflicts and promote intractability in societies, they will not need to fight or be obligated to intervene in so many places around the world to make peace and resolve or transform violent conflicts.

# CHAPTER ONE

## JUSTIFYING THE CHOICE OF DENMARK AND SCANDINAVIA AS PEACEFUL PLACES

### Introduction

Denmark in particular and the Scandinavia in general were used as examples of places experiencing peace. This was intended for them to serve as a good contrast to Somalia, our case study, which has been stuck in a difficult conflict for decades. This contrast was meant to permit an effective testing of our hypotheses. But why the choice of these places, one may wonder and what criteria were considered to tip them as peaceful places? This chapter response to these worries and justifies the suitability of these places for a project like ours. It holds that they are venues from which conflict research can learn lessons of peace and new approaches of reconciliation and resolution.

One very important aspect of research, no matter the discipline, is what was used as working sample to test established hypotheses and discover new truths or confirm old ones. How the testing was done is just as vital as well. New discoveries are what help any research field to expand. In social science, especially in peace and conflict research, the sample can be a lot of things – including people and places. This is exactly the case with our project.

We studied about particular people and places. It is, therefore, imperative to explain why they, and not others, were preferred. It expounds on the reasons which made us think they were ideal samples. Of course, we did not use them by chance but were motivated by realities we thought the world of conflict can learn from.

## **Denmark and the Scandinavia in Peace Research**

It is a bit ironical mentioning Denmark and the Scandinavia in a discussion about hot conflicts. These are not names that first come to mind when cases of hostilities, especially intractable intergroup types, are mentioned. They are rather noted for peace and fit more in a discussion connected to that subject (Wallensteen, 2014).

One should not be surprised finding them in a work like this which deals with protracted conflicts. The project needed a place of peace, not conflict, which could be used as a specimen to test the truthfulness of the questions it sought to provide answers to so that at the end of the day, important lessons of peace could be learned to boost the struggle against long-lasting conflicts. Though determining a territory's level of peacefulness is a challenging and subjective exercise, there are some cases where agreement can easily be reached given the clarity of things and the degree of peace residents of those places enjoy. This becomes more valid given the number of research institutions that attest to the same conclusion.

The Scandinavia is among such places which, many have agreed, is an example of a peaceful region in a world plagued by conflicts and wars. Even during instances like the Second World War when almost the whole planet was engulfed in mass killing, shocking brutality and there was almost no chance for any community to be an exemption, the Scandinavia still displayed its trademark of peace by maintaining some form of tranquillity with Sweden staying neutral and Denmark, Iceland, Greenland and Norway occupied by foreign armies. Finland, however, was involved in active fighting as a belligerent (Tham, 1990).

The region is thus associated more with peace and orderliness than conflict and killings. It is worth hinting that at the beginning of this work, I was challenged by my decision to look at the region for helpful lessons when my project was actually about hot conflicts that refuse to go. The urge I felt

at the time was to look at places with hot conflicts and find out what is the exact matter with them. In fact, the struggle to fully understand and come to terms with the truth and wisdom in my approach was so real that the development of my methodology became a huge struggle which compelled me to undertake considerable extra study of other important conflict realities for a long period.

Though research is all about experimenting and daring the unknown no matter how insensible that might be, I must admit that I struggled a lot before finally settling on my approach. This did not happen until after I discovered the wisdom in it and the clear connection it had with what I sought to investigate. These careful measures had to be taken because at the end of the day I had to make meaningful contributions with clear academic relevance and discoveries that can be practically applied to help societies deal with their ordeals.

As Ingebritsen (2006) highlights, many, including scholars and professionals, usually display a tendency of not seeing the Scandinavia as powerful or qualified enough to be the type of place to look up to for solutions when certain pinching global issues are concerned. They rather see it as a marginal and remote area of Europe – because the real Europe they know and look up to for actions which can have meaningful impact on global affairs and the lives of people in other nations is elsewhere, not the little states around the Scandinavian Peninsula.

Turning to the region to draw highly-needed lessons was thus a huge challenge for me at the beginning. But I was quick to realise after carefully studying the actual situation that such views which undermined both the importance and role of the region bore some cynicisms and errors because the ability to influence global issues, especially those connected to conflict, does not come from military power or large states alone but from a combination of forces including soft and social power, much of which the Scandinavia possesses and the world has benefited from for a long time and can still benefit again (Ingebritsen, 2002; 2006; Derry, 1979).

There is a deeply enshrined culture of peace across the region which influences the way people live and make choices. In matters of dealing with conflicts or at least successfully having different groups living together in harmony, the Scandinavia is, to a large extent, having it right so far. It seems to know things others do not and is doing some things others are not.

Its peace statistics are impressive. For example, Scandinavian countries have not, as individual nations, actively taken part in any war for so long that Sweden celebrated 200 years of peace in 2014 – surpassing even the record of Switzerland which has a global reputation of neutrality and peace and prefers a lifestyle of not having anything to do with war and bloodshed (The Local, 2014).

This does not mean these countries have not been having issues. It also does not mean they do not undertake military activities or contribute to military actions around the world. Many of them do. For example, Denmark provides forces to serve in peacekeeping operations of the United Nations (UN) and other intergovernmental organizations when it feels peace is under threat and contributing troops is the wise action to take (Haekkerup, 1964).

Some of these measures tremendously help in making international peacemaking or peacekeeping operations lighter and less burdensome. This is because contributing forces to serve specific causes around the world is a major challenge bodies like the UN face a lot of times. They are usually in need of them to carry out agendas which, though established by member states, are not usually backed by them when it comes to practical application of what they had agreed and written on paper such as providing troops, money and necessary logistics on a conflict case to achieve set goals (Velázquez, 2010; Hultman, Kathman, and Shanno, 2012).

Taking interest in world peace is important and participating in drafting strategies for attaining it is good but actually getting involved in converting strategies and plans into tangible results is better. Pathetically, this has remained the complex and challenging issue. It comes with a degree of sacrifice



many states are unwilling to make and when they do, it is at times half-hearted. In contexts like this requiring team work, Denmark and other Scandinavian countries usually make contributions (Haekkerup, 1964).

The number and quality of personnel deployed for a peacekeeping operation play a significant role in determining the effectiveness of intergovernmental organizations involved in peace operations like the UN. It minimises the possibility of having renewed hostilities after signing a peace deal or negotiating an end to violence (Hultman, Kathman, and Shannon, 2012).

Those who make the sacrifice of contributing troops and personnel, especially the ones who do so regularly, are surely not just meeting an international obligation but are also demonstrating their commitment to peace as something whose necessity and value need not be toyed with. For peace is among goals no price can ever be too high to pay to achieve. It is a goal that should not be sacrificed or compromised for any state's or group of states' interests.

Without concrete actions that go beyond debates and proposals, any envisaged peace or at least containment of violence will simply remain a wish. This does not help a lot, unfortunately, because peace is not wished for but worked for and it takes more than an attitude of passive by-standing to have it in societies the way one can be sure violence and disruptive activities will not rise to cause chaos in the future (Arrey, 2013).

It is partly because of its interest and activeness in peace issues coupled with practical evidences that portray it as a society with important insights of peace worth respecting and learning from that this project looked up to the Scandinavia for lessons believed to be of help to intractable intergroup conflicts in particular and the quest for world peace in general.

Norms, for instance, which are a core aspect of framing and do control much of the behaviour of members in both the in-group and out-group of a conflict setting, are practices which do not just

appear overnight but are consciously developed by members and nurtured into maturity such that they become strong and acceptable in society over time. Interestingly, the Scandinavia is noted not only to have the capacity of serving as a constructive norms developer but is also a norms entrepreneur with tremendous ability to influence change and broker peace deals even in problematic cases that are conspicuously challenging to handle (Strand and Freeman, 2015; Ingebritsen, 2002; 2006).

Peace has a high value and this keeps rising as its meaning continues to evolve from just the absence of war or other shocking experiences to the inclusion of things connected to civil rights, economic wellness, security, the environment, and the general well-being of people (Young, 2013).

It should be admitted, though, that the price of peace can at times be really high, requiring a considerable measure of disciplined and sound actions from both individuals who make up a society as well as those intervening. That is why at the level of states, transforming certain decisions into reality regarding how to achieve peace can be challenging, requiring an expression of tough-mindedness as well as sincere backings from a state's defence and foreign policy arms (Velázquez, 2010).

### **Explaining My Model**

In order to get answers to the issues on which this project is based, I implemented an approach to guide my investigation. I studied what happens when a society with high level of peace mixes or interacts for a given period with another in conflict or experiencing a noted deficiency of peace. I noticed that by bringing much peace and much conflict together, many things happen including transfers to, and exchanges from, both sides. I tested this between Denmark and Somalia not by physically taking the two countries together, for that is somehow impossible, but by drawing lessons from a mixture of Danes and Somalis in Denmark.

Since a society is not just a piece of land but also the humans who have been shaped and acculturated by it to the extent that they are in every respect an embodiment of the society and its values, I considered Somalia-raised Somalis in Denmark as a piece of Somalia in Denmark. Denmark was a completely new place to them. As a result of the conflict in their country, many did not go anywhere else but Denmark not by their own decision but by the decision of a refugee organization (Hansen, 2008). They arrived having no clue of what the future held and were in many ways a mobile fragment of Somalia that got stationed in another country – Denmark.

This combination provided a specimen to study what happens when a society in peace mixes with that in conflict. From this, I came up with suggestions and ways of influencing the mixture using aspects of multi-track diplomacy to ensure that peace develops and eliminates or swallows up conflict and any other thing that does not help cordiality and harmonious relationships.

Drawing from natural sciences, since mine is an interdisciplinary field, this mixture was assessed using laws connected to osmosis and reverse osmosis. All of these deal with the movement of substances or materials from one medium to another when brought together (Hammel and Schlegel, 2005). The movements can occur on their own according to specific natural laws but could also be influenced to move in a given direction depending on what one desires to achieve.

Peace, empathy and love, noted to be very powerful virtues, have the ability to overpower conflict, exclusion, wickedness and hatred when allowed to operate together under the right circumstances. As explained in the work, the former have the ability to neutralise the effectiveness of the latter. It is an interesting discovery. Even when circumstances do not favour the effectiveness of these virtues, there is still the possibility of catalysing their productivity by directly influencing conditions within society to aid them to prevail over conflict, hatred, strife and vices that are pollutants to peace and the common good (Arrey, 2013; 2015).

## Observations

There is much the world of conflict can learn from that of peace. Simply put, a situation of conflict has much it can benefit from that of peace. Surprisingly, but understandably too, the tendency has been to rush to lands of conflict, especially those whose cases look urgent, not only to put an end to the hostilities and accompanying consequences but to study what went wrong in order to prevent it from happening again. There is nothing wrong with the approach of studying conflict to understand conflict and how to manage or eradicate it. But I realised that studying peace and understanding why it exists in abundance in a given place is one of the most potent ways of studying conflict and understanding how to stop it from prospering in a place.

Concerning the approach of focusing on conflicts, a number of procedures have been advanced to deal with different cases. One of them is not to shy away from the conflict no matter its intensity or intimidating implications but to boldly confront it as well as devote sufficient time to understand the realities on the ground while being careful at the same time to apply solutions that match the case in question in the most constructive of ways (Burgess and Burgess, 1996; Crocker et al, 2005).

In instances where a conflict is thought to need transformation, two helpful procedures to apply is cognitive re-framing which deals with the demolishing of internal and psychological barriers inhibiting change, creating new ones that favour peace by means of encouraging interactions between conflicting parties (Asah, *et al*, 2012). This is helpful. In fact, re-framing is a vital part of the solution difficult conflicts need (Shmueli, Elliott, and Kaufman, 2006; Bar-Tal, 2013; Brummans *et al*, 2008) and I have argued in a related manner in this work because of the abundance of evidence in support of this position. But a major addition made is that while it is good to go to conflict lands and give them pills that are intended to free them or at least understand what their problem is and orchestrate a change, it is a serious omission not to look into or go to lands of peace and learn what they can offer conflict societies to help them overcome the peace drought they are trapped in.

This balance is so necessary that not heeding to it, especially in the form of directly neglecting all the opportunities from one of them, stands the chance of exposing a conflict to difficulties that might cause it to be challenging to overcome though much effort might be invested into it. In other words, the setbacks will be avoided and their impact minimised if, like lessons drawn from conflict settings, concrete lessons are equally allowed to flow from areas with greater concentration of peace to those suffering from a deficiency of it.

Flows from peaceful societies can, for instance, challenge and contribute in reshaping strongly held frames by those in societies experiencing conflict or other forms of disagreement. When brought close enough, the peace and tranquillity enjoyed by one side flows steadily though imperceptibly into the other, moving its people to start asking themselves certain crucial questions including why there is no peace in their own land and what can be done for their country to be like the one they have fled to or even better.

Given that frames play a very significant part in how parties to a conflict make sense of their situation and how they choose to interact with those who are not part of their group (Elliott *et al*, 2002) any actor or factor that has the potential to trigger some degree of change of frames is quite important and should be brought in as part of the quest for a durable solution. That is why contact with and flows from peaceful lands is important and the impact has been analysed in the latter parts of this project.

Denmark and in fact, the Scandinavia, is not only one of the most peaceful places in the world, but has made milestone contributions in dealing with a lot of major international conflicts. Scandinavian scholars and states have been prominent in matters that have had a big impact in both the East and West and even beyond to the extent that one can see their mark upon many events of global significance as far back as the Viking Age down to our current time (Derry, 1979).

These countries are known around many places not because of their military might or coercive activities but because of some rare achievements including successful economies in the midst of a challenging global economic crisis and an overflow of peace manifested in the leading roles they played in brokering peace deals in serious cases of conflict such as the Oslo Peace Accords which was the most decisive breakthrough as of that time on the never-ending Israeli-Palestinian conflict that brought new hope to the entire world (Makovsky, 1995; Watson, 2000).

According to the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) which researches on issues connected to world peace and reports annually through its Global Peace Index, an indicator which serves as a pointer to the degree of peace in societies, Scandinavian countries are among the most peaceful in the world. Results of the last study that was released in 2015 ranked Iceland on position number one while Denmark came second. Finland was sixth while Sweden and Norway missed out of the first ten even though some other studies had them among the top ten. The table overleaf shows details of the world's ten most peaceful countries as per the findings of the IEP. **(SEE TABLE OVERLEAF)**

## IEP's 2015 RANKING OF THE MOST PEACEFUL COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD

Name of Country	Position
Iceland	1st
Denmark	2nd
Austria	3rd
New Zealand	4th
Switzerland	5th
Finland	6th
Canada	7th
Japan	8th
Australia	9th
Czech Republic	10th

**SOURCE: Institute for Economics and Peace**

The criteria the IEP used in measuring its acceptable indicators of peace and eventually determining the rank states got might of course, not be accepted by everyone. Nevertheless, it should be added that no matter how careful and perfect a study might be there will still be enough room for different criticisms to be raised and fingers pointed.

I chose to stick to its findings partly because the IEP is one of the foremost institutions in the world involved in tasks of this nature. Moreover, it has strong global recognition and has been endorsed by imminent personalities both in the academic and professional worlds who acknowledged the significant contribution it is making in creating awareness about global peace and educating policy makers and activists across nations.

In addition, given the way it carries out its work, and the fact that the ranking it releases is not the product of work done by a few individuals pursuing their own interests but that of an international panel of peace experts from different peace institutes and think tanks, it has sufficient credibility to be used as a source of trusted information in a project like this. There is no doubt, therefore, why international organizations like the United Nations and others have endorsed its work and also use the statistics and information it provides.

Besides, the difference between what it published and what others found when they too searched was really thin. For example, the point about Scandinavian countries featuring among the most peaceful in the world is replicated in other reports with some indicating that not just the three found in the IEP's Global Peace Index are among the world's leaders of peace and prosperity but all of them including Norway and Sweden.

For example, a recent release from the Legatum Institute's Prosperity Index ranked Norway for the seventh consecutive time as the most prosperous country in the world with Denmark on the third spot and others in the Scandinavia ranking among the first ten (The Legatum Institute, 2015).

For its part, the recently released World Happiness Report which annually surveys global happiness levels of nations, one of the indicators of nations' level of peace and well-being, ranked Denmark as the second happiest place in the world, down from the first spot it occupied in the previous year, while other Scandinavian nations featured among the leading ten (World Happiness Report, 2015).

As can be noticed, though conducted by different bodies using varying approaches and criteria, the Scandinavia features prominently at the top of charts about happiness, peace and prosperity. It is therefore a region of global peace. Denmark has been placed many times on position number one by



many surveys with Norway and the others coming closely behind. When it was not Denmark, it was Norway or another Scandinavian nation depending on the survey.

Even going a bit backward to 2013 using a survey by the Legatum Institute which employed yet another approach, all the Scandinavian countries featured among the first eight happiest places in the world. From these evidences, our conclusion is that peace resides in abundance in the Scandinavia and this confers on the region the legitimacy and accreditation to be a source of lessons of peace, prosperity and happiness to other parts of the world. This depends on the one hand, whether it wants to play this role and on the other, if the rest of the world is willing and humble enough to learn from the Scandinavia's version of peace to tackle conflicts that are currently a concern to everyone.

It is amazing seeing how peace flourishes in certain regions in an era when others are going through acute peace drought, facing different kinds of challenges and hoping to one day enjoy even a brief moment of peace and real security.

This is partly why this work turned to the Scandinavia. We felt that things should not continue to be business as usual. Getting workable solutions need an out-of-the-box thinking. It challenges and puts upon the researcher the task of, on the one hand, looking left in the direction of lands of conflict and assuming part of the responsibility of doing something among which should be understanding how to get things under control, and on the other, looking right in the direction of lands of peace and accept the task of humbly learning from them what can be therapeutic to conflicts and help stalled peace processes to move forward. This balance is necessary though usually ignored.

It is necessary to have this done in a manner that defeats the intransigence of conflicts without giving room for things to fall apart and create openings for renewed hostilities and bloodshed. This involves, among others, tackling the principal roots feeding the conflict and responsible for the strength it displays. In fact, these roots give it life. A victorious approach would be one that neither

prioritises the role of just a particular party but unites or takes into consideration all of what each actor has to offer including grass roots members of society who are usually the hardest hit in most conflicts but are often insufficiently included in the solution-seeking mechanism (Richmond, 2001; Netabay, 2007).

As we round up this section, it should be indicated that we chose Somalia because we felt its conflict has been going on for a period long enough that made it fit into the category of the type of intractable intergroup conflict we sought to expose useful lessons on the pursuit of reconciliation and peacebuilding. It is one of the most nightmarish conflicts of this era that has put not only the horn of Africa but much of the world through difficult times (Healy and Bradbury, 2010; Menkhaus, 2007; Hansen, 2003). It serves as a suitable contrast to a land currently experiencing peace.

We are aware that conflicts of this nature play by different set of rules and what works well in one case might not do so in others. As analysed here, there are some dynamics to be mastered and given a chance. Moreover, a treatment can even be effective in a particular case in one season and fail to reproduce the same result in that same case in another season or circumstance. We contend that reconciliation and peacebuilding are still possible in such contexts using Multi-Track Diplomacy's systems-based approach to peace.

Truly, the challenges in dealing with these conflicts are enormous. As indicated earlier, some have given up on them not because they are pessimists and lack endurance but because these conflicts are truly unique and unresponsive, displaying characteristics which are challenging to cope with. A keen look at the way some of them behave can tempt an observer to conclude on a similar note.

This work thinks completely otherwise and has exposed some keys that might be relevant in unlocking their resistance and turning things around for a more peaceful atmosphere to reign. That is why in our approach, we looked at the conflicts as existing in an interwoven system and argue that

much contact between antagonistic people as well as a systems-based approach to peace can make way for understanding and increase the possibility of prejudices being suppressed, wrongs forgiven thus easing reconciliation processes.

This is possible because issues are interconnected, working as a system which coordinates itself and acts in a particular way. A good mastery of this system, not just knowledge of one or two aspects in it, is necessary to deal with any kind of issue that is part of it. Like living things, conflicts stay alive when they receive adequate nourishment and proper feeding from the forces sustaining them. Like humans, the main actors in every conflicts, conflicts are mortal and can cease to exist depending on what is done or not done. Similarly, because conflicts will not come to an end just because a generation passed away but will continue through other surviving generations, the emphasis should not be in eliminating people, especially those seen as key figures in whose hands things rest. It just does not work. Examples abound.

In Somalia, for instance, the killing of General Muhamed Farrah Aideed, considered one of the dreadful warlords whose activities were depriving the country of peace, did not bring peace. His place was quickly taken over by his son, Hussein Mohamed Farrah and business continued as usual. Hussein was even the one who signed the Cairo Peace Declaration in 1997 on behalf of the faction his late father led as he rose and became a prominent figure in Somali politics. Having proper understanding and dealing with the right factors keeping a conflict alive are among the fundamental actions that can overturn any conflict, no matter the degree of resistance it displays.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, we explained why we chose an area from the Scandinavia to test our hypotheses. Basically, we needed a place noted for peacefulness and tranquillity which could be contrasted with the volatility and insecurity in Somalia, the country whose conflict is the centre of this study. We equally expounded on the processes of osmosis and reverse osmosis. We explained how lessons can be drawn from them to help the quest for peace and foster understanding on how to extract peace from a mixture of social contaminants which have neutralised its power and rendered its presence unfelt by local people.

Somalia's conflict is complex with multilayer. It is challenging to defeat or overturn it without first realising this fact and coming up with strategies that deal not just with one or two issues but the different forces supplying it life. As we contend in the latter part of this project, using an approach that deals with just few of the roots we noticed are responsible for the life and strength the conflict displays will surely not succeed to overcome the situation and effect any durable change. Things might get slightly better but the conflict will be far from over.

We applied our model within the framework of multi-track diplomacy. This gave us the chance to face the different forces sustaining the conflict from a multitude of angles, from the grass roots level up to government initiatives and professional conflict management techniques down to education, research, the media and the collective effort of the different parts of the society. When well applied, it stands a chance to defeat the culture of conflict and usher in that of stable peace. It is imperative, at this juncture, to look at the works of other researchers and authors and acquaint ourselves with the prevailing debates, discussions and findings of this field.

# CHAPTER TWO

## LITERATURE REVIEW

**Introduction:** This chapter looks at works undertaken in this field by others and connects the reader with currently prevailing discussions. Among other things, it aims at increasing familiarity with what has been produced in relation to the subject we are currently handling. By highlighting some of these results and recommendations from scholars, professionals and peace advocates, the chapter helps the place and relevance of our work to be understood and assessed within the context of current debates and efforts against stubborn conflicts.

Moved by its importance, coupled with the fact that old works are an essential part of the foundation on which new ones are built, we chose to reserve an entire chapter for this. It permitted us to touch on more works than we would have been able to do if we had treated it as a little subheading somewhere. As the chapter reveals, research is making encouraging strides in this discipline given the results that have been flowing in for a couple of decades now. It is apparent that more discoveries and breakthroughs will continue coming in as interest in these conflicts and the desire to eradicate them continue to rise.

### **The Review**

If we did this a couple of decades ago the challenge would have been more than what we faced now because works on intractable conflicts, especially those on reconciliation, were very few. Currently, though they are still comparatively small in number, the situation is different as there are ground-breaking contributions from different individuals and organizations which have expanded the frontiers of the discipline and increased current knowledge of what societies should not be ignorant

of. We will begin with works about the diaspora, stating why we used this group to study an issue as challenging as overturning an intractable conflict.

That the diaspora of countries play a vital role in different aspects of life back home is not a debatable issue. There are multitudes of evidences attesting to this. But what is unclear, desiring more research, part of which we have done, is what this role actually is and how profitable or damaging the connection between diasporic people and their countries of origin truly is, especially in relation to peace. Moreover, how can their role be harnessed to serve as an effective antidote to long-lasting conflicts? These are things which remain preoccupying, leading to many other questions especially when the diaspora in consideration is that of a conflict-ridden country that has been battling to break free from chaos and step into peace.

Before settling on Somalia's case, it is worth hinting that research on this diaspora question is dominated by two main lines of arguments: one holds that the diaspora is a source of conflict and instability which societies must guard against while the other debunks this position, arguing that with greater exposure to education opportunities, skilled training, new ideas and a measure of financial security, the diaspora is a vital factor of stability and a worthy actor in nation-building any state in conflict cannot afford to ignore while dreaming of peace and hoping to overcome forces that have trapped it in conflict (Abdile and Pirkkalainen, 2011).

Addressing the Somali case, a 2009 UNDP-funded study carried out independently by Healy and Sheikh (2009) acknowledged this controversy surrounding the diaspora's role. They presented a number of positions from others who had expressed interest in the subject, describing Somalia's diasporic population as a double-edged sword capable of working for both its development and destruction depending on specific circumstances related to how the country and the rest of the world, engage it.

Aimed at understanding what Somali diaspora is actually doing and how its activities could be properly coordinated and channelled to serve the country's development and peace needs, the study found out that the diaspora is not just a major player in Somali affairs contributing significantly to its development through regular remittances, humanitarian assistance and other forms of support but is also a significant contributor to nation-building, playing key roles in recovery and reconstruction initiatives which are helping in securing the relative peace and stability the country has experienced in different periods of its troubled history.

These contributions from diasporic people have been diverse, coming from poets, intellectuals, technicians and many others within diasporic communities (Omar, 2010). Evidently, the effect of their input is real that if it were absent there will be a noticeable shrink that will take the country backward from where it currently is in terms of development, stability and even the unstable peace it is currently struggling to consolidate.

Drawing attention to the huge number of Somalis living outside the country, Healy and Sheikh discovered that this transnational community has not only grown in terms of number but equally in terms of influence. This influence is ploughed back in different ways in their native Somalia. It manifests in diverse ways including the provision of resources to power various economic and political activities in a bid to place the country back on the path of recovery. Some individuals return home to directly assume functions that are meant to serve as a boost to the country's dream of making a comeback on the regional and world stage. These returnees occupy even top government positions that permit them to put their expertise to the service of the struggling country that has been a commonly cited example of a failed state for decades both in academic writings and in political discourses.

These researchers found out that returnees also teach in universities to transfer skills and knowledge and work for international development agencies and projects like the UNDP Qualified

Expatriate Somali Technical Support (QUESTS) which does not only help to promote stability and labour security but equally permits Somalis to demonstrate fine skills that serve the needs of the nation. It testifies to the fact that Somalis themselves can pilot the affairs of their country and transform it into a success story if some of the current impediments are taken out of the way.

Looking at Puntland and Somaliland which broke away from the main Somali state and have been existing on their own, the contribution of the diaspora is even more evident. It is one of the forces responsible for the relative peace, stability and growth these two territories have experienced along the years.

The diaspora is so politically active that according to Healy and Sheikh (2009), the argument about it being indifferent and acting as a bystander is weak and contradicts the truth. In Somaliland, for example, 10 ministers out of a total of 29 were diaspora returnees; 2 out of the territory's 3 political parties were led by returnees; the head of one of the country's two legislative bodies was a diaspora returnee; and 30 out of the 82 members of the House of Representatives were from what I will call *the diaspora clan*, since clan politics is a major feature and an established identity factor in Somali national life.

All these are indicative of the fact that the restoration of peace in Somalia is not just going to be the initiative of states-sponsored conferences or meetings organised and spearheaded by international organizations – even though they are important and serve a good purpose. It requires a lot of actions and actors including the diaspora. As shown in different sections, this is a major voice whose role remains as decisive as that of any other important actor in this affair. Fortunately, this truth is increasingly catching the interest of researchers and professionals, many of whom are committing themselves to addressing the question of the diaspora, looking at it from different angles to provide tips needed in times such as this when this group has grown into an important part of the demographic structure of many states.



Kleist (2008; 2010) tackled a similar question and gave a couple of perspectives that enriched the subject. Her findings revealed, for instance, that as a result of quitting their homeland following years of war and residing in western countries, a lot of adjustments and rearrangements have taken place within the Somali diaspora in terms of social realities and gender relations.

Looking at the case of those in Copenhagen and London, one observes that because of their presence in places whose values, political systems, and social organizations are completely different from what they had always known, transformation became inevitable in many respects not necessarily because they were compelled to undergo such changes but because, as we indicated in the general introduction, it is impossible for some kind of changes not to occur when groups with contrasting cultures, levels of peace, thought patterns and procedure of solving problems are brought together. These flows can occur naturally as in an osmotic process and can be influenced to happen in a specific way as is the case in reverse osmosis.

This is partly why Kleist's work as well as others we shall shortly see acknowledged the occurrence of major changes. Hers, for instance, indicated that some of these occurred in the area of gender relations, stating that unlike in Somalia where power wielded by males was higher and disproportionate to that wielded by females, that gap closed up significantly when they moved and resided in Denmark and the United Kingdom. It should be indicated that these are states where gender equity is not just a value but a policy vigorously pursued by the state. It is considered a factor for stable peace and a way of promoting equality among people without distinctions of any kind.

Consequently, unlike in Somalia where tradition and local values sustained the power and social status of men, and things like gender-based roles where specific assignments were for males and others for females were not really a problematic issue because that has been the norm for generations, this was not the case in their new societies. These values faced challenges. In fact, diasporic people came across new realities which, though not necessarily better, eroded much of the way they did

things before leading, for example, to a significant rise of women on the power and social ladder. It was a socio-cultural shake-up many Somali men have been grappling to cope with.

It is worth indicating that certain imbalances within societies and the necessity to have a change or restructure the status quo are some of the subtle realities within systems which make some conflicts hard to stop once they start. As a result of this discovery, we have argued that the main thing that caused such conflicts is rarely what is responsible for its continuance. Other things feed and sustain it once it starts.

Taking the main issue away is seldom a guarantee that the conflict will be over. It therefore requires the application of measures that should go past the main problem and touch on hidden age-old realities within the society which are feeding people's instinct to keep fighting and stay unresponsive to calls for peace.

This implies that in some cases, the fighting is not only about the enemy but equally against the imbalances and vexing arrangements within the in-group itself which voiceless people in it think deserve a change and will not get fixed except through situations of chaos. While everyone else might be seeing the situation from their own point of view, they see it as their golden opportunity to effect change through fighting.

Even after lasting for many years, a lot of conflicts do not come to an end because the absence of such changes makes people unwilling to abandon the struggle. To them, there is not too much difference between a situation of continuous fighting and any peace that fails to meet important changes they feel are crucial to their survival and well-being. Therefore, fighting is considered better because through it, their worries will keep being discussed until when a favourable solution is offered.

In line with this, Shmueli, Elliott and Kaufman (2006) argue that a lot of conflicts last for long not because of their inherent difficulties but because different parties view the same issue through

different frames and lenses. Therefore, though all might be looking at the same thing, they see different things, making each willing to fight to any duration as they cannot understand why the other party is hesitant to cooperate with something as easy and simple as what they are seeing; not realising that they are seeing something completely different too and cannot understand why they are not cooperating.

As we indicated, one of the things Kleist (2008; 2010) focused on is gender. She acknowledges that losing much of their authority and recognition is a difficult and challenging thing to Somali diasporic males especially those who used to have high social positions before making the exodus to Denmark and other countries of the northern hemisphere. This is made more challenging with the corresponding empowerment of women and children in a state like Denmark which operates a welfare system that strives for equity at all levels and does not condone with favouritism or any kind of stratification whether based on race, religion or gender.

As disturbing as this may be to many men, it is not a negative loss that lessens masculinity, Kleist argues. By means of a change of frame, it can be viewed not as a negative development but as a repositioning to make space for the women and children around the man so that they can operate as a team with each party contributing what they are endowed with for the common good of the group. So, it does not only empower women and children but has the capacity of bringing out respectable and responsible behaviours of masculinity from the male without them losing their position as men.

After all, what is important at the end of the day which will contribute to greater happiness and lasting peace for the family and society is not the authority the male or female exercises or the power they wield to subjugate subordinates but the responsibility in everyone's actions, the wisdom in decisions that promote the family as well as the safety, love and peace those around the man feel in an atmosphere of freedom, equity and justice.

It is worth adding that like other strongholds that promote the durability of conflicts, the question of losing social position is a psychological thing because no male or female reduces or increases in age or humanness when their authority or power level changes. It is simply perceptions and the way people choose to relate with them that change. Consequently, the entire change and where much of the decisive actions that can turn things around are found is in the cognitive realm of humans – the mind. The mind is the veritable battlefield of conflicts. It is the laboratory where perceptions and thoughts that control decisions and actions are processed to influence actions.

As a result, any society that is trapped in an intractable intergroup conflict and desires to overcome it should, as a prerequisite, look within itself to see what is in its mind. It should be willing to make hard frame changes and accept to make adjustments which should usher it into an acceptable condition of durable peace. In addition, the society should show willingness to challenge its own self and be willing to make moves that can help it shed certain unprofitable age-old beliefs that have held it at the same spot for long before moving to compel others in the out-group, often tagged in negative terms, to change their behaviour and stop being a hindrance to peace.

This unwillingness or maybe inability to undertake decisive self-examination and internal changes increases the probability of expecting changes solely from the opponent who in turn expects its rival to be the one to change. This is what promotes intractability. That is why Bar-Tal (2013) points to socio-psychological realities as the foundation on which intractable conflicts rest. They are the reason why these conflicts are so difficult and nightmarish. He sheds light which fosters understanding of how societies affected by them build their thinking to cope with the longevity of the fighting and the traumatic situations they produce.

But what actually nourishes their recalcitrance and why do they last for long? The reasons are many. Apart from those evoked already, there is, for example, seeing the other party as an enemy whose victory is a threat and an indication of one's weakness. Since no one likes to be weak or

defeated, the different parties get determined to give their all and fight for as long as they are able to instead of compromising their positions or let the other's position to prevail no matter how reasonable it might be.

Before considering works on intractability in greater detail, it is important to look at what some protagonists of the conflict in Somalia think of the diaspora question. This aims at helping us have a clue of the views of neighbours in the Horn of Africa like Kenya and Ethiopia, who are key players in the conflict, about the diaspora story in general and their own diaspora scattered around the world in particular.

Mwagiru (2011) holds that there should be no confusion regarding whether the diaspora affects a country or not because evidences are numerous confirming that it is an important player in nation-building and state affairs. According to his findings, 'the diplomacy of the diaspora' (Mwagiru, 2011:39) as he chose to call it, is actually one of the most rapidly growing areas of Kenya's diplomacy and foreign policy nowadays. Kenya is one of the highest recipients of Somali refugees in the world and as we have indicated, it is one of the powers that have been most involved in the Somali conflict both diplomatically and militarily.

Though he focused on Kenya's diaspora and not Somalia's, the work holds that Kenya has come to understand what a powerful and important actor the diaspora is, adding that this group is capable of making significant economic contributions which can effect changes in any country and influence even its overall political and economic performance. It can also alter a country's electoral politics in different ways, including siding with a particular political agenda instead of another or backing it either financially or through the use of the power of votes to move the country to any direction of its choice.

Having come to an understanding of this truth, Kenya, as a nation and key player in Somalia, treats the diaspora question with noted seriousness and has brought it into its main decision-making structure such that its diaspora is currently among its foreign policy targets. It is determined to help it get more productive so as to be of greater benefit to the homeland.

Like the importance accorded other groups, the diaspora is highly esteemed by political actors who know just how costly and unwise it can be to ignore it in the current dispensation where people are able to project their power to affect affairs in other places no matter how faraway that place might be. Senior state officials go after it to cajole and win its mind during major political events like elections because of the difference they have now realised it can make.

Consequently, the question about whether the diaspora has any connection with, and makes contribution to, what happens in the homeland is no longer a contestable issue not just for Kenya and Somalia but for other states in the Horn of Africa and beyond.

Kamei (2011) takes the story further, adding that the current awakening about the importance of the diaspora is not just limited to a particular country or region but is an issue which spreads across the whole of Africa spearheaded by the African Union (AU), the continent's largest intergovernmental organization. This organization, to which all the countries of the continent belong, argues that the African diaspora is not only large and vibrant, but can be an important partner to help combat poverty, diseases, boost businesses, development and turn the fortunes of the continent around in no small way if properly coordinated and provided an enabling environment to release what it is endowed with.

According to Kamei's findings, the African diaspora is a mixture of people from different backgrounds including top professionals and executive managers, to engineers and people with specialised technical knowledge down to migrants and those seeking better economic fortunes and political freedom. Looking at it from a sociological perspective and considering the diaspora to be

people with the same origin resident abroad, the African diaspora currently constitutes a large group indeed. It is making huge contributions both to the host and home countries. Concerning the host countries, its members invest their energy, time, intellect and skills in areas Africa itself is in dire need of assistance and continues to hire expensive foreign professionals to bail it out.

For the home countries, figures of remittances and other development initiatives made in their favour indicate that if well harnessed, the diaspora is truly a force both the continent and its international partners need to work with to make living conditions better for many and reduce the burden of donors and friends who are currently struggling with the weight of the continent's challenges. This can go a long way in checking certain conflicts, especially those fuelled by poverty and lack of what makes living conditions enjoying and dignified. According to Kamei (2011), in 2008 alone for instance, remittances made by the diaspora to just sub-Saharan Africa amounted to US\$20 billion.

Contributing to the debate but focusing specifically on Somali diaspora, Kleist (2008) points out that though the question of whether the diaspora is an asset or a liability to the home country continues to linger, it is evident that members of the group make significant contribution to happenings in their homeland. Whether these contributions end up producing positive or negative results is a function of other factors including the way the homeland engages the diaspora not necessarily the latter's lack of patriotism or any of the negative tags ascribed to it.

The work cautioned that it is worrisome and even erroneous to lump all people living outside the borders of their country and tag them as diaspora, citing the findings of Clifford (1994), Brubaker (2005) and others who expressed similar reservations about the implications of making such generalisations. Like Clifford and Brubaker, Kleist indicates that the term needs to be properly defined because at the end of the day it can be confusing to say with exactness who actually makes

up the diaspora and who has the legitimacy to speak in the name of such a body in political and other settings.

There are terms like expatriates, migrants, refugees, transnational workers and others which vie for a place of their own in this family of words connoting people on the move or those who changed location for whatever reason. Though these words have their particular meanings, considerations need to be given to what each actually stands for and which of them form part of the diaspora and for what reasons.

As important as this may be, I was careful not to be caught in this definition row because though being precise is important, precision is not only about evoking and siding with the popular meaning of a word because a particular word can mean different things to different people and disciplines. Esteva (2006), for instance, points out that there should be no confusion about meanings, arguing that the meaning of a thing or word should be assessed on the context, not the spelling or generally accepted usage. Citing the example of Brazilians who use the word 'no' to mean yes, he argues that those who detach themselves from the Brazilian context might mark them off as being incorrect or think that they are disapproving of something whenever they say 'no' without realising they are instead approving of it and no is simply their own way of saying yes.

Going by realities of this nature, problems and confusion arise not because of a term but because people assess the meaning based on the etymology and the generally accepted requirements of their disciplines without, in many instances, giving due regard to the fact that the users probably had their own context and image in mind when applying the term.

This is important and is the reason why we distanced ourselves from the argument about meanings and considered Somali diaspora in Denmark to simply mean people of Somali origin currently residing in Denmark for whatever reason no matter whether they are skilled or unskilled,



working or not working. Our interest was to test the connection between people who left their homeland and are in another. This permitted us to assess their contribution to peace based on flows that occur between the two sides and influences from the host territory. So, Somali nationals currently residing in Denmark qualified for our study.

As Esteva argues further, even simple words can generate big confusion. A word like development, for example, has generated widespread issues and debates with some taking it to mean the construction of things like hospitals, bridges, schools, modern roads, skyscrapers and things of that sort while others say just the opposite, arguing that development is not about building such infrastructures but involves the attainment of a happy and satisfied life notwithstanding whether one is living in a remote village with no flyovers or in a well-furnished storey building beside a beach with good aerial view.

Development, the argument goes, is about happiness, fulfilment and real life; not things. That is why a remote indigenous community with no modern infrastructure should not be immediately tagged as underdeveloped simply because it lacks these things. That is pompous and disrespectful, Esteva contends. Its people might be leading a very happy life and enjoying themselves in full measure while those with modern facilities that are tagged *developed* are suffering from depression, diseases and different kinds of social hostilities that make life distasteful and nightmarish.

In trying to be the most correct in terms of the exact meaning of words, others have said things that are different from what they wanted to say thinking they actually said what they intended. It is easy to be dribbled. That is why it is vital for speakers and writers to keenly and critically consider words before using them and for listeners and readers to do same, paying attention to the context, before moving to pass a verdict of approval or disapproval.

In connection with efforts against destructive conflicts and the uncomfortably long duration of some, Kriesberg (2015) proposed the use of constructive conflict approaches, echoing the need for optimism in the midst of challenges and the determination to overturn even the very troublesome of them. He provides a number of procedures to guide one towards an understanding of the dynamics of social conflicts, making available some important tips that can be applied by intervening parties to make them less injurious or even produce a win-win outcome.

His characteristic boldness in giving his opinion and speaking about what he feels could be done was demonstrated once again. This contrasts the approach of scholars who prefer to diagnose the problems and raise awareness of their existence but decline from suggesting or recommending solutions, leaving that task to interested parties to find their own solutions based on what they think is ideal and adaptive. This does not mean those who recommend solutions are right neither does it imply that those who do not are doing an incomplete job. In fact, some solutions could be misleading or even complicate the initial problem.

However, proposing solutions and providing tips to serve as antidotes against diagnosed ailments is a helpful and commendable approach. This is an era of solutions. They are needed in all areas because the challenges of the world are so many that their effects are everywhere and even the ordinary citizen can notice them without reading any research work or waiting for any expert to tell them. What the public and governments need now are solutions. That is what makes the difference these day; not information about the existence of threats and problems.

That is why we mentioned that to undertake an excellent research work but shy away from helping societies with what to try for the time being while looking for their own solutions is an omission; especially if this was done not because of any lack of knowledge of what can be recommended but because of fear of criticisms and avoidance of accusations of being prescriptive.

In many instances, situations have proved that to assume that people will know what to do once they are told what is wrong is erroneous. Bickmore and Parker (2014) stated that they organised a meeting of experts and teachers who had many years of experience in the teaching of ways of communicating effectively to avoid conflict and promote peace. The result had some surprises. The participants disagreed and clashed regularly even though they were those who taught others how to communicate without clashing. In other words, many of the behaviours that manifest in those they often taught manifested in them as well.

One lesson from this is that even those who know what to do can face challenges of application of what they know when operating in real life situations. If this is the case, then those with no knowledge of what to even try will be exposed to the risk of trying anything – and this is a type of gamble certain societies should not be exposed to at this moment. They need their own solutions, no doubt, but equally need tips that can deliver and help them out of nets in which they have been trapped. It is important to indicate that the different works and proposals of the scholars and professionals that have taken interest in this subject are like a gallery of solutions from which relevant tips can be drawn and applied in specific cases with full assurance that a certain degree of change will occur.

Instead of being negative and hard on conflicts, complaining why they exist and refuse to get eradicated, Kriesberg rather acknowledges their inevitability, stating that they will always be part of social living and it is unrealistic to dream that a moment shall come when the whole world will be conflict-free forever. Watson (2007) confirms this stating that conflict is truly inevitable. The difference is in terms of how they are handled. Those who manage them well obtain efficient victories while those who do not, exhaust their resources and are eventually defeated and left in more trouble.

According to Kriesberg, because conflict is something that can pop up anytime, even in very disciplined settings where people are careful and undertake serious measures not to hurt anyone, more action should be taken to ensure that its divisive ability is reduced to the barest minimum because

there will always be issues. Parties should take advantage of certain opportunities presented by situations to produce a solution that can be as mutually beneficial to all sides as possible. This implies that conflicts must not always be an occasion for serious mutual destruction, they can be effectively managed for mutual gain as well.

Citing different interventions of the United States in conflicts around the world, the study examines outcomes that were produced when the US intervened with a calm mind full of constructive conflict thinking and when it angrily did so using the traditional, widely preferred, coercion which involves subtle and open use of force. In the case of the latter, not only were such interventions remarkably costly with high casualty rates as was the case in Korea and Afghanistan, but they were at times not successful with the US stuck in the dilemma of whether to continue fighting or look for possible ways of quitting honourably like in Vietnam.

Again, the lesson comes up prominently that it is usually more beneficial to any peace initiative when parties engage constructive conflict approaches or other similar alternatives than when coercion or brute force is preferred. This can lead to chaos and the spilling over of things thus intensifying the trouble, promoting intractability and increasing the suffering of people and the burden of governments. The constructive conflict approach is not only rising in terms of popularity but is also an important alternative to approaches that are premised on the belief that conflict is an entirely negative phenomenon involving an adversary who must be defeated or compelled to surrender.

Bar-Tal (2007; 2013) and Watson (2007) add that conflict is not always negative. There are some which were worth their existence because of what they stood for and the changes they brought. Part of these benefits included outright defeat of injustices that had established themselves as acceptable societal norms even though they were more injurious than an open conflict. Fighting and dismantling them led to the achievement of greater human dignity and freedom which could have come in almost no other way but through confrontation and direct challenge of the status quo.

They include, for instance, the fight against slavery and the slave trade, the struggle against colonialism and imposed foreign subjugation, the fight against apartheid and institutionalized racial discrimination, struggles for civil liberty and the rights of women, just to name these few. A lot of findings in this area are useful eye-openers which exposed realities that can be easily ignored despite their importance to a broader understanding of conflict. We were actually challenged at some points to think out of the box and look at even the most hostile and destructive conflicts with an attitude that there could be certain good and hard-to-see things hid deep in them which might be needed to build the solution we are looking for.

There are some connections here with the arguments of Schmueli, Elliott and Kaufman (2006) about frames. Simply put, frames are attitudes, beliefs and conceptions that have been built in the mind and serve as lenses that people use to see, interpret and make sense of things. That is why two people can be looking at the same thing and describe it differently. Just as two people wearing different coloured glasses, say yellow and green, will see objects in the colour of the glass they have on, so do frames influence and determine how people see, interpret and make sense of situations.

Consequently, though the conflict they are looking at is the same, the way they see it is different. It is usually very difficult to convince parties to change their position because that is what they sincerely and honestly see and think about the conflict. It is all what their frames permit them to see.

Reiterating the role frames play in making conflicts long-lasting and eluding efforts towards restoring peace, Putnam, Burgess and Royer (2003) advice that people should not give up on them no matter how unyielding they may be. Such surrenders are dangerous and instead assist the situation to get worse and cause more damage. The more divergent the frames, the more parties get polarised with contrasting positions that resist efforts of settlement.

As might have been noticed, frames are not physical but cognitive realities that have built up in the mind and grown very strong over time as a result of things that continued to feed people's beliefs and influenced their understanding and interpretation of things. Once people's frames are established they will see and interpret things differently. Moreover, the probability of being caught up in conflict or misunderstanding will be higher in a context of different framing. That is why some conflicts are hard to tackle. It is equally a reminder that there cannot be any real progress in an intractable conflict without dealing with the frames of the parties to get a change or shift.

Tackling the issue of conflicts but laying emphasis on how to arrive at a point of reconciliation and sustainable peace, Govier (2006) argues that the wrong acts and faults of people are not things to be taken lightly if reconciliation is ever hoped to be attained. An intervening party should not only rush to tackle the devastation and destruction that occur during conflicts, though doing so is good and should not be ignored. Sufficient attention should equally be given to things that seem little but powerful enough to continue fanning the flames of conflict and maintaining its tempo. These include, among others, dishonesty and not admitting the truth. It is a dangerous behaviour that complicates any peace process and alienates parties, especially those that feel victimized.

Under such circumstances, they will vehemently refuse to back the peace process and can wholeheartedly desire to see it fail until the perpetrator stops making a mockery of their plight by showing remorse and acknowledging the truth. That simple act alone can move victims from a place of strong rage and bitterness to that of brokenness and willingness to treat the peace process with an attitude that will help it to succeed.

Moreover, perpetrators should repent and express apologies for what they did, making it known that they are sorry for inflicting pain on their victims. When this is done, the stage will be ready for serious talks to begin. Moreover, the probability for reconciliation to commence and succeed will be higher.

To be effective, the process should take into consideration the emotional and psychological dimensions of the conflict and the need to genuinely recognize past grievances and explore channels of moving the currently hostile parties to the point of accepting to work together in a mutually beneficial manner.

Even after reconciliation is achieved, former antagonists need to build legal and social institutions capable of withstanding challenges that will inevitably arise in the future. This is so important that any failure to do so runs the risk of opening the way for former differences to show up again and mess the improved relations.

Zorbas (2009) agrees with the necessity of reconciliation and the application of initiatives to help it thrive, stating that it ensures sustainability and lasting peace. However, it is a concept that could be easily misunderstood, she cautions, adding that reconciliation does not mean the same thing to everyone. Using the case of Rwanda after the genocide, her research found out that while Rwandans as a whole were in favour of reconciliation, what the government implied by reconciliation was not what different segments of the society took it to be. In addition, the understanding of the term differed within the various communities and what one group wanted was not exactly what the other wanted though they all wanted reconciliation.

As a result, having a unified view and interpretation of reconciliation is a helpful aspect of any peace process because accepting reconciliation as a means of overcoming any difficulty does not mean all the parties are actually looking in the same direction and mean the same thing.

Bar-Siman-Tov (2004) and Bar-Tal (2007; 2013) explore this reconciliation issue further, arguing, as Zorbas and Govier, that it is an important part of lasting peace. Bar-Siman-Tov, for example, sheds light to the meaning and nature of the concept and how it could be differentiated from

stable peace. He responds to questions related to why reconciliation is such a difficult thing for former enemies, especially bitter ones, questioning if all conflicts really require reconciliation.

Like what we have done in this project, his work argues that while conflict resolution is good, reconciliation is better because it goes beyond just having former enemies sign a peace document accepting to put their differences away, which is what resolution does, into touching sensitive inner issues of the parties like healing. It confronts the crux of their bitterness with a measure of boldness, laying the axe to the root of whatever was responsible for their difficult and troubled relations.

Like Bar-Tal, Bar-Siman-Tov also argues that not all conflicts require reconciliation and that reconciliation works well mostly in situations where the parties in conflict have certain things in common such as belief systems, attitudes, motivations, and emotions that make it easy for them to accept to go pass a negotiated settlement to reconciliation.

We differ with these authors on this point. According to our findings which have been elaborated in different sections of our project, there is no reason why reconciliation will not be necessary for certain conflicts, even if they have not lasted for long, especially if they were destructive and alienating. Moreover, there must not necessarily be facilitators like same belief systems or cultural commonalities for reconciliation to work well. These commonalities, as we have shown, can instead be deterrents to reconciliation because of their ability to trigger hierarchical struggles between people. We found out that strangers can be more serious and agree faster when working on a particular issue than people who are related and very much familiar with one another. Too much familiarity is instead a huge obstacle which can inhibit a successful accomplishment of a project.

In Somali peace processes, for instance, though outside forces are partly to blame for the occurrence of the conflict as we have explained in chapter four, they have equally been strongly behind the arrangement, funding and promotion of peace meetings. Success has been hard to achieve



partly because Somalis are so divided and oppose one another with a level of seriousness that amazes even though they have the same language, culture, religion, and many other commonalities that can easily trick one to think that there will be comparatively fewer difficulties and things will be fine rather quickly.

Inasmuch as the clan unites people, it is a serious factor of division as well which promotes alienation and exclusion. Consequently, though Somali clans have similar characteristics, clan rivalries have been rife. Groups have instead been trapped in fierce inter-clan struggles as they continue to battle for supremacy and other advantages.

Staub (2006) adds that reconciliation is not only very important but has the capacity of preventing renewed violence in cases where there is a temporary halt of hostilities and the society's different members are living together. Some of the recommendations of this work can be useful in Somalia's current situation where peace is gradually returning and the challenge of sustaining it is a major concern.

Attending to questions related to which way leads to peace and reconciliation, it is argued that reconciliation could be both a process and an outcome. It must not obligatorily be pursued as a linear process which starts at a given point and follows a given trend that ends at reconciliation. On the contrary, it should be pursued as a system whereby a number of actions and initiatives are simultaneously undertaken and allowed to interact with other components at different points and levels. This, in a way, is how multi-track diplomacy operates.

Turning back to the findings of Govier (2006) for instance, one notices that there are certain things which if omitted or ignored, only partial reconciliation will be attained. This includes any attempt to dodge or ignore, for whatever reason, core issues that are at the centre of the problem. This is dangerous because some kind of peace might be attained and the intervening party or other actors

involved might be misled to think that peace has actually returned and the problem has gone for good not knowing that that was not the case. Such situations have the tendency of exploding in an unexpected moment, hurting everyone more destructively.

Getting long-lasting result also requires enough knowledge on things like who a victim is and who a perpetrator is. This helps to take away struggles connected to the need for proper understanding of the distinction between a victim and a perpetrator given that in most cases all parties usually claim to be victims of the other and desire justice or compensation for damages suffered. This helped in broadening our understanding of reconciliation such that apart from reinforcing some of our arguments, our interest in the subject received a boost.

However, like Bar-Tal and Siman-Bar-Tov, some of Govier's arguments did not resonate well with us, especially concerning the subject of parties' acknowledgement of responsibility of their actions. As we have indicated, even though acknowledgement of faults remains one of the decisive aspects in the pursuit of reconciliation, it is the acknowledgement that is remorsefully done with evidences of being truly sorry and willing to change that will effect real reconciliation or drive a peace process forward. A haughty or camouflaged acknowledgement done out of compulsion will be counter-productive. If the victim notices its insincerity, it can generate dangerous retrospective thoughts that might take the mind to ugly incidents of the past, birthing new emotions that can complicate the current process.

Even when initiatives to restore peace are failing and the conflict is growing more complex, Crocker, Hampson and Aall (2005) contend that they should neither be feared nor avoided but confronted because no challenge is ever conquered through evasion or avoidance but through fearless and confident confrontation. They affirm that though intractable conflicts could sting like the nettle, a plant that releases chemicals that cause serious itches, they should not scare anyone. Instead, they should be grasped or seized firmly like a bull that is taken by the horns.

Prolonged tolerance could be unnecessary as this may instead lead to severe negative repercussions. Their findings indicate that there is a clear link between, on the one hand, intractable conflicts and terrorism, and on the other, unresolved grievances in any part of the world and the security of any country considered to be responsible for the grievances, no matter how far away that country may be situated. This is one of the lessons learned from the attitude of those who struck the United States on 9/11 and other disgruntled ones who keep looking for ways of hurting societies they consider to be at the origin of their troubles.

Not long after the surprising strikes which saw the World Trade Center and other targets come down, there was massive mobilization of people from various areas of life to contribute whatever they could to ensure that never again should such a tragedy be reproduced. Moved by the drive to expand existing knowledge of intractable conflicts and the possible effects of third party interventions, the United States Institute of Peace convened an intractable conflicts experts group that met intermittently from October 2001 to April 2003 to look into the issue of intractability and how existing understanding could be expanded.

Though each contributor wrote on a specific topic a number of general observations could be drawn. First of all, it was acknowledged that 9/11 exposed the vulnerability of every nation and was a clear testimony that societies get exposed to many risks when intractable conflicts, especially dangerous ones with many important stakes, are left unresolved. That is why we feel Somalia should not be left to continue in an endless state of chaos and insecurity. It is true that many initiatives have been directed toward providing solutions including intellectual and professional efforts but the journey is still long.

Regarding international efforts, for instance, some of them benefited from laborious and at times, long diplomatic efforts to either bring things under control or eradicate them completely. A lot of actors, working as individuals or through international organizations and regional bodies in different

parts of the world have been involved in different initiatives including mediation, peacekeeping, humanitarian works, military interventions, and development assistance. Yet a lot of these conflicts continue to be serious cases – an indication that much is still needed.

It is not only the conflicts that are difficult. Even defining them has been quite a problem. To some, intractable conflicts are difficult conflicts that cannot be resolved. To others, they can be solved but are simply difficult. But it should be pointed out that there is a difference between a conflict that cannot be resolved and one that resists resolution.

Expanding the definition literature, Gray, Coleman and Putnam (2007) defined a conflict as the perception of incompatible activities such as goals, claims, beliefs, values, wishes, actions, feelings and the likes. It is worth noting that they referred to it as a perception. This is important and played a significant role in our formulation of a workable solution.

Taking this a step forward, Crocker, Hampson and Aall (2005) consider intractable conflicts as conflicts which have persisted over time and refused to yield to efforts which came either through direct negotiations by the parties themselves or mediation with third party assistance to arrive at a political settlement. Simply put, they are conflicts that refuse to yield. This does not mean they cannot yield. Unlike nettles which many fear or avoid because of the strong irritation they cause which leads to swellings or rashes on the skin, intractable conflicts should not scare neither governments nor individuals even when they send out uncertain signals.

Putnam, Burgess and Royer (2003) acknowledge the difficult nature of these conflicts, stating that they can be messy, unruly and stubborn with no easily conceivable solution. Though success is usually elusive, continuous involvement and taking of determined actions is vital. Except this is done, they will continue to flourish in a more destructive manner. Like a bull whose power is significantly brought under control when people are bold enough to take it by its dreadful horns, so will these

conflicts be overpowered if not feared but seized. This does not mean that the conflicts will not be dangerous and costly to intervening parties but these factors should not discourage any intervention initiative because even when they are left alone they still remain dangerous, even more dangerous with the capacity to project themselves to distant lands.

It is worth clarifying that scholars who have advocated for the confrontation approach are not advocating for brute force. Theirs is simply a call not to fear the great flashes of fear emitted by these conflicts but to face and put them off. Probably, this is coming as a result of the way many actors shun getting involved in conflicts of this nature unless they or their interest is directly threatened that getting involved becomes inevitable.

In other instances, states and actors get involved but when stung, they abandon the conflicts and rush back to more comfortable and less risky foreign policy pursuits. Others, drawing lessons from such examples, developed the feeling that such conflicts cannot be solved politically unless the parties have fought to exhaustion and burned all their energy and resources to the point where they are unable to continue fighting and badly desire someone to help them with any kind of peace. They thus prefer that the parties be left on their own until the moment when they are exhausted and see the futility in fighting.

Diamond and McDonald (1996), partly moved by the complex nature of conflicts and the multitude of interconnected forces that usually sustain them, proposed a systems-based approach to peace. In a work which combines the academic and professional sides of conflict and diplomacy, they present a collection of actors and forces in an interdependent system that produces peace when the various components connect properly and each plays its part effectively. They are the parents of multitrack diplomacy. To them, it is all about viewing the process of international peacemaking as a living system – a system that will respond in a particular way if tickled or moved in a given manner instead of the other.

They identified nine tracks as the component parts of this type of diplomacy, all of which are equal in importance and in terms of energy generated into the system. They argue that the process of international peacemaking cannot be the responsibility of governments alone. Those in the academia, private citizens, business people, religious entities, non-governmental organizations, the media, the public and virtually everyone has a part to play because the solution of conflicts, especially those with an international dimension, does not lie with a single natural holder of solutions but rests in everyone who forms part of the system.

Therefore, these actors should be brought together to trigger an increase in the productivity of each track for an ideal outcome to be attained. It should be recalled that peace is not one tangible thing to be achieved on a particular date using a specific mathematical formula or government policy. It is an ideal condition which can either increase or decrease depending on the type of activities undertaken at a given moment.

Identifying and mastering behaviours that lead to an increase in this condition is vital. Going by this, we have argued that it is possible for a society to suffer from a deficiency of peace as is evident in many places around the world today though no society can suffer from excess peace as there is nowhere a line can be drawn to determine the point of maximum peace or the degree of excess that can cause adverse effects on any society.

Note should be taken regarding the fact that this is just an approach among many others that could be used in fortifying the foundations of peace in communities or making a way for it where it is absent. Many things in the world work as systems, including states. Understanding this and applying a systems-based approach in unlocking difficulties within issues is wise and commendable. That is what we have done – using the connection between the conflict in Somalia and Somali diaspora in Denmark to determine peace flows.

As will be noticed in the chapters that deal directly with this, a proper and effective application of multi-track diplomacy has the potential to significantly relax the tightness of a conflict situation, taking away the mystery that usually surrounds the search for a workable solution in intractable conflict cases.

Closely connected to these arguments and in a simplified but emphatic manner, Lederach (1999) worked on finding procedures that can be followed to take parties that are stuck in conflict from antagonism to reconciliation. In accordance with his findings, he argues that reconciliation is a journey with two phases – the *flight away* and the *daring trip back* and this journey is not for the weak and feeble but the tough-minded. This is because the pursuit of reconciliation can be very dangerous and costly to the intervening party.

For reconciliation and then durable peace to be possible, the parties have to be willing to make important compromises because when everyone stays right and uphold their position, all good results stay evasive and the peace process gets stalled or heads towards failure.

Menkhaus (2008; 2010) highlights how much the inadequacy of this spirit of compromise has cost a number of Somali peace processes. Clan politics and the determination of each side to prevail over others undermined calls for a collective strategy that required the surrender of strongly held positions. Even in cases where agreements were reached and peace deals signed, the implementation phases were still difficult, triggering the collapse of so many initiatives.

Compromise is not cowardice. Therefore, for reconciliation to be a success, Lederach contends, protagonists need to come to the point of not holding back themselves. They should come out and demonstrate boldness to help them face themselves, face their fears and face their anxieties – a thing which, according to him, will compel them to make both an outward and an inward journey with a mind willing to simultaneously accept much and let go of much.

Reconciliation could be at the same time a journey, an encounter and a place because it is an endeavour which seeks at restoring and healing bleeding minds and torn relationships. It should be noted that just as the process of reconciliation is demanding to the parties in conflict, so it is to the peacemaker if not even more. In fact, peacemaking is risky. Peacemakers can be severely beaten or even killed by the very ones whose lives they are labouring to save.

From Lederach's experience, one learns that despite the availability of any amount of eye-opening foreknowledge and no matter how pragmatic and skilful the peacemaker might be, until one gets to the point of actually experiencing what people in conflict are passing through, peacemaking will still be done with much ignorance and incomplete understanding because the reality on the ground always has lots of contrasts with what is learned from books and lecture halls. In fact, it is easy to think that one knows much about conflict and peacemaking whereas the daily experiences of a conflict can betray this thinking if one dares to step out and have a first-hand experience of it.

As a matter of fact, daring the reality of a conflict always exposes one to shocking truths that warrant adjustments of old beliefs and perceptions. But what really is peace and how can it be attained in situations of bitter rivalry and unwillingness to compromise like Somalia? These are some of the issues we tackled in some chapters.

Picking up the reconciliation debate from the perspective of both a clergyman and statesman, Tutu (2009; 2014) made an emphatic reminder that there is no easy route to reconciliation. It involves the healing of deep wounds and putting bitter rivals together to walk in love, inclusion and a common path. They were used to hurting one another or rejoiced at the pain of the other. To move them to henceforth operate in the same space for mutual promotion is a challenging assignment.

This is because tolerance and acceptance which are essential components of reconciliation are not built easily after years of alienation, carnage and violence. Consequently, as nice and essential as



reconciliation may be, it remains a process requiring a lot of time and patience to accomplish. Societies can get back together but this does not mean reconciliation has been attained. It is something that has to continue being built and sustained over the years to strengthen all of its compartments. This implies that shortcuts must be avoided so that the entire journey can be made without sacrificing some important phases.

Addressing this issue, Lederach presents an explanation of what peace is, using truth, mercy, justice and peace itself. While all four are important to make a successful journey to peace, the road to peace is peace, he argues, adding that to achieve reconciliation, peacemakers should respect all what matters and not overemphasize the role of one, especially mercy, by compelling victims to forgive their perpetrators just because it is a good thing to do.

This is dangerous and can create a situation where people get reconciled against their will just because they are concerned about being stigmatized or blamed for not forgiving and showing mercy as though they themselves had never erred. This type of reconciliation is a trap and exposes all parties to serious risks. With time, the errors in it will pop out and hurt every important achievement in a much more devastating manner.

One might wonder how conclusions of this type are arrived at given that this is an area of social science where it is not only hard to research on patterns within systems but challenging to speak or write in a conclusive manner. Wallensteen (2011) acknowledges the existence of these difficulties but argues that peace, as a discipline, and the sub-fields under it, are researchable with clear ways of going about things. Precise conclusions and accurate approximations could be arrived at just as the case is with other research fields.

The researcher simply needs to ensure that relevant research tools are in place after which they should proceed with the establishment of unambiguous definitions of the concepts to be researched,

setting clear goals, as well as collecting relevant information and noting the trends observed. From here, precise and empirical conclusions could be made.

That is why Lederach and the others we mentioned made such bold statements. However, an issue in his work we found hard to understand is the manner in which he refrained from making recommendations to serve as guidelines to achieve reconciliation and peacemaking. To him, that is up to the one concerned. Because of the seriousness of some of the issues currently facing the world and the necessity to come up with therapies that can provide some help, he did well to diagnose the issues his study presents but he could have gone further, in our opinion, to suggest remedies that can be used against the ailments he diagnosed instead of just leaving the reader with no clue of what to try.

This does not mean the work should have been prescriptive, dictating to parties what they should or should not do. It is simply a lamentation against a missed opportunity to get proposals of what to try against the multitude of issues evoked by a work that covered so much.

It should be recalled that among the multitude of available approaches to apply against conflicts, our approach seeks to transform and not resolve them. We think transformation suits long-lasting conflicts better and could be more effective in Somalia's case. This brings to mind the position of Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall (2011) who are noted for their strong defence of conflict resolution. They point out that even though the concept of resolution has come under criticisms from diverse quarters, it still maintains its relevance. To them, contemporary conflicts are in need of what resolution techniques have to offer. Of course, we think this is true. But when it comes to intractable conflict, we think transformation does the job better.

There are arguments nowadays which hold that many conflicts, especially deep-seated ones, cannot be resolved but transformed into a more acceptable social condition. The resolution argument

was widely accepted in many circles in the 1990s because this was a time when conflict resolution, despite certain setbacks, was widely popular and seen to be central in global politics. But by the next decade, issues related to the global war on terror dominated the world scene including academic discourses.

As a result, areas like conflict resolution and their cosmopolitan values lost much of their attractiveness and instead came under criticisms. Not only did both scholars and professionals express a stronger preference for conflict transformation, but even advocates of resolution were divided about the proper approach to apply. Resolution thus suffered tremendously and lost much of the initial reverence it enjoyed.

In response to these criticisms, Woodhouse and his colleagues intervened to rescue the concept and reassert its distinctive nature and contribution to peace research. Still, criticisms did not cease. Lots of issues came up which required further clarification. The scholars once again took up the challenge in the following decade, providing not only clarifications on some confusions that surrounded conflict resolution, but also responded to criticisms which had been lashed out against the concept, almost giving it the image of an old-fashioned thing whose relevance has waned.

As much as we respect the concept and the strong arguments in defence of resolution, we still hold that the Somali conflict currently under study looks more inclined to respond to transformation than resolution. That is why we adopted the former and not the latter. It is a conflict that requires healing of minds and encouragement of people trapped in decades of pain and mutual hatred to get together again and foster rapprochement among their communities so as to pave the way for genuine reconciliation. This is something that is definitely going to take much time, patience and many other inputs.

It is worth noting that this is a conflict with a degree of complexity that has defeated solutions that were thought capable of working. It equally defeated solutions that were made in a hurry without giving sufficient attention to subtle realities that mattered. Even at the global stage, evidences keep reminding everyone that this is an era when conflicts are not only caused by mainstream issues like discords and quarrels over territory, resources or power struggle, but also by evolving philosophies whose content and spreading pace requires a quick, potent and proportionate response. Moreover, high industrialization, carbon emissions and other forms of pollutants are causing structural conflicts in distant lands that have no direct, visible connection with the source of the pollutants.

That is why it is important for the real, not just the easily recognised causes, of a conflict to be identified before proceeding to get a solution. There might be cases where parties are engaged in intense struggles and antagonisms for long even though neither of them is the true enemy of the other. External issues made them foes and no one noticed it.

In Somalia, for instance, famine, provoked by severe drought that inhibited the cultivation of crops and the rearing of animals did not only make the country a victim of one of the worst global humanitarian disasters but also fuelled the conflict which it was already struggling with. Besides the many causes of the conflict, such developments indicated that Somalia, like much of the Horn of Africa, was a victim of changes in environmental and global climate trends that did not emanate from there. Some of the causes of these rapid environmental changes came from faraway places in Asia and the northern hemisphere.

According to Chossudovsky (2012) the effects of carbon emissions from one country can travel not just an entire continent but can go as far as other continents. Jorgenson, Clark and Kentor (2010) add that the atomic test, carbon emissions and different actions from industrial economies introduced radioactive materials into the environment which spread to distant lands with the aid of the wind, water and mobile living things. While looking at solutions and wondering why some conflicts are

unyielding even though all their known causes have been dealt with, it is important to equally look at the effects of climatic and environmental realities. They might be playing a role which though hard to see is responsible for a conflict's sustenance and continuity.

Everything a society decides to go for or any direction it decides to take, be it war, peace, reconciliation or whatever, is a choice and not a compulsion from forces supposed to have orchestrated it. The main difference is that some choices are harder to make than others. For example, forgiveness and reconciliation can be hard to choose at times. They were quite hard for many oppressed South Africans yet, as Tutu (2009; 2014) argues, the type of leadership they had was quick to realise that the difficult choice that did not satisfy people's inner cravings for revenge was the profitable one for the future of the country. Reconciliation helped both the government and the people more than other easier choices that could have moved people to the streets to pay their oppressors in their own coins.

Of course, forgiveness is not an easy action to take. For South Africa's case, the country had come from faraway and the leadership chose not to follow the path of vengeance but that of inclusion and oneness which rested on forgiveness, truth and healing. The future will always be bleak if people are full of bitterness, hatred and allow themselves to be controlled by the instinct that rejects the granting of forgiveness to anyone who hurts them.

Consequently, even though many unsettled issues might still be very much around and there might be legitimate reasons to prefer revenge, the type of peace that will prevail in a situation of conflicts that have caused much pain is the one that does not ignore the role of forgiveness and the fact that the future of an entire country is an important priority not to be sacrificed. It is always bigger than the interests of any particular individual though care must be taken to ensure that people are not deprived of justice by being compelled to forgive hastily and unconditionally. Their perpetrators must repent and remorsefully ask for mercy. Forgiveness that flows out of a satisfied and healed mind will

be genuine and durable. That is the type of foundation that can bear the weight of any reconciliation that will last for long.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter intended to acquaint readers with some findings scholars and professionals of this field have made in the course of the years to expand understanding of conflict and the concepts of reconciliation and peacebuilding. It was our thinking that before embarking on a long journey like ours to present what we found, it will be nice for readers to know or at least have a clue of what others who first undertook the journey found and documented.

Obviously, the chapter did not capture the entire picture as there are lots of important works which have not been mentioned. Many of them have been cited in the body of the work, though. Even with this, I want to admit that important findings that should have been consulted to enrich a work like this were still left out though I stretched myself as much as I could to make the final product a worthy contribution to this field.

As I continue, it is important to look now at questions related to what intractability itself really is and what it entails. I have given some hints already but since the project tackles it from an angle of its own, it is vital to expose and lay it as bare as possible so that the analyses of the latter chapters could be easily understood.

# CHAPTER THREE

## FACING THE QUESTION OF INTRACTABILITY

**Introduction:** This chapter addresses the meaning of intractable conflicts and the questions surrounding it. It states our position and what we imply whenever the term is applied. What really are intractable conflicts and what are intractable intergroup conflicts? How important are they to an understanding of the challenges the global community currently faces in connection with aspects such as instability, migration, terrorism and the evasiveness of world peace? Do these conflicts have a contagious, spill over effect? If so, how much and how far and fast can they affect other lands?

It should be noted that while there is agreement regarding the existence of conflicts, this is not the case with intractable conflicts. There are opposing views here. Many question if there is actually anything like intractable conflicts. What qualifies a conflict to bear this appellation – is it the duration or destructiveness or both or more than just both?

The chapter also presents definitions and explanations of other words that are key to this project. Being clear about meanings in any research endeavour is of immense importance. Not only does it influence the researcher's construction and direction of flow, but it also determines a lot about the type of solutions to be recommended at the end of everything. Besides, comprehension issues might arise if contextual explanations of important terminologies like multitrack diplomacy, intractable intergroup conflict, reconciliation and peacebuilding are not given, stating clearly how they differ from related terms and the manner in which they have been applied in our context. At the end of the chapter, it is expected that the meanings of all these concepts and core terminologies around which this project revolves should be known clearly enough.



## **The Meaning of Intractable Conflicts**

By now, this term should not be completely new because it has featured a number of times already in the earlier parts, though just generically and casually. Because it is one of the key terms of this project it deserves being presented clearly enough, stating what it actually refers to and how it has been used here.

We will split it into two to see what each of its parts contain and what is produced when these parts are brought together. We will then continue with what others have said is the meaning of the name and end with our contribution to make the meaning clearer. As we saw in chapter two this first step is very important. Besides, it is a relevant part of both academic and professional undertakings of this nature especially if it is vital in understanding the subject under consideration (Weeks, 1992; Medin, Ross and Cox, 2006).

Given the manner in which related terms like *disagreement* and others are often confused and even used interchangeably with conflict in contexts where they should not, it is important to start by looking at the dividing line between conflict and disagreement, stating how they differ and why each should be used contextually and not interchangeably especially in settings where specific solutions are required.

## **The Difference between Conflict and Disagreement**

These are two terms which stand for very different things. Etymologically, conflict comes from the Latin word *conflictus* which is the past participle of the word *confligere* and means to strike together or hit on one another (Redekop, 2002). Lexicographers expounded on the word and attributed additional meanings to it such as a clash, coming into opposition, disagreement, being antagonistic, incompatible, or being in contention. The magnitude might be small like a struggle between two departments in a workplace or large like a war between groups or states over divisive issues.

It is worth clarifying that it is not in all cases that conflict is negative and not all disagreements are conflicts though all conflicts involve an aspect of disagreement. For example, as Daniel (2001) expounds, if one party is not in accord with the other but maintains good communication with it that is not conflict but disagreement. Also, being in opposition with oneself by staying stuck between two opinions or contending to know what to do or choose is not a conflict but indecision or a dilemma. It manifests as an internal unease or not knowing exactly what to do at the moment.

Throwing the eyes back to the Latin origin of the word, one notices that it talks of striking together or hitting on one another. Hitting on one another is different from touching one another. Moreover, striking on a thing is different from feeling it. That is why not all disagreements or oppositions are conflict. For it to be conflict, there has to be an element of striking or something that menaces the prevailing state of tranquillity and calmness, producing either a nervous, psychological or any other form of pain.

This is partly because apart from the hurt aspect, hitting produces heat and sound, whether they are visible and audible or not. Both the heat and sound can be converted; in fact in cases of conflict, they actually get converted into other forms of energy that lead to the rise of lots of other occurrences requiring intervention, management and control. It should be remembered that there is a line that divides disagreement and conflict just as there is another that divides conflict and crisis. All these things do not mean the same thing though it is not uncommon to find them mixed in some setting in a rather confusing manner.

Turning briefly to the word disagreement, the root word is *agreement* and the prefix *dis* reverses it, making the word to mean the opposite of itself. So while agreement means accord, consent, approval, unison, assent or compliance, disagreement means the opposite of all these. For example, it could mean non-compliance. As can be noticed, disagreement occurs on a more regular basis even

between intimate friends or groups. It emanates from human dissimilarities while conflict is completely something else – it is more serious.

In this respect, the dictionary meaning attributed to conflict should not be swallowed hook, line and sinker. Of course, it is correct but caution should be taken to ensure that it is not loosely applied or taken to mean all situations where there is no agreement. That will be erroneous. Its usage should take into account contextual realities of the field of conflict research because to a conflict researcher, conflict is not just disagreement or opposition but involves a lot more. Parties can disagree and fiercely oppose one another yet continue coexisting fruitfully and happily without giving conflict any chance to develop.

For example, couples may disagree with one another about a particular idea but that does not mean they are in conflict; people may disagree about the existence of God; liberals may disagree with conservatives; socialists with market economists; and a scholar on another scholar's opinion. Yet that is simply indicative of the existence of divergent views or lack of accord, not forcibly the existence of conflict (Waldron, 1999). Disagreement is a temporal and fluctuating occurrence because people can disagree this moment and agree shortly afterwards, at times over the same issue.

It occurs every now and then because ours is a world where everyone thinks and acts differently. Consequently, it is bound to occur even between or among the most intimate of people who desire to always agree. It is true that the situation can grow into a conflict but until that happens, it is just disagreement and nothing more. Even when a conflict erupts, it does not still mean things have entered the bad and negative stage because conflict is not a phenomenon that is always negative as the popular meaning might trick anyone to think (Bar-Tal, 2013; Kriesberg, 2014). It has its positive sides and highly valuable lessons it offers society.

Yes, it is about differences. But it is the way these differences are approached that determine whether things will be negative and cause destruction or not (Coleman, Kugler, Bui-Wrzosinka, Nowak and Vallacher, 2012). In some instances, conflict simply serves as an alert reminding concerned parties that fundamental issues exist within a system which require being addressed just as the nervous system causes hurt to be felt when the body is pricked not to destroy but to inform it of the presence of a thorn it needs to get rid of.

Without such indicative mechanisms, destructive circumstances will remain unnoticed and continue to imperceptibly gnaw individuals and societies in the most destructive of ways. That is why a major challenge of this era is to discover or come up with positive, fruitful and least costly ways of solving conflicts and promoting peace among individuals and societies because conflict will always show up from time to time and will continue to be a test humans will regularly take no matter how well they performed in previous ones or how much energy they lost doing so and desire a break (Arrey, 2015).

### **Some Definitions of Conflict**

Looking at definitions scholars of conflict have advanced, one notices that it is conflict when it becomes more than simply disagreeing with an opinion or position and gets weighty and alienating enough to require measures beyond mere wishes and superficial hand-waving to address and restore good relations (Lederach, 2014; Coleman, 2003).

Bar-Tal (2007; 2009; 2013) holds that a conflict is a situation in which two or more parties perceive their goals, intentions and actions as being mutually incompatible and act in accordance with this perception. As can be noticed, conflict has one of its main roots in the parties' thinking and perceptions. They hold onto beliefs and perceptions and act according to them, resulting to alienation

and broken relations. Some of these include conclusions that their aspirations and objectives are different and cannot be achieved simultaneously (Pruitt and Rubin, 1986).

Gray *et al* (2007) hold that conflict is about parties' perception of incompatible activities. That is, they have different positions regarding things like beliefs, values, goals, wishes, claims, actions, just to name these few and are determined to push their point through. Because their positions are dissimilar and incompatible, it inhibits the existence of good relations and any willingness to cooperate genuinely. This breeds misunderstanding. It gains grounds and promotes bitterness and alienation which grow into a conflict. It is worth drawing attention to the fact that most of the definitions of conflict made mention of the word *perception*. This should be noted because it will be evoked again and its significance highlighted at the last part of this section when we combine the words 'conflict' and 'intractable' to extract the exact meaning which the combination produces.

So far, one can notice that while disagreement can be easily tackled by, for instance, not pushing on uncompromisingly with one's position and acknowledging the wisdom in the position of the other party, conflict needs more time, understanding, renewing of the mind and accumulation of positive energy to solve and re-established cordial relations. It can result to severe consequences if not properly managed. But how is it different from crisis?

### **The Difference between Conflict and Crisis**

These are two other terms that are intertwined that separating them create issues a lot of times. It is not uncommon to find them used interchangeably in certain settings where they needed to have existed independently. Not only can they be tricky, they can be confusing too especially in certain circumstances where intervening parties do not sufficiently master what each really stands for. It is thus vital for these parties to understand what each entails because that will be crucial during moments when they are faced with dilemmas about how to overcome certain ruptured relations in society.

This is because as indicated above, though each carries a distinct meaning, they are closely connected and need to be separated and treated as they should. This implies that it is relevant to sufficiently master both so that the peacemaker does not get trapped in a situation of administering a solution that should have been better for one in the place of the other. That will be ministering a good therapy to the wrong ailment (Quinn *et al*, 2013).

Crisis is a broader term. It is not solely an issue of antagonism or opposing positions but goes beyond, involving what a conflict produces or becomes when not tackled. It also involves occurrences that befall societies suddenly, creating situations that require speedy responses without which serious consequences will be suffered.

Unlike conflict that is not in all circumstances negative and gives a bit of time for people to prepare on how to have it tackled, crisis is a producer of plentiful negative energy and occurs quicker in a manner that causes severe devastations except checked by a fast, timely and proportionate response.

As can be noticed, it is comparatively more of an emergency situation which does not only exist when humans rise against one another but also involves situations where they become victims of occurrences from nature or the environment such as the outbreak of an epidemic and other socially triggered phenomena like large-scale migration, famine or an economic crash that unleashes difficult and challenging conditions on societies.

There are different types of conflicts. Some are less destructive while others are violent and bloody. Some involve few people while others comprise whole communities and states such that restoring peace requires intelligent, committed and well-planned efforts. It equally needs an extensive melange of good strategies and a reasonable measure of sacrifice.

But whether violent or not, conflicts, especially destructive ones, need to be eradicated because they have a way of weighing on society adversely and painfully, effecting things like trade and happiness thus triggering the birth of different crises if left unchecked for too long (Marano, Cuervo-Cazurra and Kwok, 2013). At this juncture, one might be wondering what war is and how it differs from a conflict given that a conflict is said to involve levels of hostilities synonymous to what is observable in wars.

### **Difference between Conflict and War**

First of all, it should be indicated that all wars are conflicts but not all conflicts are wars. As we saw already, conflict involves acting out differences or a clash by parties whose positions are dissimilar. It can involve fighting and the use of brute force but can also manifest in a less hostile way or even in a positive manner that produces helpful outcomes to society. This, however, depends on the type of conflict and its aim.

For its part, war is a much more coercive and forceful phenomenon which, in many instances, involves brutality, violence, aggression and the use of fire power to achieve specific results. It is characterised by the use of strength and ability to subdue an opposing party so as to create space for one's position to prevail.

However, some have argued that war is often unfairly treated and assessed in a bias and negative manner especially within pacifist circles, stating that realistically, there are wars that can be justified and deserve being fought because of their aims and the benefits society gains from them (Biggar, 2013). This is not meant to promote or glorify war, the argument goes, but actual life, moments do come when a society has retreated until its back is on the wall and, as a last resort, has no other option but to fight back even though societies, especially democratic ones, are not expected to use war to attain their objectives (McCormick, 2009; Holmes, 2015).

Others question how just a war can ever be given that it involves massive killing of people and in some cases, razing entire communities notably with the current sophistication in military technology and effective killing methods. Aloyo (2015) for instance, holds that even though the argument of fighting back as a last resort seems logical and appealing, almost all those who wage war will tell you they do not love it but had no other choice. The last resort argument does not, therefore, help the struggle for peace but acts as a masked door through which parties that have been forbidden from waging war easily pass to still do it with the assurance that legal parameters are in place to back their action from any condemnation or prosecution.

War, in fact, should be called by its name, others insist, saying that it is a danger that menaces everyone including its admirers and will eventually destroy not only humans but the planet if people continue to manifest weakness or maybe, unwillingness to get rid of it from their options of solving differences.

Amazed by its continuous use by states and other actors, Martin (2009) presents a picture of what war is by connecting the phenomenon with medical science. He states that one of the currently tough challenges of the field of medicine is to keep pace with the deeds of war because humans have tremendously increased their capacity to maim and kill, obliging medical science to engage in a continuous and relentless struggle to develop new ways of healing and repairing. Without this, it will be hard to match the current generation's sophisticated styles of killing, breaking, destroying and causing pain.

We avoided bringing in the multitude of definitions of war advanced by war scholars but chose instead to present some of its features and what it entails to grant readers the liberty to look at it from their own angle. But whatever the case or angle from which it is viewed, war is not an amicable negotiation strategy but a forceful use of available means to subdue the opponent and achieve set goals. It is important to note that there are new wars involving invisible enemies and non-state actors



that do not fit into many of the widely acceptable characteristics of war yet they too are wars and cause similar devastations and damages (Kaldor, 2013).

In a nutshell, wars are conflicts but many conflicts are not wars. Even in the world of business and trade, for example, whenever the term war is used, it is in relation to overpowering or outplaying the other party. For example, a price war or trade war is used in reference to the use of extreme measures such as serious price cut and other trading tactics to undermine competitors and make them incapable of constituting any real threat so that one can have command over them in that particular line of business (Winninger, 1995).

As we end this section, it is worth noting how closely related war and conflict are. They actually share a lot of things in common even though they should not be used interchangeably because of the important differences that lie in-between and need to be respected by actors when on a negotiation table or peace conference – especially those dealing with intractable conflicts.

### **Intractable Conflicts**

Having seen what conflict is, bringing it together with the adjective, *intractable*, produces a meaning that goes in line with, but beyond, the adjective's description. Among its most prominent meanings, intractable is a word that implies hard to control or deal with; stubborn and difficult to manage; challenging to cure or change to a desirable condition. Going by these, there is no wonder why many scholars have defined intractable conflicts in line with difficult and stubborn conflicts that pose severe challenges to deal with. Mitchell (2014), for instance, refers to them as difficult, protracted and deep-rooted conflicts that prove highly resistant to resolution.

Crocker et al, (2005) defined them as conflicts that persist over time and refuse to yield to efforts through either direct negotiations by the parties or mediation with third party assistance to arrive at a political settlement. Even while looking at environment-related conflicts and not the traditional ones

that pit people against others as a result of direct differences and interpersonal incompatibilities, intractable conflicts are still explained as the difficult-to-handle types that give hard times to intervening parties (Lewicki, Gray and Elliott, 2003). For his part, Coleman (2006) defined them as conflicts which are deep-rooted and very complex such that they refuse to yield to resolution initiatives even when the best available techniques are applied.

It is important to add that some voices have been raised disputing the existence of intractable conflicts especially when they are defined as conflicts that are insolvable because, as the argument goes, defying existing solutions does not make a conflict insolvable (Kriesberg, 2008; Crocker et al, 2005). Moreover, since they drain and give hard times to the societies involved, it is more helpful not to focus too much on arguments related to whether they exist or not but to concentrate in finding ways or developing initiatives that can bring an end to these nightmarish situations and free those trapped in them from their negative consequences (Burgess and Burgess, 2003).

Despite the strong voices raised against their existence, one thing remains certain that there are truly conflicts that are difficult and complex, displaying behaviours which make them completely different in many respects such that what works for others often proves insufficient for them. But what exactly are their characteristics and how can one identify or distinguish them from others?

### **Characteristics of Intractable Conflicts**

1) Just as there are different types of conflicts so are there different types of intractable conflicts.

But there are common features that are observable in all of them. For example, intractable conflicts are seldom brief but last for a considerably long period spanning years, decades and even centuries in some cases (Bar-Tal, 2013). They are conflicts one cannot be in a hurry to solve or expect to get a speedy solution out of. This is because the issues feeding and giving them life are many and complexly interwoven such that much skill, carefulness, patience and

pragmatism will be required to undo the messy and difficult state of things without hurting the societies or creating room for more issues to spring up and hunt them in the long run.

- 2) Destruction and violence, be they structural or direct, are often part of intractable conflicts. They are never a gentlemen's clash where parties get careful not to hurt or harm. Instead, they are bitter battles where the pain, peril and powerlessness of the other is a worthy occurrence the opponent wants to see happen. Each side considers the other as a threat and enemy whose downfall or at least failure is a commendable occurrence which can boost the success of their own objectives since the goals of both are perceived to be incompatible and impossible to achieve simultaneously (Mazur, 2014).
- 3) They defy efforts and refuse to yield to prepared solutions. In other words, they do not succumb to peace initiatives from intervening parties. They are somehow slippery to hold, sliding off when one tries to grasp them. As such, they resist even the most serious and committed attempts to neutralise their strength and put a lasting end to their continuity (Coleman, 2003). That is why there are scenes of violence with periodic fighting which intensifies in certain moments and drops in others as efforts against them intensify. None of the parties wins a final victory and none loses as well but all are just trapped in continuous conflict with boiling anger, flaring tempers and total unwillingness to compromise held positions (Ruane and Todd, 2011).
- 4) They also have a zero sum total nature (Coleman, 2006, Bar-Tal, 2013).
- 5) In addition, they drain hugely and involve massive levels of investments both in terms of resources and intellect to deal with their challenging and deep-rooted nature (Burton, 1987).
- 6) They are driven by strong perceptions from the parties involved who hold onto beliefs and positions they are unwilling to let go. These beliefs and perceptions are the fundamental

nutrients that sustain the conflicts and keep them alive and strong. Dealing with them is a significant step in the direction of getting a solution or at least easing the tension and turgidity of things (Bar-Tal, 2013; Mazur, 2014; Kudish, Cohen-Chen, Halperin, 2015).

- 7) They cause despair, devastation, pain and challenges that stretch parties and put their endurance under severe strain. In some cases, especially those that have lasted for generations, a culture of conflict develops such that people get accustomed to it, especially those that were born and raised in the atmosphere of conflict. Consequently, it becomes the only way of life they know. Even in this situation, it should be reiterated, there is still a significant presence of pressure which causes their sense of endurance to be activated to cope with the prevailing reality even though things and people may look normal and fine.

Therefore, though they might not even know or desire it, the world of real peace existing on the other side of their daily life is often an asset and provider of opportunities than the conflict atmosphere that has shaped their thinking.

- 8) Those of political orientation have a high occurrence possibility in major geopolitical junctions of the world where civilizations or the interests of power blocks meet (Bercovitch, 2003). These places are the main hosts of the world's political intractable conflicts and those of them that are experiencing relative peace are in no way cushioned from the possibility of being engulfed by a similar fate except adequate measures are taken to keep the conflict syndrome away from them and protect the peace they are currently enjoying.

It is worth stating that some of these features could be found in certain conflicts that cannot be qualified as intractable. As Coleman (2003) highlights, it is extremely challenging to come up with characteristics that are exclusively for intractable conflicts as it is easy to see some of them in other conflicts too. Despite this truth, it is equally true that these conflicts have features that clearly

distinguish them from others and whenever they are keenly looked at, it is always not difficult to see these features and notice them in full operation.

Their resistance should not be interpreted solely as being caused by their negative inner energy that fights initiatives coming from the outside. Things are equally so because peace, especially lasting positive peace, can only temporarily exist but will not permanently settle where injustice, mistrust, exploitation, intolerance, selfish interests, and other such vices have made their abode (Arrey, 2013). When these vices are flushed or extracted, peace can then prevail and be enjoyed by the society.

Moreover, intractability could be subjective in certain cases. What one individual might consider as an intractable case might not be seen in that light by another. For example, while the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be cited as a clear intractable case, some might disagree based on their judgement and also because of the view that intractability is not about two polarised situations involving tractable and intractable situations but about a scale which involves different degrees of intractability that are judged based on subjective criteria (Burgess and Burgess, 2003).

At this juncture, an important question worth considering is what are the different types of intractable conflicts that have been identified and what exactly are intergroup intractable conflicts, the focus of this study?

### **Intergroup and Other Types of Intractable Conflicts**

This study focuses on intractable intergroup conflicts. Intergroup conflicts are conflicts between rival people or groups. This is driven by differences in either their identity or thoughts of who they hold themselves to be in relation to others (Fisher, 2015). According to their criteria in determining their identity each group sees members having the features it identifies with as being part of it while others who are different are considered to belong elsewhere (Oren, 2010; Bar-Tal, 2013).

By means of these identity lenses, different groups emerge and each establishes boundaries that select and unite certain people considered to have a common belonging. Consequently, through these different ways in which people reason and make sense of the realities around them demarcations are established which do not only unite as indicated but divide as well, setting the groundwork for competition and conflict in one moment or the other depending on the severity of friction and other forces that might be at work within their ranks (Frohock, 1989).

Groups are moved by the desire to stay safe and sure of their progress and prosperity in the midst of adversity and feelings of threats from opponents. This is one of the driving forces that promote clashes as the interests of different groups move them through paths that cross or meet with one another's. These conflicts are usually serious as they may include complex things like the right of a certain group to exist or disputes connected to its legitimacy to exist where it is and not elsewhere (Mazur, 2014). This generates hatred and deep animosity that inhibit peace efforts and demand profound and no ordinary actions to restore good relations (Halperin, Gross, Dweck, 2014).

### **Looking at Other Cases of Conflict to Better Understand Intractable Intergroup Conflicts**

Apart from intergroup conflict, there are other conflicts. It is worth looking at a few in order to deepen understanding of how they differ from intractable intergroup conflicts and how therapies and reconciliation packages could be made to meet the exact needs of each.

To begin with, many of the conflicts tagged intractable are distinguished using criteria such as the context in which they occur, the type of issue causing division and a consideration of those involved (Kriesberg, Northrup and Thorson, 1989). In this light, conflicts range from intra individual, interpersonal, intergroup, organizational, to those that are service oriented. They manifest in different forms depending on some of the drivers mentioned above. For example, they can manifest as bitter conflicts as a result of differences about abortion, race, political views, or the environment.

They grow really strong and refuse to be eradicated because of, among other things, divisive frames the parties make about the conflict, on the one hand and about the adversary, on the other (Lewicki, Gray, Elliott, 2003). As we know, our focus is intractable intergroup conflicts. We singled out just this one in order to narrow our research area and stay sufficiently focused.

It is important to indicate that there are other ways conflicts could be classified. Though these may produce slightly different results, it should not be a big deal because the outcomes are basically the same. What is important is for note to be taken that there are many conflict types and there are different criteria employed in classifying them with some considering the causes, others considering the parties involved and others preferring to dwell on their nature and character. This is even partly why there are so many terms used in identifying solution efforts as different scholars prefer different terminologies depending on what they think is more accurate for a given case.

For example, some use terminologies like conflict management, others prefer conflict settlement, conflict termination, conflict mitigation, conflict amelioration, dispute resolution, conflict resolution, or conflict transformation (Lund, 1996; Lederach, 1999; Diamond and McDonald, 1996).

No matter the type, all conflicts could be broadly placed in a scale with tractable conflicts on one end, intractable ones on the other and few others in-between, depending on their character and degree of intractability. Let us be quick to add that when a conflict is not tractable, it does not automatically mean it is intractable. Those between these two extremes should not be ignored. In fact, it is risky and perhaps erroneous to think that conflicts should be distinguished strictly in dualistic terms with one group tractable and the other intractable (Burgess and Burgess, 2003).

This influenced the recommendations we have made related to the use of multi-track diplomacy as well as the necessary approaches of intervention that might be needed in cases of intergroup conflicts since it is evident that specific procedures and therapies are required for each type and any

failure to take into consideration their uniqueness can lead to immediate failure or cause a conflict to resist peace efforts. We begin with interest conflicts and want attention to be paid to how each of the conflicts treated here connects with intergroup conflicts.

### **Interest Conflicts**

These are conflicts caused by competition or struggle to satisfy personal needs and desires in the midst of limited resources. Individuals and societies are caught up in conflicts of this nature when what they want coincides or has to be met at the expense of what others want. Things like selfishness and ego play a major role in fuelling and sustaining this type of conflict. This is why it is common not only with individuals and little societies but with states as well because of their strong tendency of being driven by profitable and self-satisfying interests (Davis, 2001).

States, it is important to emphasise, are not philanthropists but self-seeking entities who care a lot about their well-being and often put their interests first. As Müllerson (1997) indicates, they have a lot of priorities and concerns which make them function egoistically such that much of what they say about making genuine sacrifices for others' benefits is mostly not genuine but mere rhetoric because they mostly do not place others ahead of them. Theirs is a game of interests.

In many cases, because of the strong urge people have for a particular desire, they cling on it and become inflexible such that they are willing to do anything to have them met. This directly leads to clashes with others which eventually trigger disputes, ultimately developing into conflicts and if not checked, crises (Schultz, 2001).

During different stages of efforts to restore peace in situations of conflict of this type, it will be discovered that the parties often express their interests in basically three forms: substantive form which deals with physical things like money and resources; procedural form which deals with the way the conflict should be resolved; and psychological form which concerns virtues such as trust,



willingness to participate, respect and concerns about fairness. When these issues are well mastered by the negotiators or intervening parties, it is a plus to the entire peace process. Positive results could be expected.<sup>2</sup>

In cases of this nature, the people intervening might find their work easier if they engage more in confidence-building measures, encouraging the parties to freely present their interests and try to harmonize things as convincingly as possible while also displaying features of good mediation which include among others, just motives, strong influence, sound diplomatic skills, and being able to bring parties to talk face-to-face (Ehlert, 2012; Berridge, 1995). It should be indicated that this could be a demanding task especially when it involves states and issues that touch on their very existence or core values.

### **Relationship Conflicts**

For this type of conflict to occur, it requires more than one party. It is a conflict which takes place when aspects such as misunderstanding, negative emotions, communication disruption, repetition of negative behaviours, and animosity or stereotypes get in and affect the way individuals or groups deal with each other. Conflicts like this lead to a lot of arguments, taking of positions, and self-justification as parties often feel that they are correct and others, wrong. This, therefore, makes them to prefer sticking to their different positions instead of compromising or yielding to that of the other (Chapman, 2006).

In many instances, pride and the quest to uphold one's dignity fuel and sustain this type of conflict as ceding to the position of the other is regarded as cowardice or surrender. There are times when this does not occur at the horizontal level where it involves equal parties but occurs at the

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<sup>2</sup>The Oregon Mediation Center.

vertical level where it involves parties with disproportionate power or influence such as an employer and the employee, a master and the servant or trainers and trainees.

Relationship conflicts are not only common with individuals or small groups but equally with large groups and states. This is so serious and needs to be adequately mastered with reliable transformation options because there is an element of relationship in all the other conflicts since conflicts do not occur in a vacuum but among individuals or groups connected to each other. To be in a state of zero or inadequate knowledge of how to go about this conflict can be worrisome because whether it is a state or a group, individuals or a home, everything boils down to relationships.

### **Value Conflicts**

These are conflicts which arise because of differences in the believe patterns, way of life, mannerisms, and things related to the background of people and their way of living. It is connected to what people hold to be right or wrong, good or bad, just or unjust (Rae, 2000). Values are beliefs which people use to give meaning to their lives. Since people's values are deeply rooted in their culture or the way they have been nurtured to interpret life, it is always difficult to change their views and how things should be.<sup>3</sup> It remains possible, though. However, any attempt to do this always leads to a conflict. It could be related to differences in modes of dressing, religious differences and issues related to gender. Any attempt by one party to impose its values on others or make them to be the recommended universal set of values will definitely trigger resistance, opening the way for a conflict.

The full understanding that this can trigger a conflict does not still stop people from working in a committed manner toward ensuring not only the survival of their values but to have them accepted by others. This often leads to the emergence of a structure of hegemony and dominance whereby a particular group, seeing itself to be right, takes the lead and dictates the pace of things to others

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<sup>3</sup>Oregon Mediation Center.

whom it thinks should change their position and move from the wrong to the right side (Redekop, 2002).

This is the cause of many conflicts related to aspects like religion, nationalism and issues of identity. It is worth pointing out, however, that there are many instances whereby the intervention of a particular individual or group to lure another out of a given position is quite beneficial to the latter and done principally for the latter's own good. For example, trying to convince an individual to quit smoking or compelling someone not to take their own life, or speaking of the necessity of the salvation of one's soul.

In cases of this nature, the beneficiaries often consider the intervention of the benefactor unworthy and an act of meddling in their privacy and simply a rude and pompous interference. Such interventions are often challenged. Even in cases where one might be risking their life to protect or promote the cause of others, the beneficiaries might not see the need for it. They act in ways that can be seen as unappreciative, fighting against the benefactors or peacemaker even though much sacrifice is being made for their sake (Tutu, 1999; Lederach, 1999). The peacemaker is expected not to be discouraged or moved by happenings of this type because they are common in conflict settings and anyone who cares too much about the lack of appreciation of what they do will find it hard to continue with the work of a peacemaker because ingratitude, accusations and even attacks on one's life are common in scenes where one is toiling for peace (Annan, 2012; Lederach, 1997; 1999).

Benefactors therefore need to be mentally strong, exhibiting qualities which keep them stable and unmoved by the insults or attacks of those they are risking their lives to save. This is important because the fact that one feels for or sympathizes with the conditions of a people does not mean they will like what one is doing or be appreciative. Instead, they might reward their benefactor in shameful terms with an outright rebuke or pose a sarcastic question like the Hebrew gentleman in Exodus 2: 14 of The Bible who asked Moses 'who made you ruler and judge over us' when he came to separate

him from fighting with his fellow brother, reminding them that they are brothers and should not hurt one another (The Bible, 2007).

In the world of conflict, issues related to value are really preoccupying ranging from the debate over whether the refusal of women to drive in Saudi Arabia is a human rights abuse down to the aspect of whether veils should be worn in schools in France or abortion and killing of unborn babies should be legalised. In some cases, governments and government-financed organizations have been accused of deliberately carrying out programs in distant lands aimed at suppressing one value in favour of the other; mostly theirs, and converting people to align with beliefs considered good for them (Waduge, 2008).

Some observers feel that there is never any justifiable reason for anyone to intervene and tell others how they should live; not even in the case of pleading with someone not to take their own life. They feel that people should live their lives as they please and if they choose to kill themselves that is nobody's business. But the world is so interconnected that the entire system inevitably suffers from the effects of each member's or state's actions and omissions whether they are aware and accept it or not. As such, even though it is about the individual, it is equally about the survival of the world.

It should be said that some who hold this view about the freedom for anyone to act anyhow equally feel that for the case of states, even though all states must respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of others, big or small, when the regime of a state is carrying out atrocious activities against its people and subjecting them to brutality and inhuman treatments, others have the right to bypass the sovereignty barrier and intervene to stop them and *protect* people from the oppression of their own government (Keen, 2008; Evans, 2008).

Now, if it could be permissible for states to intervene in the internal affairs of others on grounds of protection, it can be permissible too for individuals to intervene in the private affairs of others on

justifiable grounds be they protection or assistance. Given the fact that states are basically human beings and not just a piece of land, to permit one state or a group of states to correct another is already permission for humans to influence the affairs of other humans.

If, on the other hand, individuals are not allowed to intervene in the issues of others, this creates room for some contradiction because just as some states can feel for the people of another state so too can an individual feel for another and choose to act in that regard. A chained smoker or chronic dipsomaniac, for instance, might be viewed by an external party as harming themselves because it is a dangerous habit that is actually killing them gradually and needs only time to finalise the killing. Incontestably, they are into self-killing. Choosing to intervene and assist with some advice might surely be no evil. Perhaps, just as states can intervene to protect, individuals too, it might be argued, can be said to have the legitimacy to intervene even when uninvited on grounds of protection. For example, stepping in uninvited and snatching a gun from the hands of a fellow who was about taking their own life or that of another individual.

Therefore, the issue is not really about the intervention but the motive, be it in the case of states or individuals. If it is genuine and done solely for the benefit of the recipient, it might be permissible. We live in an interconnected world where, whether we are aware or not, everyone affects the system and each person has a role to play to foster the cause of our common humanity. Not caring about others can indeed be an error even though, it must be made clear, caring about others is not pompous interventions. Consequently, a lot of caution needs to be applied because it is easy for protection to be used as a Trojan horse to subject others to the will and values of others.

One way of approaching conflicts of this nature is not to try to directly change people's values but to encourage mutual acceptance or at least respect of other people's values. It could even be more rewarding if instead of sticking to the view that people must always choose one out of two extremes and interpret issues in dualistic terms such as good versus evil, right versus wrong, they

are made to build tolerant, mixed lives whereby they take the good elements of other cultures and blend with theirs to produce something unique and admirable that is not suspicious of others or hold them with a prejudiced mind (Annan, 2012).

### **Ethics Conflicts**

These are conflicts related to professional or career unfaithfulness. It can occur when people break the professional oath or obligation binding them to others. For example, a sworn Lawyer who, despite being bound by the oath of the profession, chooses to release private data relating to a client's will to an adversary. This will be laying grounds for ethics conflict. Or, a Doctor who holds confidential information about a patient releases it to a third party. This generally leads to embarrassment and triggers a conflict. It can exist even at the state level. For example, scientists of a state could be lured by another state to leak state secrets or give away secret information on sensitive technology or other important issues like state security or important areas of its well-being. This has the potential of orchestrating conflict because of compromise of the ethics governing their profession.

This is judged not only to be ethically wrong but is also considered to be a violation of the moral standards that are set by many societies (Rae, 2000). Nowadays, conflicts of this nature are becoming common, especially with the growth and technical sophistication of espionage services and private state agents who are very good in subjecting professionals and top secret holders of other states to temptations that are strong enough to make them compromise. Mastering how to go about conflicts of this nature is vital because they are always serious in momentum and can lead to bitter confrontations and violent wars.

### **Structural Conflicts**

These are conflicts caused by external factors that do not emanate from the parties in conflict. These factors could be things like limited water supply, harsh climatic or environmental conditions, issues

related to resources and externally manipulated confusion. This type of conflict is always great in magnitude even though in reality, the exact fault is not always that of either of the parties in conflict. Many human activities in a given place have the capacity to cause havoc or trigger conflicts in distant places (Chossudovsky, 2012).

In certain instances, it might become so severe that the parties in conflict become very bitter enemies, not willing to have anything to do with each other even though the real enemy is not actually the one they are fighting but something completely external that did not come from within them. Because of the strong connection between humanity and nature, especially the immediate environment, any disruption of flow from the environment to people can lead to difficulties which might end up spiralling into situations of conflict, pitting different groups against each other.

This is why adequate knowledge on the functioning of the ecosystem is relevant not only to stop people from indulging in environmentally unfriendly behaviours but to enable peace workers get equipped with the necessary understanding when intervening in conflicts so that they can move directly to face the real enemy and not waste time trying to make peace between fighting factions who are in reality, not enemies and are unconnected to the source of what is causing their grievances against one another.

In domestic circles as well as in the international scene, many actors use this type of conflict to divide-and-rule groups. Though many of them prefer to speak of unity more than division, the real issue is that states and leaders are always too frightened if their potential opponents are very united and strong. So they carry out many initiatives aimed at triggering a quarrel or misunderstanding between such people so as to get them divided, vulnerable and weakened to constitute no threat anymore (Belkin, 2005). At times, a leader or a regime that seeks to restore its declining domestic fame could directly fabricate an external enemy and launch an attack against it or encourage a conflict

between other actors and then get involved in it so as to divert domestic public attention from the failures of the regime at home to its heroism in conflicts on the international scene.

Efforts toward resolving conflicts of this nature could be successfully carried out when the parties concerned are made to recognize the true enemy and the real source of the mess in which they find themselves. This could go well if they all come to realise the fact that all of them are simply victims of circumstances which are coming from elsewhere. Getting to this point of recognition can significantly open the way for reconciliation and a willingness to rise above the conflict to embrace peace.

### **Others**

Though we have touched on the major conflicts that peacebuilders and reconciliation personnel need to know and are always faced with, there are others which some scholars think should be classified independently. Some of these include personality conflict which concerns issues emanating from people's personality; Style conflict, which deals with the way people are and the way they prefer to operate which might not be pleasant to others around.

There is also data conflict which occurs when there is inadequate or lack of relevant data to make important decisions or when people are misinformed or have different ways of assessing the same data. Data conflicts could also be generated in the case of asymmetric information which is the situation whereby one party has more or superior information compared to the other and so is poised to always have an edge over the other since information is power and its possession is not only advantageous but could really enhance one's position in relation to others (Schultz, 2001).

### **An Overview of the Debate on Tractable and Intractable Conflicts**

Tractable conflicts are those which are considered solvable. That is, the ones which cooperate and can be successfully tackled or transformed. With an increase in initiatives and efforts, they move into



an experience whereby previously antagonistic parties let go of their differences and get into a new experience of harmony, tolerance and understanding.

Intractability is sensitive and at times controversial. It has generated debates and diverse points of view. It is thus imperative to clearly state what our position about it is so as to ease the comprehension of the analyses we have made in the other chapters, especially those dealing directly with reconciliation and peacebuilding. As a matter of fact, dividing conflicts into these two broad categories is worrisome to us because a lot exist in the middle. Even though it could be argued that there are certain conflicts with particular features which qualify them to be described as intractable, others hold that there is no such thing as an intractable conflict and any attempt to categorize a conflict as such is dangerous and discourages creativity and efforts toward developing new modes of having them transformed into a more soothing experience that promotes the happiness of individuals and the prosperity of groups (Schwartz, 1989).

In fact, the growing number of conflicts considered to be intractable both within and across nations has been preoccupying, especially given the fact that this researcher is a strong advocate of reconciliation and peacebuilding and feels so challenged and touched when anything is ordained as an eternal obstacle to these virtues against which, as it is claimed, nothing can be done. If truly these conflicts are insolvable and nothing can be done about them then we are exposed to the discouraging feeling that our effort is vain, which we do not think is the case.

While we particularly respect the advocates of intractability who adhere to the assertion that certain conflicts are insolvable and it is a waste of time and resources to be struggling with them indefinitely, we think that no conflict is insolvable and that not only can any conflict be made better, but reconciliation and peacebuilding are possible even in extremely challenging situations. They simply need the use of different types of potent techniques including, as we found out and have argued here, a people-centric form of diplomacy (Arrey, 2013).

Of course, it is true that there are some who have highlighted this issue of intractability not only as something that is consuming resources more than it really should, but also as something they do not particularly believe in. Their works have shown in very convincing terms that they are not pessimists but simply pointing to the truth that there are truly many insolvable conflicts with lengthy lifespans which implies they will always be notwithstanding any degree of human and natural actions taken against them.

It is, therefore, imperative for us to adequately prove our position that there is no insolvable conflict with any eternal lifespan. It is only the parties in a conflict that can make a conflict difficult to solve not that the conflict is recalcitrant and insolvable (Crocker, et al, 2005; Halperin, Gross and Dweck, 2006).

In a similar line, Schwartz (1989) points out that dividing conflicts into the two broad category of tractable and intractable is itself an issue. He indicates that there are many other categories between these two extremes which must not be ignored.

Of course, we acknowledge the fact that there are conflicts which are difficult, protracted, complex and resolution-resistant but we think this is still not enough to immediately tag them as insolvable because, as we have tried to show, intractability only lasts as long as available human ability is insufficient to get rid of it. It will disappear when helpful measures, some of which this project has revealed in addition to those revealed by other works, are pitted against the stubbornness of the conflicts.

Rufanges (2012), speaking of his experience while working for *Medicos Sin Fronteras* (MSF) in certain conflict zones, thinks intractable conflicts can be tackled and their strength, overcome. He argues that intractability should not be an issue, pointing out that if any conflict persists, it is an

indication that more should still be done and as soon as the right things are done, the conflict will yield.

On a different note, Soriano (2012), of the same *Medicos Sin Fronteras* (MSF) who has equally worked in many conflict areas especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, holds that after serving in the field and coming into direct contact with certain realities he was first ignorant of, there are multiple reasons why one should say that certain conflicts are indeed intractable. He points out that there are countries where the problems started a lot of years ago and are seemingly forgotten but the issues they caused are still continuing and have grown so complex, making it likely that things will not get better in the foreseeable future. Despite the presence of a lot of humanitarian workers and multiple international interventions from states and other actors, he noted, the conflicts continue to look very unresponsive and deeply entrenched.

In line with this, the optimism and hopeful words that many often advance about these conflicts are seen as sheer positive thinking – a major characteristic of humans who always believe that all things are possible but fail at the same time to admit that it is also a possibility for some conflicts to be truly insolvable. A lot of people were born into these conflicts and they know no other life but that of conflict. It is their reality and their world. That is what makes sense to them. They see life, including even peace, from a perspective of conflict. Any attempt by whosoever, be it an established and widely recognized peace expert, will receive stiff resistance because it is like an effort to destroy their tradition in front of their own watchful eyes. It is common knowledge that humans generally do not like the destruction of their heritages and accepted cultures.

This is one of the reasons why some conflicts persist for long. Peacemakers and other intervening parties view the situation from their own angle and try to make things to come back to what they consider to be normal whereas a significant percentage of the parties in conflict see things from their

own angle and fight openly or subtly any initiative that seeks to alter what they want and cherish. It is like trying to give them a new identity they are not accustomed with.

Consequently, the situation moves and settles at a point where each side pulls the other strongly to its side as it upholds what it believes in and feels is the right way to settle the issue. This leads to an always reinventing tug-of-war which never ends. It eats up everyone's patience and expertise, getting parties exhausted and fed up yet not making any meaningful progress towards coming to a final end.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter explained the core terminologies that constitute the backbone of this project. It looked at the meaning of intractable conflicts in general and intractable intergroup conflicts, the focus of the project, in particular. We equally looked into different types of conflicts because it is challenging to adequately understand the story of intractable intergroup conflicts and efforts to tackle them without knowing other types of conflicts that exist out there and how they differ from the one this work is interested in.

There are debates and lots of opinions surrounding the issue of intractable conflicts. Even the appropriate terminologies used in the field differ a lot ranging from conflict resolution, conflict transformation, dispute mitigation, conflict management and others. I equally looked into these debates, pointing to the strengths and weaknesses of some and indicating our position and reasons for adhering to it.

My next preoccupation would have been to dissect multitrack diplomacy and explain what it means and what contribution we think it can bring to current efforts against intractable intergroup conflicts. But first, we want to examine in the next chapter the conflict in Somalia in order to increase familiarity with the case we are studying. I will equally state the endowments, capabilities and uniqueness of humans in creation, and why I think it is safer not to describe intractable conflicts as insolvable when humans are involved and still have their astonishing creative ability and amazing invention prowess. These qualities have helped them to defeated different kinds of challenges along the course of history, making them able to handle even challenges posed by any kind of conflict, no matter how it is called and how stubborn its nature might be.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## SOMALIA: TRACING THE ROOTS OF A COMPLEX CONFLICT

### Introduction

This chapter focuses on the conflict in Somalia. It takes readers on a journey through its evolution so as to place them in a position of understanding what the conflict is all about, how actors have been struggling to restore peace, reasons for the failures registered and where things currently stand. This is necessary because it is hard to desire a change in Somalia and effectively contribute in the restoration of peace when one does not master why the parties are fighting and how things have been with them during the many years of strained relations.

Mastering the situation properly will place one in a position of being able to intervene in a manner that satisfactorily takes the conflict's context into consideration and possibilities that are likely to effect a change. The chapter also responds to questions such as why the country rapidly disintegrated, moving from a society with an organised government and a culturally united people to one where chaos and anarchy became the order of the day. More intriguing are questions related to why the country has been stuck in this condition for so long even though so much of the world's intellect, resources and efforts have been invested to overcome the situation. All these initiatives came and went, leaving Somalia at the same spot where it slipped and fell, unable to rise back to its feet.

Since the overthrow of the government of President Siad Barre in 1991 Somalia has not really had a national government worth the name and has been struggling to overcome this challenge. Conflict and destruction have instead been the daily realities the society. Its people continue to be victims of different kinds of violence and attacks from factional fighters and their allies.

It is important to understand the reasons behind the high level of division among Somalis, especially the political class, and be able to explain why clan politics has been much preferred even though it is one of the forces inhibiting unity, the rebirth of the country, and the quest for a durable solution that makes way for the country's broken parts to be fitted together again.

It is evident that the people desire peace yet have but a never-ending conflict. It could be challenging to properly understand this paradox. If all of them truly desire peace then peace should not be a problem. But it is. In connection with realities of this nature, we have highlighted in the latter part of this chapter an important lesson in the dynamics of conflict transformation, showing that being positive and desiring peace is not enough to cause a conflict to cease. Though important, these are not what matter most. An entire group can want the same thing yet remain stuck in division and strife for generations as Somalia's case testifies.

### **Understanding the Background**

The scene of a difficult conflict that has been a source of confusion and discomfort to its people and the horn of Africa for decades, Somalia produces challenges which are weighing enormously on even the rest of the world and has evolved into a case noted to challenge different kinds of peace initiatives whether they come in military or diplomatic forms (Ingiriis, 2014). Increasingly, parties are getting tired with nations and international organizations sending diplomats and troops and then withdrawing them again after each failed attempt at getting the country back in order (Albrecht and Haenlein, 2015).

Somalis themselves manifest in a lot of ways what the current conflict means to them. Many are tired of war, misery, regular sounds of explosions and shootings and desperately desire peace; just any kind of peace that can get both their lives and country going again (Netabay, 2007). Yet peace remains far from sight. Though there are many reasons why one should not lose hope there is equally

not much to support any conclusion that everything will soon be over within a specific period. Consequently, Somalia continues to be a complex case requiring close attention and monitoring.

Peace showed signs of returning in a couple of instances but chaos and bloodshed returned, keeping the country grounded for so long that it won for itself the infamous reputation of the world's longest-running failed state since the post-colonial era (Menkhaus, 2009; 2010; Samatar, Lindberg and Mahayni, 2010; Kimenyi, Mbaku, and Moyo, 2010). But what is really wrong with Somalia and why is it taking so long to get the country going again?

We shall look at the most striking aspects to foster understanding of both the conflict and the peace model we have applied. We talk of the most striking because an exhaustive account cannot be given in this project since that is neither our focus nor what our hypotheses centre on. We have divided the reasons into three: External contributions, the role of Somalians themselves, and the complex geopolitical rivalry at the horn of Africa.

#### **a) External Contributions**

To begin with, Somalia's rapid breakdown and the resulting complexity surrounding the conflict it is currently trapped in can be partly linked to contacts it had with the outside world which, apart from enriching it through the addition of beneficial aspects of the cultures of the visiting societies, also victimised it by taking away much of what it possessed, replacing them with what the newcomers brought and considered better. Some of them like *xeer*, the Somali customary court, survived (Abdile, 2012) but others did not. This court handled differences between people and served as a mechanism for regulating social relations. A lot of indigenous values and procedures of doing things which had all along sustained the society and kept it on its own path of growth and development suddenly came under threat especially during and after the colonial partition of the territory which made it a property



of three culturally different European states (Ahmed and Green, 1999; Michaelson, 1993). Many of the heritages of the society began undergoing different kinds of erosion and replacement.

A lot of local realities were not sufficiently mastered by the western powers who occupied the territory. Hence, Somalia as a country, paid a heavy price for the colonialists' weak knowledge of their new property. For example, unlike the way society is known to be organised and politically administered in a European context, Somalia was different in many ways. Its socio-political structure was made up of clans that were subdivided into sub-clans, primary lineages, and dia-paying groups, the most stable unit, comprising groups of families ranging from hundreds of people to more than a thousand (Ahmed and Green, 1999).

Many of these things were altered or scraped and replaced with more *civilized* values by the colonisers who, moved by the zeal to upgrade the people both in terms of their thinking and practices, discouraged a lot of traditional practices and institutions like *guurti* which was an assembly of elders that handled situations of disputes, in favour of a European-styled approach to dispute resolution which is still struggling to be an effective replacement of what had existed for innumerable generations (Michaelson, 1993). They were on a civilising mission and did their utmost not just to make Somalia develop in all respects as a colony but to equally have Somalis rise to the level of civilized people.

Unlike in Britain, Italy or France where there is a head of government in charge of the country and citizenship automatically confers upon people certain rights and privileges, many Somali groups were not like that. They rarely had a single leader around whom everything revolved. They instead had a council of leaders with collective responsibilities and things revolved around strong clans (Ssereo, 2003).

Moved by conventional wisdom of state building and national unity, these foreign powers who became the state architects of Somalia were tempted to fuse all the people into one, inseparable bloc, ruled by a strong government of national unity but it has backfired in many instances because though unity is a good thing, it means different things to different people and societies. That is why the Somali context has to be properly understood and respected without which peacemakers will continue building what will not last because of the good structure they are trying to raise on a foundation that was culturally and socially designed to carry something else.

For example, membership in a Somali clan did not automatically give the individual certain rights and duties as citizenship did to people in western nations. Instead these things were formally negotiated and informally preserved in unwritten contracts such that without forcibly making any direct reference to specific documents, parties knew their rights and duties and happily participated in community life and the development of the group (Ahmed and Green, 1999). This contradicts knowledge of citizenship in other political units, especially those in other regions of the world.

This does not mean the fault is totally that of the foreign powers. Somalis themselves contributed significantly to their current fate as the next subheading reveals. These many contributors and their contributions are responsible for why the conflict has many sides with effects which extend to regional and global levels (Dehéz and Gebrewold, 2010; Ingiriis, 2014).

Whether intervening in the conflict in an academic manner or as a professional peacemaker, it is important to cast the eyes as wide as possible to note all of what matters. This is because it will be hard to get a sustainable solution if the focus of the solutions parties keep proposing continue to revolve around issues linked to their own national interests like the defeat of terrorism and the promotion of homeland security without paying adequate attention to the legitimate worries of the country's different socio-political groups which are hindering cooperation (Hoehne, 2014).

This pursuit of interests has been a key feature in the behaviour of many of the outside parties that have made interventions to bring the conflict under control. It is worth hinting that the country is not only strategically located but is regarded as too dangerous to remain unstable and chaotic since that is likely to result to it becoming a centre for the development and export of vices like terror, insecurity, ship attacks, and other challenges governments are currently battling against.

As such, though countries have peace and other good motives in their minds when intervening in Somalia, their national interests and other side benefits still remain so real that they seem to be more of the force driving them than the separation of fighting groups to restore peace in the troubled Somali nation (Ahmad, 2012). This is partly why the country's situation has not been positively responding to treatment even though different therapies have been administered since the conflict began. Interestingly, things instead got worse in certain instances after peace deals were signed as if indicating the country's rejection of excessive administration of medications that deal with other things but not its real malaise.

Many warlords and politically powerful clan leaders have mastered this behaviour of certain foreign parties. They know the language to use to get them as allies or secure their backing. In line with this, they either name their movements or at least link their agendas to things like antiterrorism, the fight against extremism, the defence of Islam, and the promotion of security to get supporters or sympathisers depending on what is appealing or what side of the international political spectrum they belong to.

At the end of the day, though there is much fighting going on with much money and ammunition pouring into Somalia, not so much fighting is actually waged against the real issues that can repair the broken society. Its conflict has grown into something complex not because of what started it but because of other developments. The local people, especially the poorer ones as well as the comparatively weaker riverine communities, are suffering the most and paying a very high price.

This can surely be avoided or minimised if angry fighting parties were to pause and ask themselves some hard questions including why they are actually fighting and what the real problem of Somalia is. Many other things have taken centre stage and overshadowed much of the original concerns that led to fighting. This is not strange, anyway, because one of the features of conflicts that stay for long is the possibility for new, extra things, to come in and dominate why parties are fighting (Crocker *et al*, 2003).

It is thus important for the factions to take a break and question or reconsider why they are into the struggle. This is important because the fighting instinct might just have been so much activated that it is causing parties to fight to exhaustion without realising that there would not have been any need for that had they paused for a while and critically asked themselves if the fighting was worth it and was still the best option to secure their aims.

As a matter of fact, identifying the right problem or properly defining it and considering the relevance of any risk invested for its sake is a vital and extremely crucial part of negotiation or any attempt to wisely deal with a rival party (Dawson, 2011).

Looking at the Somali society with lenses that produce a negative image will result to the problem being negatively defined; consequently permitting the free world to step in and make different forms of interventions, both military and diplomatic, as has been the case, under the guise of cleansing the land of dangerous evils like insecurity and terrorism to help it rise to the ranks of sane states with peaceful people. Fighting these vices wherever they exist or at least in the case of Somalia is, of course, a worthy initiative. But they are mostly symptoms of deeper and more entrenched problems which will never lose their power and capacity of producing even more challenging effects if not honestly confronted and dealt with.

For example, going back to the deeds of colonialism, the colonial rulers of the country, driven more by economic benefits and the wisdom of low cost administration than by the need for cohesion and national unity, divided the people into five states thus laying a foundation of division upon which different clan leaders and warlords have capitalised on to build polities of their own, carrying out destructive acts against members of groups not considered theirs (Bradbury and Healy, 2010).

This is a key problem in the Somali conflict, characterised by bloody and gruesome battles between competing clans and groups who see themselves as completely different from others identity-wise. As echoed earlier, the foreign administrations are only partly responsible for the division that now reigns. Other factors count as well including identity. It is such a key dynamic in the conflict in Somalia (Höhne, 2006; Ingiriis, 2014). The way it operates needs to be mastered properly to help parties apply solutions that are adaptable and can survive moments of trials.

In sharp contrast to what exists in many other Africa countries, almost all of Somalis belong to the same ethnic group, share the same religion, language, and cultural background (Michaelson, 1993; Netabay, 2007). But unlike Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, South Africa, and many others in the continent who spend fortunes and battle enormously using different policies to overcome challenges connected to divisions caused by different languages and ethnic groups their populations are made up of, Somalia was more of a united bloc in many ways and a lot of people expected it to have less trouble in these areas (Luling, 1997).

The fact that this has not been the case raises some questions because after gaining political independence, the country was among the cases in Africa noted to be faring well in things pertaining to democratic orderliness, togetherness, and peaceful transfer of power (Thurston, 1969). The fact that the multiple commonalities of the people did not succeed in making them stay together poses an important challenge to the hypothesis that having similarities and related features facilitate the success of reconciliation. It sounds true but is practically not exactly the case.

Somalia and a host of similar cases, for example, are instead facing enormous challenges today that expose the flaws of this hypothesis in many ways. In fact, it is currently a fragmented country whose people are not only scattered all over the world but its parts are constantly falling apart with regular disintegration and secession attempts that have resulted in the creation of mini states from the loins of the once united Somalia. It has been so challenging putting things together again even though almost everyone has had a round or two of trial; ranging from the United Nations to the United States to the European Union and the African Union down to individual nations like Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Djibouti and even personal initiatives from individuals. A conflict of this nature is not only hard to overcome but is also contagious with the capacity to reproduce itself in different ways and affect a lot of other territories if not checked (Murunga, 2005).

Despite these numerous interventions and peace initiatives, it continues to be a thriving conflict that is draining the world. It has proven to be such a hard nut to crack that even the key actors are tired of, though still concerned about, the chaos, anarchy, bloodshed, and insecurity that have become part of Somalia's story long after it slipped into this condition of political confusion (Raffaelli, 2007; Michaelson, 1993).

Another external factor responsible for the rapid collapse of Somalia and the complex condition it found itself in can be linked to activities undertaken during the Cold War and the quickness with which support received from the major powers by Somalia by reason of the country's strategic importance, disappeared after the collapse of the Berlin wall and the end of the Cold War (Bradbury and Healy, 2010). Till date, Somalia's strategic significance continues to make it an attraction and a place the world cannot easily ignore. Just to have a clue, it is situated at the Horn of Africa and serves as a connecting point between African and Arab cultures; and also controls the passage to the Red Sea, the Gulf of Eden, the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, serving as an access point to the port of

Djibouti, and is washed by the Indian Ocean which provides water routes to different parts of the world (Ssereo, 2003).

## THE STRATEGIC LOCATION OF SOMALIA



**SOURCE:** US Department of State: Diplomacy in Action. Available at:

<http://www.state.gov/p/af/rt/hornofafrica/169532.htm>

# SOMALIA, ITS NEIGHBOURS AND POSITION IN AFRICA



SOURCE: Africa Guide. Available at: <https://www.africaguide.com/afmap.htm>



It means a lot for one country to be endowed with all of these. No wonder it was much coveted during the Cold War as it has been during different occasions after that period. The Soviet Union succeeded in winning the country's mind at the height of the ideological war and the two became allies; a situation which blocked western powers from having any significant presence in the country though they were active in the region. The Soviets, however, angered their Somali friends when they backed Ethiopia during the 1977 Ethiopia-Somalia war over Ogaden, providing substantial arms including aircraft and tanks which aided Ethiopia to win the war as Somalia suffered one of its worst defeats which continued to hunt it for years (Tareke, 2000).

This made Mogadishu's officials really furious. It affected the relationship of the two countries, creating an open window through which western powers passed to secure the strategic hot property they had been eyeing for long. An estimated \$2.5 billion of western aid flowed into the country partly to cajole it to completely dump the east and henceforth play the Cold War game as a trusted team player of the western bloc (Murphey, 2000).

Consequently, Somalia was significantly sustained and helped by financial and material flows from the west, no longer the east. This lasted until the end of the Cold War because after this period the strategic relevance of the country, especially as it concerned the United States, dropped considerably leading to a corresponding drop in what came from western treasuries to the Mogadishu officials (Delaney, 2004).

With trouble from outside and increasing unpopularity inside, President Barre's government was in real trouble. It just could not stand the odds for long. Eventually, his people rose against him and toppled the regime in 1991. Though the period that immediately followed looked better than what some described as his repressive and fearful reign, the country has basically remained on the ground since then, unable to rise again. It has been dealing with different challenges and desiring to get back to the level that moved many to cite it in time past not for negative reasons connected to war or an

urgent need of humanitarian aid, but for positive ones such as a political success story and an example of oneness and religious homogeneity (Kurtulus, 2012).

It is worth recalling that this same Somali society was once seen in certain circles as one of the few cases where a state survived the effects of balkanisation and its people, mostly from the same cultural group and practising the same religion, lived under the same administration in an admirable and exemplary manner (Danfulani, 1999).

This is not the situation anymore. It is instead a special case with an emergency condition that demands the fullness of the world's peacemaking ability to bring the current chaos to a definite end. Getting to this end requires sufficient understanding and the fixing of what Somalis themselves contributed in getting their country's problem where it is today.

#### **b) The Role of Somalis in their Country's Woes**

In many respects, Somalis are a contributing factor to the current fate of their country. This, they did, either as individuals or collectively as a state. For example, the country acted for quite a while as a predatory state that perched on others at the least opportunity. This earned it many enemies in the region and beyond. Its invasion of Ogaden in 1977 to seize it from Ethiopia is one of such instances. It was an action deliberately planned and carried out by its leaders to realise their pan-Somali dream which sought to create a Greater Somali state that would cover much of the Horn of Africa (Tareku, 2000).

This gave the country the reputation of a place others, especially neighbours, watched against suspiciously. Things were even made worse by the fact that the government, which came to power through a coup in 1969, increasingly became repressive and intolerant to its own people making both outsiders and insiders to dread it (Neier, 1988). The challenging and hostile internal conditions were so real that some have wondered if Somali government did not do more harm to its people than good,

adding that its collapse and the subsequent statelessness that followed were better and more relieving events which freed a lot of people from bondage and opened a new era of progress (Leeson, 2007).

Moreover, the citizens themselves have played a role in making a bad situation worse by exhibiting a degree of division based on origin and clan affiliation that is embarrassing and has significantly undermined efforts of peace and national restoration (Hashim, 1997). It should be pointed out that being a society of clans and other groups is not a political disadvantage but when these become an instigator of division as is the case with Somalia, there is every reason to be worried.

**(SEE THE TABLE OVERLEAF)**

Things like clans are an element of diversity which could constitute a blessing if their place and relevance in society is properly understood and used. But when they become sources of stereotyping, branding, division and exclusive identity formations, they then constitute a major stumbling block to any society who has many of them as the Somali case portrays (Bakonyi, 2009; Solomon, 2014).

In the 1970s and 1980s, many forms of divisions and even violence existed already but they were mostly interpreted as reactions against the oppressiveness of Barre's regime but later, it became clear that it was more than just a simple disapproval of a regime's misdeeds. The discord among the people was as serious as to cause and sustain different regionally oriented violence and civil antagonisms (Bakonyi, 2009). This made the country to be synonymous with chaos and political failure even though outsiders have been intervening to help it unite for the betterment of the people and the future of their children.

The reason why these divisive actions of Somalis have been a challenging burden holding the country back is partly because biased clan politics undermines merit and much of what projects a society to prominence since blood and origin become the major determinants of people's qualification

and eligibility to serve the country in top positions or participate in activities that can move the society forward (Samatar, 2010).

**TABLE II: MAJOR SOMALI CLANS AND SUB-CLANS**

Digil	Hawiye	Darod	Isaq	Dir	Rahanweyn
	Haber Gidir	Ogaden	Haber Yunis	Issa	
	Abgal	Majerteen	Awal	Gadabursi	
	Galjel	Marehan	Haber Jello	Bimal	
	Ugajen	Dulbahante	Ayub		
	Jugundhabe	Warsangali	Idagale		
	Hawadlle	Lelkase	Ibran		
	Murursade		Arab		
	Shekhal		Haber Toljelo		
	Biamal				

**SOURCE:** Dagne, T. (2010): “Somalia: Current Conditions and Prospects for a Lasting Peace”, Washington, DC, *Congressional Research Services*, in Solomon, Hussein (2014): Somalia's Al Shabaab: Clans vs Islamist Nationalism”, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 351-366.

The people themselves realised how much of a problem their division was and the extent to which it was costing them politically. They attempted to solve this by turning to religious nationalism, since the country predominantly practices a single religion, to build an Islamic-nationalist identity which can unify and consolidate the different peoples and clans (Solomon, 2014). This too faced serious setbacks.

Other powers, including international players and regional actors, have been concerned about this kind of religious nationalism though they are not against it. They prefer moderate Islamists to be in charge, premising this choice on the argument that if those with extremist ideologies who interpret portions of the Islamic holy book in a cynical and exclusive manner are allowed to take power, it will be risky for other people who do not believe in their beliefs or think as they do (Strategic Comments, 2006). It is thought that they might brand others as infidels and then target them not because they did anything wrong but because they happen not to share their thoughts.

The revival of these radical groups has therefore been one of the issues of contention between their members and sympathisers who think it is their right to exist whenever they want to and those who hold that it is a risk which threatens the free world and universal human values such as tolerance, freedom, and the respect of people's choices (Strategic Comments, 2006).

Somalia is the one paying the highest price for these different struggles as it remains stuck in a condition of political disability which has been made more complex by the activities of its neighbours and other regional powers.

### **c) The Role of Neighbours and Regional Powers in Somalia's Conflict**

Regional actors have played a part in complicating the problem Somalia is in. As hinted earlier, the country experienced a relationship of rivalry with different neighbours at different moments for

different reasons. Each country in the region was dealing with some form of internal conflict and other challenges. Interestingly, each of the governments tried to deal with their problems by meddling and offering some degree of support for insurgencies in neighbouring countries especially those that were seen as constituting a threat (Cliffe, 1999).

Consequently, when Somalia's internal troubles and uprisings began, some took advantage of the situation and put their noses in its affairs in a manner that benefited their own cravings. In fact, the whole of the Horn of Africa has been the scene of a lot of differences and friction, pitting not only the countries of the region against each other but also external powers against one another and against enemies of their allies and interests in the region. This became serious that the region acquired the reputation of being host to one of the largest externally funded military build-ups in the whole of the developing world (Kendie, 2003).

Just to have a clue of how rough and confusing interstate relations have been, Somalia invaded Ethiopia in 1977 and almost succeeded to subdue it if not of backings the latter received from allies. This, understandably, made the country an enemy whose hurt Ethiopia did not regret to see happen. At those early stages, it even stood ready to facilitate it if it could. This was partly because the attack was both provocative and costly to Ethiopia. An Ethiopian defeat would have caused it to lose almost a third of its territory and destroy its revolution and dream of remaining in the path of steady growth (Tareke, 2000).

Other countries of the region like Djibouti and Eritrea had their own share of friction. Eritrea and Ethiopia, for example, were in a long state of enmity, orchestrated by a border dispute that moved both to clinch on the other's throat as they battled for supremacy (Lyons, 2009). This difficult relations manifested in Somalia when its conflict broke out. These neighbours and regional powers intervened to fix the country's conflict in their own terms. Their level of cooperation was limited and at times, almost non-existent even though they were all working to solve the same problem.

At the end of the day, regional rivalries of this sort triggered proxy wars and contributed to Somalia's currently complex condition (Menkhaus, 2010). However, it is worth remembering that these same regional powers have contributed a lot to restore peace in Somalia given that an unstable Somalia is equally unhealthy to them (Ogbaharya, 2006). But the worrisome thing about their interventions which has not helped Somalia is that they have been, as is the case with interventions from the world's major powers, driven by their interests. Consequently, where their interests clashed, Somalia paid the price and suffered for it. Its conflict has thus continued to experience failures even though everybody had been doing something to help the country get over it.

As will be seen in the next subheading, peace agreements have been signed many times. For example, in Djibouti in 1991, Addis Ababa in 1993, Cairo in 1994, Nairobi in 1995 and Jeddah in 1996 (African Yearbook of International Law, 1997) indicating that work has constantly been in progress though the situation remains an unaccomplished assignment the world is still grappling with.

### **Assessing Efforts at Restoring Peace**

It is challenging to say exactly how many meetings have been organised to get peace for Somalia. Depending on whether one counts them by the number of sovereign governments that endorsed the meeting or by the number of participants and the degree of acceptability of the outcome by the parties, the number is determined by the criteria each person applies. But no matter the criteria, one thing is common – the number of peace initiatives is high. We hereby assess some of the hard-to-ignore ones:

#### **a) The Djibouti Peace Conference, 1991**

It was the first attempt to restore peace in Somalia and came a short while after the fall of President Barre's regime. Divided into two, the first meeting took place in June and the second followed in July 1991. The efforts resulted to the endorsement of Ali Mahdi as President but this was rejected by General Muhammad Farah Aideed (AMISOM, 2010; Menkhaus, 2010). This first peace attempt

resulted in the first failure and set the ball rolling for subsequent failures. It has been a long struggle against a conflict that has been changing both in form and stakes, defeating different initiatives that aimed at overturning it.

#### **b) Conference on National Reconciliation, 1993**

It had the backing of Ethiopia and the United Nations. Torn apart by civil war, many were appalled by the way Somalia failed to get better with the passage of time, creating a humanitarian situation which was hard to ignore and alarmed the world. Even Somali political leaders and warring factions could not stay indifferent. Apparently moved, they took up the challenge to work things out for the betterment of their country. A total of fifteen parties to the Somali Civil War signed two agreements to disarm, get together and promote reconciliation (AMISOM, 2010). There were flashes of hope especially as the Ethiopia meeting tried to avoid certain past errors of other peace efforts. Previous meetings focused a lot on warlords and political elites. They were the ones who constituted the majority of those invited. Local dignitaries and representatives of rural populations, though equally important and constituted a part of Somalia, were often left out or made to play second fiddle.

This time, attempts were made to bring together as many of Somalia's diverse people as possible including those at the grass roots in what looked like an experimentation of the bottom-up approach (Netabay, 2007). Unfortunately, things fell apart again as fighting set in and dashed the hopes of everyone, necessitating the holding of another peace conference.

#### **c) The Sodere Conference, 1996-7**

Through the initiative of Ethiopia, the Sodere Conference was organised as another attempt to find peace through the establishment of a decentralised federal government since Somali clans were not cooperating enough and federalism looked like what would work in such a divided scenario. As nice and hopeful as this may seem, a closer look at the participants indicated that Somali factions that



opposed Ethiopia were absent. Already, this was an issue which indicated that all might not go well to guarantee a long-lasting peace.

It should be pointed out that the area much affected by conflict was the south because the north was relatively peaceful and orderly and had separated from the rest of the country to form an autonomous state even though the rest of the world refused to recognise it (Fox, 1999).

The Sodere talks led to the establishment of a National Salvation Council (NSC) composed of 41 members with the responsibility to build a government of transition to unite the country and bring it out of the condition that was generally referred to as a failed state. It also instituted the 4.5 formula of representation in which clans were proportionally represented in the main body that ran the country as a way of solving issues that emanated from accusations of domination by some clans against others (Dagne, 2010; Menkhaus, 2010).

While the talks at Sodere were ongoing, other dramas were unfolding. Since Egypt and Ethiopia were not best of friends and had scores to settle, a rival conference was organised in Cairo, Egypt, in which many of the sidelined factions were invited and it aimed at achieving a centralised, unitary government for Somalia; the direct opposite of the federal government the Sodere Conference wanted (Fitzgerald, 2002; Menkhaus, 2010).

#### **d) The Cairo Peace Conference, 1997**

It registered some successes including the creation of a 13-member Council of Presidents, post of Prime Minister, a national assembly and 28 signatories including rivals like Ali Mahdi and Hussein Farrah Aideed, son of General Aideed and leader of the faction his late father headed (AMISOM, 2010).

The Cairo Declaration brought in renewed aspirations and hope. It looked like conflict was finally going to be a matter of the past in Somalia. Part of it read:

The undersigned political leaders of the Republic of Somalia, in an effort to achieve peace and reconciliation within our beloved country, having met in Cairo from 12 November to this 22<sup>nd</sup> day of December 1997, hereby affirm and solemnly declare and pledge ourselves to the following principles and actions:

Whereas, the undersigned Somali leaders desire lasting peace, stability and an end to the conflict and civil war in Somalia; and

Whereas we recognize these Cairo talks as unique in nature and result, as embodying Somalia's national and individual aspirations, and as unifying all the socio-political forces of our country [...]

RESOLVED:

That the undersigned hereby agree that this declaration shall be binding upon each one of us; and

That bearing in mind the efforts made in Nairobi in October 1996, Sodere in January 1997, Sanaa in May 1997, Cairo in May 1997, and the separate Cairo Understanding of 21 December 1997, respectively; and

That it shall be an indication of our unfailing desire to unite our people, protect their rights and form the institutions that can and will serve basic needs (Yusuf, 1998).

As can be noticed, many initiatives preceded the Cairo talks with some separated from other by barely a couple of months. They did not succeed in ending the conflict, unfortunately. Was Cairo to be the final stop? It looked so but like its predecessors, it too failed and conflict continued to tear Somalia apart, necessitating the holding of more peace meetings.

#### **e) Somalia National Peace Conference, Arta**

Held in Arta, Djibouti, in 2000, this conference is also called the Djibouti or Arta Conference. It came a couple of years after that of Cairo and sought to restore peace in Somalia which had grown so chaotic and war-torn that fighting was a recurring event and guns a common sight which gave whoever possessed them the power to control wherever they were found as there was no government and people were on their own (Willems, 2002). The conference led to the creation of a Transitional National Government (TNG) which was greeted with much optimism as a lot was done to avoid mistakes that led to failure in previous initiatives including the putting of focus on civic instead of faction leaders and the participation of a record 2,000 Somali delegates (Lewis, 2003). It received the support of the United Nations and many Arab states.

Unfortunately, like its predecessors, it did not stop the conflict even though so much was done in this regard. It had opponents that disliked both its agenda and the circumstances under which it was created including the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC). More initiatives were thus needed.

#### **f) The Reconciliation Conferences of 2002-2004**

A series of reconciliation conferences held from 2002-2004. That of 2002 was spearheaded by the Intergovernmental Authority of Development (IGAD), a regional body working for development and peace in east Africa (Africa Research Bulletin, 2011). Kenya played a major role here, hosting the Somali National Reconciliation Conference (SNRC) in Eldoret which brokered a deal between 24 factions, moving them to sign a ceasefire agreement that halted fighting for some time.

Another conference was held in Nairobi, Kenya's capital, in 2003. It successfully moved authorities of the Transitional National Government (TNG) and the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) to reconcile, paving the way for the formation of the Transitional Federal

Government (TFG). With the dawn of federalism, it looked like some peace was about to be experienced since different clans and peoples were given a considerable measure of control over their own affairs (Dagne, 2010). But things did not get better. The country's situation continued to be preoccupying as peace remained elusive.

#### **g) Post-2004 Peace Initiatives**

After the creation of the Transitional Parliament in 2004, this body proceeded to elect Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed as President but the optimism surrounding this development did not last as the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) militarily overran the capital, Mogadishu, and took control of things in June 2006.

A series of other meetings were organised including one in London in 2012 which grouped a wide spectrum of Somalis including those in the diaspora to get their thoughts and contribution for the way forward (Hammond, 2012).

As a result of the multitude of failed peace efforts coupled with the threat Somalia's instability posed to many, especially close neighbours, Ethiopia, one of the states that felt greatly menaced, launched a military campaign in December 2006 and overthrew the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) which had formed a government in Mogadishu and registered some degree of successes in terms of restoring order and normalcy (Desousa, 2014).

Ethiopia's worry revolved around claims that the ICU was intolerably radical, propagating what was seen as an extremist agenda including the prohibition of civil society groups, replacing customary laws with sharia law, calls for jihad against Ethiopia and appeals to the Ethiopian people to overthrow their government (Desousa, 2014).

Ethiopia thus felt it had had enough and if action was not quickly taken, that will be a massive security blunder that will cost it dearly. Consequently, in December 2006, the Ethiopian offensive began and its Prime Minister announced the action to the world in these words: 'The Ethiopian

government has taken self-defensive measures and started counter-attacking the aggressive forces of the Islamic Courts and foreign terrorist groups' (Allo, 2010).

This attack, apart from criticisms from peace advocates who thought war and the shedding of blood never have any justification, was questioned by many others who were baffled by the wisdom and rationality of such an action, finding it difficult to understand how relevant the move really was saying it rather aggravated Somali social and political ills (Bamfo, 2010).

Though Ethiopia later withdrew two years later, the attack, in many ways, was an example of one that truly made an already complex case more chaotic causing things to deteriorate further as Somalia continued to be a case desiring what can help it find the peace it once enjoyed and the unity it was noted for.

The question now is what lessons can be learned from all of these and how should subsequent peace initiatives, whether coming from track I diplomats or members of other tracks of diplomacy, be pursued without repeating past errors or walking down the same road that led the country further away from peace and closer to conflict and confusion? Knowledge of this is vital to help develop a winning formula and a workable roadmap to lasting peace.

### **Things to Learn From Somalia's Constantly Elusive Peace**

A lot of lessons can be drawn from this case. They are the things that should be fixed to keep hopes of achieving peace alive. First of all, the country's case testifies that war is neither an efficient peacemaker nor a good provider of solutions. It rather multiplies the woes of both the attacker and the attacked, compelling all to go through pains and losses that drain immensely no matter who eventually emerges winner.

Moreover, once the ball of war is set on motion it is difficult to stop it using the same ease and energy with which it was started. This is because many things come into play and influence the

dynamics of war, making it easier for it to progress than regress. Especially in areas where poverty is rife and people have a strong feeling of insecurity, the probability of a war lasting long after starting is really high because household members of such communities readily support war and any form of coercive measures as a way of effecting change (Justino, 2009).

This is one of the underlying reasons why Somalia's conflict has been so challenging and protracted. There was a noticeable hike in insecurity, poverty and famine to the extent that the country leaped past others to rank among the world's foremost humanitarian cases which constantly needed urgent food supplies and medicines (Seal, 2013; Shortland *et al*, 2013).

These factors were not initially strong at the onset. The level they attained was a product of war, not the cause. However, when they became rife, they acted like fuel in fire and provoked the already volatile situation to burst into wild flames that have continued raging and defying all efforts to get it extinguished.

A significant aspect of the solution that will last is not just an end to hostilities or cessation of fighting but the tackling of poverty and the provision of security guarantees people can trust. Evidently, social economics and the upgrading of living standards to a level sufficiently satisfactory has the potential to diminish the strength of conflict and promote inclusion for the common good (Starr, 2006). This looks like something which can help Somalia.

Another lesson is the fact that in finding a solution, much focus was initially paid to the top-bottom approach where governments and official diplomats took the lead in peacemaking. Many of the processes were therefore elite-dominated. These individuals organised everyone else and were perceived as the holders of knowledge and skills of peacebuilding that were so rare. It looked like they were the holders of the keys to doors of peace. If there had to be peace, they had to make it happen.

Though expert knowledge is vital and the role of the elite remain important, reconciliation and peacebuilding in a setting like Somalia's require an amalgamation of forces that go beyond the initiative of experts alone. This is because it took a combination of things to give the conflict the energy it is displaying and the level it has attained. Therefore, it will fail to register any progress if tackled solely from top to bottom even if the peacemakers are so determined and gifted. Their determination does not cancel the point that the role of others is not an option but a necessity in conflicts of this nature. If ignored, that will be both an error and a serious omission that will not only cause severe setbacks but will cost the entire process a lot (Ahmad, 2012).

Especially during certain phases of the conflict, the search for peace did not sufficiently include peasants and people at the periphery of society. There were instead lots of outside interventions and missions from foreign governments and intergovernmental organizations including the United Nations Operations in Somalia (UNOSOM), the United Task Force (UNITAF), the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), just to name these few (Halane, 2012). Though these bodies are playing an important role and their sacrifices should be hailed, many Somalis were concerned about the level of foreign presence in their country and preferred a Somali-led peace that will prioritize the country and promote the full participation of its own people including those at the bottom of society since they are the ones to live with any peace that will be negotiated (Netabay, 2007; interview with Yasin, 2015).

Moreover, this is an era when local people who were usually neglected in serious matters about the functioning of states and the quest for helpful solutions are now expressing themselves in very loud and clear ways. Commonly known as grassroots people, they are such a strong force nowadays and their actions, mostly carried out through, though not limited to, nonviolent diplomatic approaches, are effecting decisive changes in the policies and human rights-related actions of many societies (Ruiz Jiménez, 2004). Previously, conventional diplomacy and track two diplomacy dominated much of

what was done. But diplomacy is increasingly getting unofficial. The people are now diplomats with a lot to offer. Their diplomatic training was not acquired from any prestigious, elite institution where only few managed to have access, but came from their daily realities and experiences. Consequently, unlike before when they sat back and waited for *diplomats* and *qualified individuals* to run both their states and lives for them, they are more vocal now and have come out of the closet to take their destinies into their own hands, acting as diplomats and nation-builders to steer their countries to the direction they think it should go using, not might, but their rights in a nonviolent way (Ruiz Jiménez, 2004).

This has worked so well in many places. In a country like Somalia where there is a strong craving to have a thriving, stable democracy that works well, giving the people a voice will surely serve as a plus to its current quest for peace because they are not fit only to be bystanders and passive onlookers who can only have their way by force but can be allowed to bring much of what they have on the negotiation table in a peaceful, nonviolent manner to help the entirety of the country and its divided factions.

It is worth clarifying that this is not a call to undermine the role of states and outsiders. Of course, their role is decisive in peacemaking and track I diplomacy remains an important channel through which diplomatic and relevant peace activities flow as hinted already. But too much dependence on it can cost a peace process profoundly especially if enough is not done to balance things quickly enough. One of the ways of attaining this balance, especially in complex cases like Somalia, according to some researchers, is to use the bottom-up instead of the top-bottom approach (Leonard and Samantar, 2011; Netabay, 2007).

This project supports this position but argues that it is still not enough and will provide almost the same lapses as the top-bottom approach it seeks to correct. This is partly because for the case of Somalia, it is a clan-based society driven significantly by kinship and strong affiliations to groups



(Jama, 2007). Using the top-bottom approach alone will cause alienation and fail to achieve much because peasants and other people at the periphery of society need to be brought closer to what is going on.

They need to join the dialogue and be given the chance to air their views and pour their minds out without which there will not really exist the type of inner healing and mental preparedness to wholly support any peace process no matter how appealing it might sound or look (Lederach and Lederach, 2010; Jama, 2007; Netabay, 2007).

The bottom-top approach on the other hand, will equally not completely do the job. Yes, it will bring in local people and make them participate in birthing the solution under which they will like to live. But as can be noticed, it only moved upward; that is, in the opposite direction to the top-bottom approach. At the end, it is just a linear movement too like the first it came to correct. As we found out, Somalia's issues and the recalcitrance of its conflict is the product of a web of causes scattered all over its conflict circle, not a linear one.

To touch all or at least most of them, it requires not less than an interconnected web of activities and initiatives including the participation of Somalis in the diaspora (Thompson, 2013; Kleist, 2008), those at home and a constructive involvement of outsiders as neutral facilitators (Mohamed, 2015), among others. One big issue is that the conflict will not just be settled by who is participating in the search for a workable solution and who is not. The durability of the solution will be determined more by the kind of issues tackled and the sincerity with which this is done.

This is where multi-track diplomacy comes in. It is important to state that it is not the panacea to this conflict and will be unable to do everything. Yet it is one of the currently available means of approaching troublesome conflicts potently, especially intractable ones that seem to have everlasting lifespans (Diamond and McDonald, 1996; Arrey, 2013).

Given that peace is not just the absence of war, attaining positive, lasting peace will require a combination of many initiatives including the protection of not only humans but also valuable cultural heritages and materials of immense relevance like treasures and artefacts using what some have called a knowledge-centred approach (Mire, 2011). This and lots more are inside the multi-track diplomacy package. It does not just focus in ending war. It extends as far as healing the society and helping it develop the courage of forgetting about the past and focusing on the construction of a new and better future.

These materials, for example, are carriers of history and as Welsh (1971) argues, the past is a vital element needed to build the future and it is hard to construct the future, especially a people's future, without sufficiently drawing from the past; and drawing from the past implies accessing existing knowledge about who the people really are and who they will not be no matter how hard anyone tries to make them so.

One other lesson is the necessity for regulation and proper coordination of international interventions. There have been many of such interventions but things were not brought under control partly because of challenges linked to overlapping duties and an outright lack of neutrality in many cases. This was evident notably in situations involving individual countries who were noted to be faced with the dilemma of maintaining peace in Somalia while simultaneously safeguarding their own security interests and well-being.

Moreover, a lot of reconciliation efforts have been geared towards the establishment of a unified Somali state with one central government. Unity is good but needs to be contextualised because some societies will not adapt to certain forms of unity the way others will. Clans form the basic unit of identity formation in Somalia. The society, since precolonial times, is noted to show a strong preference for decentralisation and clan loyalty (Hussein, 1992; Michaelson, 1993).

Therefore, to approach reconciliation with strategies that seek only a completely unified and consolidated state is good only on paper and not in practice even though unity is a good thing. It took long for intervening parties to come to this realisation and even when they did, the federal form of government they came up with has had its own inherent lapses that worked against its survival. Things have therefore continued to fall apart, exposing everyone to questions regarding the type of unity that will be best for Somalia.

To round up this section, apart from the sociological challenge of being divided on clan lines, a major lesson from Somalia's case is the warmongering and power addictive behaviours of many of its political elites. Everyone held tight to their claims and none thought they should back down to even some degree for the sake of peace. The result has been a difficult scenario of warlord clashes which made Somali politics that which violence and blood decided many issues (Hyband, 1993).

Getting to the point of peace requires peacemakers to be sufficiently aware of the gravity of this challenge and work to deal with it. Moreover, and more importantly, Somali political leaders should be willing to make constructive compromises and allow the ambitions of Somalia to be above theirs or those of their clans. This has been hard because in conflicts of this nature any compromise of an aspect of one party's position is usually seen as a victory or gain for the other and because no one wants to lose, things always continue to be frustratingly stagnant (Bar-Tal, 2013; Bar-Siman-Tov, 2002; Crocker *et al*, 2005). In some moments, they regressed, moving backward and adding to the work that needed to be done.

## **Conclusion**

As the quest for peace continues, it is hard to tell at this point if Somalia will be united again as before when conflict finally passes away and durable peace returns. The country has not only been a victim of a long conflict but has equally been plagued by different moves of secession with some parts like Puntland and Somaliland having declared their autonomy and existing on their own for years now. They are accustomed to doing things their way and have led a comparatively peaceful and orderly life despite the refusal of the rest of the world to recognise them as sovereign states.

So, the challenge of the moment is not just that of permanently ending the ongoing conflict but also looking for possibilities of holding the Somali society together so that if it cannot return to the way it used to be, it should at least not become a victim of continuous self-division like a stem cell. This is surely dangerous as it can lead to a scenario where multiple small new states are born from the loins of the once big and glorious Somalia, forcing the country to disappear and be remembered only in historical terms as a vibrant nation that once existed but became a prey to its own divisive instincts as clan politics and outside conspiracies ravaged and tore it apart, defeating decades of efforts from different peacemakers and missions, both foreign and local, to put it together as a united and successful democracy.

What then can be done in cases like this where almost everything seems to have been tried, ranging from different forms of fighting to different kinds of diplomacy? Or is it not simply true, as some have argued, that certain conflicts are irresolvable and will stay unchanged no matter what is done and should be left alone to evolve into a solution of their own?

As indicated in different sections of this work, we do not believe in the existence of irresolvable conflicts with eternal lifespans. If a conflict cannot be resolved, it can at least be transformed. Based on how practical and workable transformation can be in difficult cases, we have tackled Somalia's

case, exposing some techniques of fostering reconciliation and building solid foundations of peace which can weaken the strength of conflict and turn things around.

Using multi-track diplomacy, we contend that fire does not put out fire; that will instead lead to a bigger and more ravaging fire. Peace in Somalia does not need canons and shells. Calming the fire of an intractable conflict of this nature requires a long-term inclusive strategy that engages all sectors of society to trigger a release of positive energy and the peace that all societies are endowed with.

Like in osmosis, no matter how strong and long-lasting a conflict may be, when the elements responsible for its strength are extracted, it loses its power. Peace can then be channelled easily to be enjoyed by society. Practical details of doing this in a real life conflict have been elaborated in other chapters using Somali diaspora population in Denmark as an experimentation sample.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## WHY CONFLICTS GET INTRACTABLE

**Introduction:** After looking at diasporic patterns of peacebuilding and before tackling reconciliation, it is important to question why some conflicts are difficult and get intractable in the first place. What actually makes them the way they are? This chapter responds to these concerns and explains that the pursuit of reconciliation in such contexts is usually a long term endeavour.

Though some highlights have been presented in previous chapters hinting about this issue, it is important to devote as much space for it as necessary in order to adequately examine its causes and nature. This will increase the possibility of understanding it sufficiently enough to know how to approach reconciliation in such cases. Doing this is vital because poor or insufficient mastery of why and how such conflicts bear unique characteristics will expose an intervening party or peace worker to a lot of difficulties. It is possible to miss the mark and apply inappropriate therapies the situation will not respond to.

As such, the chapter helps chapters seven and eight which respectively focus on peacebuilding and reconciliation to be properly understood. Without it, comprehension challenges might arise and probably some structural dysfunctions too because it will be hard to flow with certain aspects of my analyses given that I will be presenting solutions to problems that are either not known in the first place or are only partially known. I equally respond to questions related to whether a case like that of Somalia with highly polarised parties needs reconciliation given that it is so fragmented with some parts existing now as independent territories for years and it might be better for some of them to be left to develop on their own instead of attempting to bring them together with groups that currently

look like total strangers to them. As I get set to consider these issues, it is helpful to start with how intractability develops.

### **The Development of Intractability**

It takes a number of things for a conflict to begin. Conflicts are never spontaneous happenings that just pop on the scene from nowhere to surprise people. They are products of accumulated differences and occurrences. It usually takes a lot of things for any conflict to store the amount of negative energy that can make it become either violent, destructive or intractable (Arrey, 2015).

According to a 2014 study conducted in Boston College, one of the principal roots of an intractable conflict stems not out of hatred of one party by another but from misunderstanding of what is responsible for each other's actions and why they act the way they do (Boston College, 2014). Using thousands of people for experimentation, the research revealed that each group felt they were motivated by love more than hate unlike the rival group which was seen as being motivated by hate and unreasonable conflict-generating attitudes. This is called *motive attribution asymmetry* and is basically the idea that the other party is labelled as a problem and its motives are considered questionable, untrustworthy, bad and injurious.

This confirms earlier observations put forth by others including Burton (1990), Galtung (1994), Kriesberg (2008), Kriesberg and Dayton (2012), Bar-Tal (2010, 2013) which indicated that a major feature of hot conflicts is the fact that parties usually see themselves as nice while the other is the problem and need a change of manners. As a result of this evil-tagging behaviour, all parties get trapped in a complex circle of conflict and sheer unwillingness to compromise because they see themselves as victims whose sufferings are a direct result of the other's cruelty and interests (Noor *et al*, 2012).

This grows in intensity resulting to greater mutual finger-pointing and a blame game which gets so serious that no side shows the willingness to quit in any foreseeable future. The prospect of succeeding against the conflict thus become difficult. The more time passes, the more other things add to the original one, strengthening division and the level of intractability.

### **The Nexus between Time and Intractability**

Time is both a healer and a promoter of conflict. When a conflict lasts for long without the taking of measures to limit what leads to its accumulation of negative energy, the possibility of lasting even longer increases (Arrey, 2013; 2015). The more it stays, the more the prospect of achieving peace in its original form wanes. As we discovered and have explained in chapter eight, even when peace is attained, it is usually a different peace with many new realities which are not the same as what existed before the conflict began. Factors such as time and the extent of the destructiveness and pain suffered by the different parties influence the new peace and atmosphere that will emerge.

This is partly because as the conflict stays longer it penetrates the society, gaining strength which diminishes the chances of having a change that lines up with what used to be. It produces and reproduces negative energy such that entire groups and generations become shaped in and by the conflict experience because it sinks deep in them and becomes a decisive factor that affects both their conscious and subconscious minds (Mazur, 2014). Decisions and actions are thus influenced by this as the roots of the conflict spread in people over time.

The whole matter therefore shifts from being just a physical confrontation of antagonistic parties using fire power or other armouries to that with deep psychological roots which are hard to pull out but need to be uprooted, anyway, without which hopes of peace will remain bleak and gloomy as intractability gets more entrenched and harder to defeat (Bar-Tal, 2007; 2013; Coleman et al, 2007).



Peace gets pushed far away and things become even more complicated when the level of shame and humiliation suffered by group members increase over time to a level they find hard to live with.

### **The Connection between Shame, Humiliation and Intractability**

Shame and humiliation suffered from the hands of an oppressor or rival generate bitterness and feelings of revenge (Atran and Stern, 2005; Fontan, 2006). These are precursors of violence which dangerously affect the state of a conflict. In a research conducted by Ginges and Atran (2008), they confirmed the previous argument that humiliation and shame actually breed violence but went further to add that their new findings indicated how humiliation also produces what they called an *inertia effect* which is a tendency toward withdrawal and inaction that rather suppresses rebellious or violent acts though it also suppresses at the same time, people's support for peace and willingness to be part of any intergroup compromise talks.

In fact, these conditions fall within a broader spectrum of emotions and conditions that have strong and decisive negative bearings on conflicts. Mastering these emotions and regulating their flow is vital to the management of intractable conflicts (Halperin and Pliskin, 2015).

Many complicated psychological and social realities spring from different parties and groups who develop a type of self-perceived collective victimhood as they develop a mindset which sees their group as suffering from an intentional, unjustifiable, undeserved, unjust, immoral, and cruel harm from the other group (Bar-Tal, 2009; Noor *et al*, 2012). In a scenario of this nature, redeeming the group from what it feels it has suffered and paying the other group in their own coins become more appealing options to in-group members than talks of immediate peace or reconciliation, especially the one that overemphasises forgiveness without giving due place to justice and enough time for healing (Lederach, 2007).

One should be careful, however, not to fall into the trap of thinking that all emotions emanating from a conflict are negative. Moreover, even when negative, it does not forcibly mean the results will automatically be negative because it is possible for positive effects to flow out of negative emotions like anger in cases of protracted conflicts (Tagar, Federica, and Halperin, 2010). The peacemaker therefore has the challenge of constantly staying sufficiently aware of the fact that inasmuch as negative emotions may catalyse conflicts and fuel intractability there are moments when some of them could be useful in developing a winning strategy and outcome against a conflict. That moment must be known and the contribution an emotion can make should be mastered as well and given due consideration whenever necessary. These are realities that make success to be achieved without too much struggle and turning around cycles.

### **The Construction of Conflictive Ethos by the In-group**

One of the core explanations for the intractability of conflicts, especially in intergroup situations, is the formation of a set of what Bar-Tal (2000) called conflictive ethos by groups against one another. These basically mean beliefs, opinions or distinctive ways in which a group sees, interprets or explains the essence and existence of a conflict and what they think is the reason they are going through their current situation. These ethos shape the in-group's actions and attitudes towards those they consider enemies; that is the out-group, and even those intervening to foster peace.

By in-group, we mean the group under consideration which sees itself as the victim. The out-group means the group that is considered as the perpetrator or seen as being responsible for the suffering and issues the in-group is going through. While the in-group blames the out-group for its woes, the latter does the same against the in-group and both get stuck in a state of mutual accusations and finger-pointing.

The said ethos usually include the objectives of the group, why it thinks it is suffering and under attack, feelings that it is good, peaceful, just, hated by the other party, having the right to defend its resources and itself from the adversary's wickedness and blood thirstiness, just to name these few.

This type of thinking is always real and engraved in in-group members towards the out-group, influencing a lot about their attitudes and how they choose to relate to it (Vallacher, Coleman, Nowak, and Bui-Wrzosinska, 2010). Understanding this is vital in the pursuit of reconciliation. In fact, reconciliation initiatives will encounter difficulties and might not make any lasting impact if they fail to adequately deal with these realities using available productive measures including increased contact of the conflicting parties and the promotion of the need to make decisive compromises that favour peace and the shared position of the different parties (Pickett *et al*, 2014).

In certain instances, these conflicting ethos originate or get strengthened by groups' history or historical narratives (Hammack and Pilecki, 2015). History, as a matter of fact, can be so powerful and decisive in conflict dynamics that parties might not only consider it sacred but also view no price as too high to pay to defend what is usually seen as their dignity, heritage and past. When it gets to that point, things can grind up and get stuck and intractable because groups usually hold the view that their history is their soul and the very essence of their being which must never be lost – for if that ever happens, they will be left with nothing anymore to live for (Tint, 2010).

We will at this point, look at these ethos closely, using Bar-Tal's compilation as the framework to build on. He outlined the commonly used ones which are responsible for the protracted and difficult nature of intractable conflicts. They include:

1. The justness of one's own goals.
2. The necessity of security, both for individuals and the entire group.
3. Positive self-image.

4. The belief in one's own victimization.
5. Delegitimizing the opponent.
6. Patriotism for one's society.
7. The importance and necessity of unity especially when faced by the enemy.
8. Peace as society's ultimate objective.

Though these were highlighted as the most common, it is worth indicating that there are more that could be added to the list. Caution should be taken, however, on how to go about the addition because though intractability is not just an issue involving large communities and groups but manifests even in interpersonal settings, a number of realities that may be true for a large-scale intergroup conflict might not necessarily hold grounds for other cases like those involving members of a little unit of people (Miller and Roloff, 2006).

### **Contextual Analyses of the Ethos of Intractable Conflicts Using Bar-Tal's Compilation as Framework**

We have analysed them bringing in supplementary findings from our work and those of others. As he indicated, among the things powering intractable intergroup conflicts and responsible for their continuous and almost unlimited lifespan is the development of a well-crafted psychological superstructure which energises members to keep fighting, justifying their cause in their own eyes and highlighting the nobility of their actions as well as the relevance of any level of sacrifice they might be willing to put in defence of their group.

This psychological superstructure manifests in the form of strong beliefs, shaped thinking, pro in-group perceptions, and a way of looking at the out-group as a problem and an obvious thorn in the

in-group's flesh that should be rooted out without negotiation (Ahnaf, 2006). This can grow to the point of extremism or radicalism if left to continue feeding on ideas of exclusion and alienation.

According to the chronology outlined above, the first of the ethos is society's belief in the justness of its own goals. Each group often thinks it is right and the other, wrong. Consequently, each views its actions and goals as correct while those of the opponent are not. Therefore, the groups fight with every available energy to compel the opponent to submit and give up its struggle. This takes rational thinking far away, opening the door for issues which are hard to handle to flood in because of the angle from which the matter is being viewed by the parties (Dreyer, 2012).

Given the fact that both are driven by the same motivation and see the situation from dissimilar lenses, clashes become inevitable and the willingness to compromise or surrender get driven from their thinking and from the list of worthy options they are prepared to meaningfully consider (Schmueli, Elliott and Kaufman, 2006). Instead, each wonders why the other is not giving up though there are multitude of reasons why they should.

Next is the parties' belief in their security. In-group members get deeply convinced that both they and their group are under threat and must survive. This survival depends a lot on how much they are able to contain the enemy. This enemy, whenever the opportunity shows up, must be weakened. If this is not possible they must never be given the chance to get so powerful to constitute a significant danger.

As a result of this desperate quest for security, societies slip into situations which rather endanger their safety and render them vulnerable to, and victims of, their own actions which, in many cases, are driven not by scientifically justifiable worries but by fear, uncertainties and sheer suspicion of enemies they have engraved in their thinking which continue to hunt and deprive them of a peaceful, settled mind (Annan, 2012; 2015).

There is equally the aspect of positive self-image for one's society. This deals with the manner in which members glorify their groups and attribute different positive labels on them while at the same time castigating the opponent, seeing it through very negative and gloomy lenses. As far as members are concerned, their group has good intentions, is kind, promotes and loves positive actions and can be counted on as a reliable team player among peaceful and virtuous states or communities. It is interesting to note how they are in the same conflict, looking at the same things but seeing and interpreting them in a totally different manner (Putman, Burgess, and Royer, 2003; Schmueli, Elliott and Kaufman, 2006).

Changing or at least paying keen attention to what they are seeing is vital in any peace initiative. Else, the situation can remain stuck and completely grounded indefinitely in spite of what is being done. Moreover, intervening parties might be wondering or disappointed with the near inertia experienced in terms of progress as none of the conflicting parties will be moving to the desired direction of peace even though so much might be in the making to help them take some bold steps.

Added to the list is each group's feeling of self-victimization. They normally think and are very convinced that they are suffering because of the other group (Bar-Tal, 2000; Kriesberg, 2012). In fact, they see themselves as victims of the other group's barbarism. This builds a strong sense of dislike against the other and justifies why they should be dealt with in the hardest of ways as often as they have the chance to do so. Consequently, submitting to their demands or making any form of compromise is seen as an endorsement and further complication of their already appalling condition of victimhood (Shnabel, Halabi, Noor, 2013; Jacoby, 2014). That, they will be unwilling to do.

The feeling of victimhood might stretch back to the history of the parties. This significantly affects current circumstances and encourages parties to nurture other feelings such as bitterness and revenge which do not help but complicate efforts of peace and in some cases, increase the willingness

of in-group members to support certain strong actions including military ones against the out-group (Schori-Eyal *et al*, 2014).

There is also the act of degrading and dehumanizing the enemy. Unlike what we saw above showing how the in-group glorifies itself, it does just the reverse here to the out-group. The latter is viewed through negative lenses and considered as being wicked, inhuman, war-loving, bloodthirsty, interest-driven and prone to injurious acts (Bar-Tal, 2000; 2009; Staub, 2006; Halperin, 2011). Much of what the out-group does is rarely appealing to the in-group. Its members live in suspicion and mistrust of the out-group, seeing it as an enemy they must constantly guard against. Because this is also how the out-group views the in-group, conflict continues and the prospects of peace get slimmer, making the peacemaker's job more demanding and complex.

However, this does not imply all hope is lost. There are specific periods in which something significant can be achieved. These are pockets of opportunities and ripe moments in which peace or at least a useful deal of understanding could be struck between the antagonistic parties (Coleman, 2000; Tutu, 2012). It is crucial to stay sensitive to these moments as they do not come often. When identified and sufficiently exploited, much could be achieved in terms of transforming the same conflict which exhibited stubbornness earlier.

Moreover, the uncompromising positions and determination of both parties to maintain hostilities against each other can be lessened through other tested means. In the case of intergroup relations for example, narratives of war and the dehumanization of the opponent can be reversed through a systematic and consistent application of narratives of recognition and peace (Strömbom, 2014). This has the power to break certain strongly held positions and move antagonistic parties closer to one another or at least effect significant identity changes.

One other strongly held position which shapes groups' ethos is patriotism. It fosters a kind of nationalistic feeling for the group or state as the situation might be. Moved and controlled by it, members manifest a type of loyalty, love, the willingness to sacrifice and take different degrees of risk for the sake of their group such that they can go to any length to see that their state stays as safe and well as they think it should (Rouhana and Bar-Tal, 1998; Oren and Bar-Tal, 2007).

Patriotism, as a matter of fact, is an important virtue expected of citizens. But it should be formally taught to be properly understood. Else, though it is essential to the vitality of any democratic system, it could constitute a fundamental hindrance to initiatives geared towards achieving sound policies and a perfectly functioning system because it might be misunderstood and expressed in the form of strong, uncompromising nationalism that glorifies one nation or state without bothering about others and their concerns be they legitimate or not (Parker, 2002).

There is as well the aspect of unity. Here, in-group members foster a type of unity that is powered by their concerns and worries about the external enemy and the urge to give their all for their group. They discourage any form of division and suppress issues and differences existing among them in order to properly unite to constitute a force too strong for the enemy to break, manipulate, or withstand. In fact, identity swells in importance and becomes not just a factor in the conflict dynamics but a decisive one which is accorded some kind of exclusive and exaggerated attention (Fiol, Pratt, O'Connor, 2009; Oren, 2007).

Unity is certainly important and cohesion is a vital aspect of state life. But when these are instigated not too much by natural bonds of kinship but by fear and concerns about the enemy, the resultant unity usually constitutes a hindrance to peace and makes compromise hard to attain as any change of position or ceded ground is mostly regarded to be a sign of victory for the enemy (Crocker et al, 2005). It is therefore important to be aware of the factors or forces responsible for the bond that



exists between group members and societies. Interventions might be needed at such points to effect a meaningful turnaround.

Another of the major ethos is peace. Here, societies hold onto the belief and are usually convinced that their main motive is peace. They see themselves as belonging on the side of peace while the enemy is not. This can lure groups into fighting as they consider the defeat of the enemy as one of the necessary things to do to achieve peace.

However, it also promotes common grounds between antagonistic parties which can yield desirable results if wisely exploited because whenever a people see peace, it is an indication of the existence of hope which is a vital ingredient that can be used to effect change even in challenging situations (Cohen-Chen, Crisp and Halperin, 2015). This is partly because hope is a bearer of positive energy and feelings that can light up an entire situation and trigger great results.

### **Commentaries on the Ethos and Behaviour of Members in Intractable Intergroup Conflict**

The meanings members attribute to conflicts and the interpretations they make of situations are dependent on a number of forces, some of which play very decisive roles. In fact, conflict sense-making is significantly a matter of framing (Brummans *et al*, 2008). These frames and other cognitive issues determine much about how any conflict ends up.

This does not imply that conflict or intractability is an issue of frames alone. It only highlights their crucial role. Frames are so decisive that though all parties might be faced by the same issue and looking at the same thing, they end up seeing it through different lenses and frames and do not, therefore, perceive the same thing. Consequently, they do not react to it in the same way no matter how strong might be the desire to harmonise their views.

Since intractable conflicts are not a product of framing alone, re-framing alone will also not lead to their complete elimination though it can significantly contribute in helping parties manage a

conflict more effectively by helping in reducing the tempo and negative energy (Schmueli, Elliott and Kaufman, 2006).

This is one of the areas where multi-track diplomacy comes in. It can serve as an effective option in conflict-related matters in this era as demonstrated in different chapters. Truly, intractability is held and sustained by a combination of factors though some contribute to the strength it displays more than others. Dealing with one or a few will only help to an extent but will not take away the issue entirely (Diamond and McDonald, 1996). The entire problem needs to be dealt with.

Humans, it should be remembered, could be quite an obstacle to their own progress to the extent that even when the question of frames, for example, is dealt with, if there is still some economic or other advantages to be gained by killing or continuing with any form of destruction, they will do that without hesitation and turn around later to repair the damage again (Marshall, 2015).

Consequently, the complexities manifested by intractable conflicts put the intervening party through the position, or one might say, obligation, of requiring a combination of tools to successfully establish stable foundations of peace again. In a lot of cases, they include, among others, enough time, good or proper diagnosis of what the issue really is, sound prognosis and effective treatment measures as well as good maintenance structures to protect the accrued peace once it is achieved (Rapp, 2007).

It is vital to also point out that one of the factors that make a conflict difficult and feed the formulation of in-groups' conflictive agenda against the out-group is connected to the poor flow of communication between the sides. It is amazing how misinformation or no information breeds misunderstanding, suspicion and enmity. In this regard, simply allowing people to communicate or even tell their stories defuses tension tremendously and helps peace initiatives a lot (Lederach and Lederach, 2007; Bar-On and Kassem, 2004).

Even when they are not talking directly to those who hurt them, victims always regain fresh energy and encouragement by simply telling their stories and explaining other experiences to an attentive audience that shows some form of concern (Bar-On and Kassam, 2004; Green and d'Estrée, 2003). It significantly helps people suffering from trauma to develop ways of coping with such conditions. It also empowers those living with such memories to be strong and rise to the point of overcoming the torture associated with the constant resurfacing of thoughts of what they had suffered.

Situations like this call for an effective combination and use of tracks four, five and nine. They provide not only the possibility of deepening understanding of what people are actually going through but also provide outlets for tension reduction and defusing of anger, fear and regrets.

### **Misjudgement and the Double-Image Deception**

In certain instances the thing that originally caused a conflict is not usually what is responsible for why the conflict is still continuing (Crocker *et al*, 2005). A lot of other forces take over and power the entire issue to greater intensity and destructiveness. Among these is misjudgement of the other party and the double-image deception. This is the case where the in-group is bent on continuing the struggle not because of the conflictive ethos built against the out-group but because it knows very little about it and completely misjudges its actions and intents.

The out-group does same to the in-group and when they look at one another, very little or nothing about the truth is seen but deceptive and misleading images that stir the ire of each side, moving them to be angry enough to see no need why the struggle should be stopped. Since bitterness and painful feelings associated with conflicts could be highly contagious (Jehn *et al*, 2013), it spreads throughout the group and fortifies people's determination to go against the out-group with no plans of showing any form of mercy or compromise.

In cases where issues of identity or those linked to national survival are at the centre of the conflict, it quickly escalates engulfing more and more issues as well as backers thus limiting the chances of getting any solution within the short term. This ultimately fuels or leads to the persistence of the conflict making it challenging to turn things around without taking some serious measures like getting parties to be willing to critically look at themselves and reconsider certain aspects of their positions (Fiol, Pratt and O'Connor, 2009).

Because parties usually hold onto what they believe in, intervening parties might be wondering or feeling frustrated by their lack of cooperation to move towards one another. In some instances, the reason is connected to the fact that what each of the three parties is seeing is totally different though they all are looking at the same thing or faced by the same challenge. The in-group does not see the out-group as it sees itself and vice versa (Gayer *et al*, 2009).

Similarly, the intervening party truly sees much of the reasons responsible for the conflict but not all of them, especially those connected to certain remote views held by each party about the other. This causes peace efforts to go through difficulties because until these hidden realities are unveiled and dealt with, the peacemaker will always have to come again and try one more time because the matter hardly comes to a final end (Handelman and Pearson, 2014).

It even gets worse in cases where this cycle of misjudgement and mistrust stretches to the intervening party who might be held with misgivings by either one or both of the conflicting parties. This absence of trust complicates things and moves parties to display unwillingness to sincerely yield to whatever is done though they might be participating and displaying behaviours which make them appear as though they are fully cooperating and trust the process (Keashly and Fisher, 1990).

**Conclusion:** Intractability is not something that happens by chance or pops up spontaneously taking people unaware. It builds up over time and is caused by a multitude of factors. This chapter exposed some of the reasons responsible for this situation. It equally tackled the fundamental reasons behind intergroup dichotomy, pointing to the role of real issues that provoke division like identity, resources, conflicting interests, claims over land, self-determination, unfair distribution of basic needs, as well as the domination or tendencies of domination by one group at the detriment of the other.

We highlighted the fact that the causes of conflict are not obligatorily the reasons for intractability. That is, they are not forcibly why the conflict lasts for long and defies peace efforts. Intractability often has its roots in a number of psychological and other realities connected to the way people think about the conflict and the meanings they make out of what is going on. These things move them to adopt positions which are difficult to change, manage or break.

It should be pointed out that this does not mean they love the conflict. They are simply trapped in it and adapt to it over time in order to cope with the new reality. Consequently, psychological and other internal realities grow and become strongholds which make parties unwilling to compromise their positions and determined to continue with the struggle because abandoning it is like accepting defeat or ceding to the agenda of the enemy.

The chapter also highlighted the point that some real issues tend to contribute more to intractability than others even though the persistence of such conflicts is usually not the result of one factor but a combination of them. Issues connected to identity or land ownership, for instance, are noted to fuel conflicts that escalate and spread, bringing in an ever-increasing number of issues and stakeholders who get caught up in a cycle of challenges that never end but keep reproducing themselves in other ways over a long period of time.

It equally indicated that one of the ways to successfully handle intractable intergroup conflicts is to deal with the negative psychological stronghold about the out-group. As a matter of fact, the in-group always holds the out-group in bad faith and thinks its members are dangerous and deserve no trust. They hold that the out-group will never change and should not be given the chance to exercise its destructive behaviour. Consequently, they fight and do whatever it takes to stop its members from constituting any form of threat both in the short and long term.

Despite their difficult and persistent nature, these conflicts need to be eradicated at the end of the day. This is of course, a complex and challenging task which remains vital, anyway. How to pursue reconciliation in contexts like this is the focus of the next chapter. It has expounded on different ways of carrying out or promoting rapprochement in such contexts using multitrack diplomacy. There are certainly other ways of going about this to attain the same result but we stuck to our approach which calls for an adaptive and careful application of multi-track diplomacy to unlock the stubbornness of such conflicts and transform the daily realities of the concerned communities

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE PERTINENCE OF MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY AND THE CAPACITY OF HUMANS AS PROBLEMS-SOLVERS

**Introduction:** Here, I examine the relevance of multi-track diplomacy and why I applied it the way I have. I tackle its composition and explain that it can be approached from different angles and must not be applied in all societies in the same way. I equally advance reasons why I express reservations against the argument that some conflicts cannot be solved showing both the dangers of such an observation to peace research in particular and harmonious global living in general. Moreover, I argue that it is inexpedient to make such postulations when humans are involved. Their activities are usually at the origin of conflicts; that is true, but as this chapter reveals, they are equally bearers of the solution all conflicts need, especially complex, intractable ones.

I noticed how the human factor is so crucial to the extent that success against intractable intergroup conflicts begins not with the violence or destruction but with humans and what they are willing to do or not do at any given moment. It is worth drawing attention to the fact that I did not talk of what they are *able* to do but *willing* to do. This is because, I realised that overcoming conflicts is not too much a question of ability as it is of willingness and people's readiness to accept or compromise certain positions to permit peace and other helpful conditions have their way.

Apart from solutions which come as a result of a change in their thinking and breaking of psychological strongholds responsible for the flourishing of any conflict, humans are equally a loaded species having what it takes to bring needed change. Though one must be cautious not to overemphasise the real measure of their ability, I argue that failing to pay due recognition to it or

refraining from highlighting what they are endowed with as well as the extent to which they can overcome challenges is equally something to be cautioned against.

As a matter of fact, *impossibility* and *no solution* are terminologies to be used with a lot of carefulness when dealing with situations in which humans form a part. With them, obstacles usually only take long to overcome but are rarely insurmountable. As a species, they are wired in a rather complete way which makes them capable of a lot. This places even complex issues within their ability to effect a change. Studies are currently on the rise showing how machines are currently very intelligent and are outsmarting humans. We have looked into this too, linking the argument to peace studies.

With the endowments of humans coupled with the flexibility and widely encompassing nature of multi-track diplomacy, especially given the fact that knowledge about it is currently on the rise, some challenges from intractable intergroup conflicts are surely poised to face bad times. They will surely be eradicated someday. This is not to say that this kind of diplomacy is the panacea that will take all conflicts away. But it is obvious that it has a lot to offer to the struggle against stubborn conflicts if intervening parties apply it in a manner that conforms to the realities and specificities of each case. But what is multi-track diplomacy in the first place and what features has it that make it able to effect important changes?

### **Explaining Multi-Track Diplomacy**

Multi-Track Diplomacy is a conceptual way to view the process of international peacemaking as a living system (Diamond and McDonald, 1996). As can be noticed, it is not a brand of diplomacy ascribed to, or practised by, a particular actor, as is the case with say Track I Diplomacy which is solely practised by sovereign states. Track I is about what states do.



For its part, Multi-Track Diplomacy is a conception or one would say an arrangement which permits the intervening party to have a deeper and more realistic look at things and notice the interconnectedness of the activities of individuals, governments, communities, non-governmental bodies, and others as they struggle to achieve the same goal – peace and happiness for societies. It can be influenced or coordinated to ensure that each track contributes the most it can to the system so as to produce optimal results that maximally benefit the cause of peace and the real needs of societies.

Having new approaches and mechanisms of handling conflicts became vital because Track I Diplomacy alone and intergovernmental bodies like the United Nations were just not able to handle the overwhelming level of challenges the world constantly faced even though they showed commitment and tenacity in this regard, registering successes in a lot of cases (Winckler, 2015). It became clear that they will not be able to provide all the help the world needed both now and in the future without the active participation of other players and bodies that are composite parts of the international system.

The United Nations, for example, even when determined to tackle conflicts and clean up the multitude of international mess that are always around often face challenges meeting up with these assignments and other obligations enshrined in its charter. This is not necessarily because of any lack of commitment but usually because it is expected to do too many things at the same time and there is also so much politics within such intergovernmental organizations that to expect too much from them is an error because member states at times show reluctance to provide financial, human, material and other crucial support to boost their operations even when such supports are highly needed (Grozev and Boyadjieva, 2005).

It is important to realise that the world operates as a system. The interconnectedness of its activities testify to this truth. No activity is isolated. That is why occurrences in one place are not solely the business of that place but affect faraway places too. In other words, what they produce have

a way of reaching others, near or far (Reysen and Katzarska-Miller, 2013). It is important to get a hold of this truth in order to understand and properly connect with the systems-based approach to peace advocated by multi-track diplomacy. This is a fundamental thesis on which this work is premised.

Taking, for instance, an environmental disaster or emission linked to industrial production, one notices that it can pollute or cause structural conflicts in distant lands or affect faraway people having no direct connection with the source of the emission (Chossudovsky, 2012). Not being directly connected does not therefore imply that one is detached. Consequently, people will still be hit by the effects of happenings in other places because the world is a web or an interconnected globe having every people as its component parts and no people are completely isolated or insulated from the consequences of happenings in other areas (Chossudovsky, 2012).

With the high technological breakthroughs of the current age, societies have even moved closer to one another and things like boundaries that separated states before have lost their power and exist in many cases as mere lines which do not command the kind of power they did previously. Distance is also virtually dead as people can access distant places and undertake diverse activities from just any spot using different kinds of smart devices and gadgets (Barrat, 2015).

Taking the Fukushima disaster that occurred in Japan in 2011, for example, one notices that it effected places as far as the United States while the effects of carbon emissions and pollution from China travel great distances to other continents (Chossudovsky, 2012). This causes a lot of issues in these places. Successfully tackling such conflicts, if that is the way the issues manifested, will require looking not just at where they are happening but far enough into the invisible but real sources – which are the places emitting the pollutants. It is usually part of a web of interconnected activities existing all around, stretching to places situated at times hundreds of thousands of miles away across boundaries and cultures.

Taking another example from the Middle East, one notices that the conflicts in Syria and Afghanistan as well as other issues in that region have produced an astonishing universal effect. Where bullets cannot go refugees and other effects of war can with amazing quickness (Arrey, 2015). This is partly why distant lands such as Europe got overwhelmed by a massive influx of refugees and other conflict-related repercussions even though the conflicts are happening in a different continent. Things are bound to be so because no matter how far apart territories may be, they are always still very close, existing simply at different spots in the same web (Reysen and Katzarska-Miller, 2013; Arrey, 2015).

It is equally why we adhere to the thesis of viewing the world as a living interconnected system because indeed, it is. Missing this fact or not giving it due consideration can have a major effect on peace initiatives no matter how genuine and committed intervening parties may be. In this respect, having victory over a conflict requires a lot of initiatives that deal not just with the things that quickly catch the eyes such as violence and other destructive deeds but to look far enough through the network of connections transporting life to the conflict and affecting the wider society. Obviously, not adequately heeding to these realities might cause efforts to be counter-productive, leading to a condition of intractability that traps parties in endless fights, making them to continually turn around the same circle of violence indefinitely.

As we proceed to examine multi-track diplomacy, it is worth noting that intractable intergroup conflicts are part of this living system and do not exist in isolation no matter how excluded they might look outwardly. We hold that what happens in them affects other places and what happens in other places affects them.

We approached our subject matter from the angle of transformation because that seems more applicable and realistic for our case. As Notter and Diamond (1996) contend, systems cannot be

resolved but transformed or changed. Any hope of dealing with them successfully must not single out just the conflict and ignore the system.

Even when the conflict calls for very quick actions as in cases where there are destructions and damages, this fact must not be shoved aside. Doing this will cause the effort of intervening parties to suffer severe setbacks because apart from being tightly knit to the system, intractable conflicts are deep-rooted and intertwined with many other realities which should be tackled concurrently (Coleman, 2003; Kriesberg, 2008; Notter and Diamond, 1996).

It is worth highlighting that this type of diplomacy originated because of the need to limit the lapses of Track I Diplomacy as it became obvious that it cannot do everything alone and there were many things that were usually left out no matter how hard its practitioners worked and how effective they were. Track I Diplomacy is diplomacy between one sovereign government and another (Cohen, 1991; Berridge, 1995). It was the sole type of diplomacy known for long which equally dominated in all interstate transactions. Whenever the term diplomacy was even used the general meaning was associated with sovereign states and the official activities they carried out with one another (Cornago, 1999).

Noticing that there were lots of diplomatic activities going on outside the officially known channels, Joseph Montville came up with what he called Track II Diplomacy which is diplomacy carried out by private professionals and non-governmental entities (Montville, 2006; Diamond and McDonald, 1996). This opened the way for new thinking. Approaches not known before were born. Diplomacy and peace initiatives conducted out of the box of government thinking and specifications went on the rise with greater coordination and acceptance.

Ambassador John McDonald later expanded the tracks to four, arguing that the name track two lumped a lot of separate and completely different activities into one just because they existed out of

government or state activities. Understandably, not everything which is not part of what the government directly does is forcibly track two. This generalisation did not do justice to unofficial diplomacy because it is a broad field with lots of things which required greater clarity, redefinition and could stand on their own (Cornago, 1999).

Even with this effort, it was still noticed that the entire picture was not captured. Consequently, McDonald and Louise Diamond expanded the tracks to nine, calling it Multi-track Diplomacy. It is broad and includes different major channels of peacemaking ranging from the government to activists, professionals to businesses, religious bodies to research efforts, funders to the media.

Put in a different and probably more open way, multi-track diplomacy is carried out through many, different tracks that work independently but in an interconnected manner as a living system. Nowadays, nonviolent diplomacy from the masses and people at the grassroots is rising both in popularity and the ability to effect decisive changes in societies (Ruiz Jiménez, 2004). Before we look at its nine tracks, it is worth indicating that the effort to develop new and improved approaches of handling conflict is actually on the rise and receiving increased attention especially with the rise of new unconventional wars and other global challenges (Grozev and Boyadjieva, 2005).

At this juncture, we will proceed to look inside multi-track diplomacy to understand its tracks and deal with the issue of whether they are more appropriate to be presented in hierarchical order with some coming before others or in circular form as its inventors preferred.

### **Circular Versus Hierarchical Order of Multi-track Diplomacy**

Previously, diplomacy was about the government and whenever talks about the topic came up the general understanding was unequivocally connected to the state (Cohen, 1991; Berridge, 1995).

Consequently, Track I Diplomacy was the starting and endpoint of diplomacy. Not only was it all-important it was all-familiar and all-powerful with no rivals.

When others popped on the scene and knowledge about them began to expand, thoughts lingered as to which was more powerful or important in relation to the way they responded to issues. These concerns extended even to the notion of tracks in diplomacy which came up after Montville. They revolved around the question of which track was more important or productive. The need for classifying or arranging the tracks according to a specific order then became real.

The general arrangement had it that when the tracks are placed in a descending hierarchical order, track one diplomacy topped the list with track two and the others following. But as Diamond and McDonald (1996), the parents of multi-track diplomacy clarified, this is not what they envisaged. They rather saw an interconnected network of tracks with equal power and importance contributing significantly to the smooth functioning of the entire system.

Multi-track diplomacy does not, therefore, accord more strength or importance to any single track. If that were the case, the hierarchical order would have looked like what the table overleaf shows with track one leading and track nine, that is the media and public opinion, at the bottom. **(SEE TABLE OVERLEAF)**

## VERTICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE TRACKS OF MTD

Position	Diplomatic Track
1 <sup>st</sup>	Track 1: The Government
2 <sup>nd</sup>	Track 2: Professional Conflict Resolution
3 <sup>rd</sup>	Track 3: Business
4 <sup>th</sup>	Track 4: Private Citizen
5 <sup>th</sup>	Track 5: Research, Training and Education
6 <sup>th</sup>	Track 6: Peace Activism
7 <sup>th</sup>	Track 7: Religion
8 <sup>th</sup>	Track 8: Funding
9 <sup>th</sup>	Track 9: The Media and Public Opinion

Since this is not the idea, it should not be seen as a system of diplomatic hierarchy but as one of diplomatic interconnectivity and mutual feeding of one another in a living system that produces as much as it is properly coordinated. This is why it has a circular representation as the diagram below shows, with all the tracks not competing but contributing into the system and displaying strong complementarity and mutual support. The contribution or input of each track is decisive and affects the general effectiveness of the system in question (Böhmelt, 2010).

The involvement or participation of all the tracks in the same cause is actually one of the strong points of this brand of diplomacy because it does not focus on say the elites or military personnel alone but includes everyone including businesses, education, activism and grass root members of society to produce a type of peace which goes beyond just the absence of war to stable conditions of tranquillity and sustainability (Rupesinghe, 1995).

Still, this does not make multi-track diplomacy the medicine many might be searching for. It has flaws and they are many. In fact, even its claim of equal participation of tracks to the outcome of a particular issue has been questioned. It has been stated, for example, that track one at times tends to be more effective partly because of its leveraging ability and huge resources invested in it which make it hard for others to compete with it on an equal footing (Böhmelt, 2010).

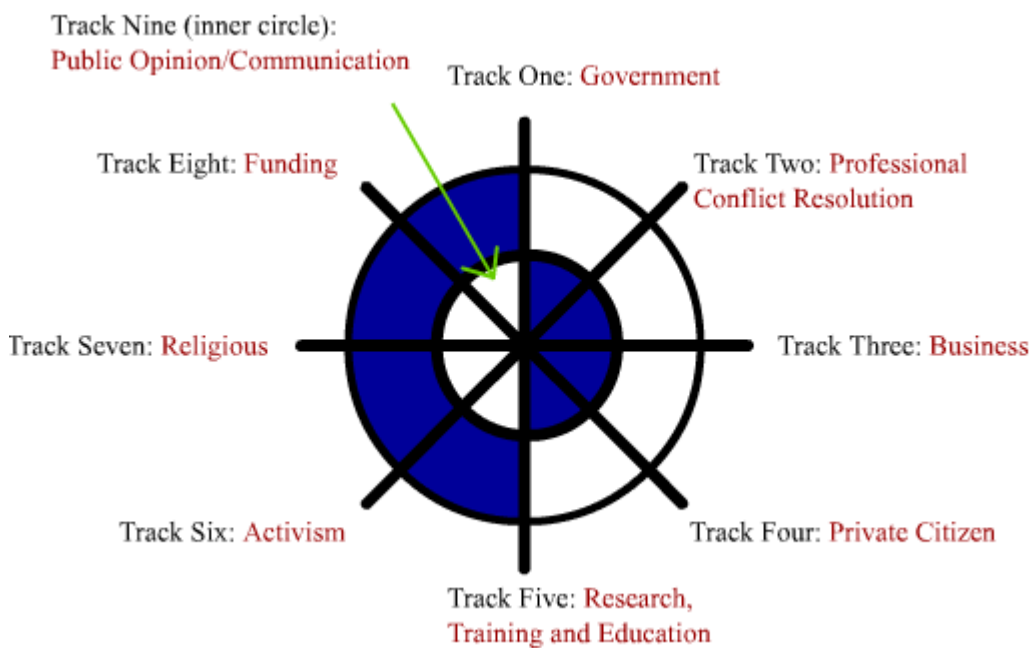
That notwithstanding, from the perspective of this project, the issue of whether any of them contributes more is not as important as the fact that they all make contributions into the same system for a common cause. Consequently, we are more interested in the point that the government, researchers, funders, peacebuilders and the rest are part of the system and each one's efforts count significantly. No single track can do it all by itself and what one cannot do, some others can. Bringing them together minimises the chances of failure and increases the probability of success because they complement and complete one another to produce what their individual and isolated efforts will not no matter how effective they might be (Notter and Diamond, 1996; Grozev, 2005).

The prospects of succeeding is real here especially when the system is properly managed to ensure that each track contributes into the system as much as it should and all of them fit into one another perfectly. **(SEE DIAGRAM ON THE NEXT PAGE)** Because all components of society are part of it, it somehow makes things more realistic given that reconciliation is not automatic but a process that requires much from different affected areas of society. Moreover, peace does not just show up spontaneously but is built over time going through different phases.



Consequently, whether it is reconciliation or peacebuilding, both require the removing and fitting in of different things in different places as is the case with the construction of any structure that is expected to be solid and last for long.

### DIAGRAM OF MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY



**SOURCE:** McDonald, John W., “Multi-Track Diplomacy,” Burgess, Guy and Heidi Burgess eds., *Beyond Intractability*, Conflict Information Consortium, Boulder, University of Colorado, September, 2003, <http://www.beyondintractability.org/bi-essay/multi-track-diplomacy>

## **Details about the Tracks**

**Track Three:** We have started with track three because the first two tracks have been discussed in the next subheading for reasons connected to the project's structural balance. Track three deals with businesses. It is about the role commerce and economic organizations play in bringing about either peace or conflict and turbulence. Businesses are powerful. In fact, some economic institutions are as powerful and influential as, and at times even more than, states, with the ability to affect happenings in societies and determine global order (Deese, 2008).

Whether large or small, businesses are quite a force in the daily realities of societies all over the world. To plan without them or attempt moving the world along without due consideration to their criticality or accord them a place proportionate to the power they wield can be quite an error because they impact billions of lives daily (Roach, 2007). Unfortunately, many peace initiatives in time past operated without exploiting the power of businesses. They were left out and the effects were evident.

Now, things have changed. Multi-Track diplomacy, for instance, displayed wisdom in realising that achieving peace and making it a reality in societies, businesses have a fundamental role to play and should be made a part of any strategy that is expected to produce lasting results. Consequently, track three diplomacy is about peacemaking through commerce. It focuses on the deployment of economic power to serve the cause of peace.

**Track Four:** It deals with the personal involvement or participation of private citizens in fostering the cause of peace. In other words, it is a form of citizen diplomacy where individuals use their influence and contacts to effect changes that promote peace values in societies. In some cases, citizen diplomacy is taken to mean track two diplomacy (Davies and Kaufman, 2002). But track two has been expounded below and the dividing line between the two established, at least within the context of multi-track diplomacy.

The activities of these private individuals is important and makes immense contributions to peace initiatives because their flexibility and contacts make it possible for them to act at times quicker and access places relatively easier since blockages connected to protocols and related speed breaks which slow down other tracks are minimised. It should be noted that certain individuals are really powerful and exert enormous influence. These may include athletes, politicians, music stars, film stars, inventors and rich folks. They can influence the course of things as well as people's attitude towards a conflict. When well exploited, the power of citizen diplomacy is able to make significant changes.

**Track Five:** It is about making peace through activities such as research, education, and training. In a way, it is peacemaking through learning and promotion of understanding by means of education. What people are taught is crucial in determining the direction a conflict will move to because education is a bearer of tremendous power and will promote peace if peace is part of its content and gets into society (Bar-Tal, 2009).

In many instances, conflict is caused or at least made to last long because of conflicting positions which are directly linked to a weak or zero understanding of the other party. Moving conflicting groups together requires understanding. Parties need to come to that point of having a good grasp of the real issues surrounding the conflict. They need to get to the position of seeing their adversaries as humans with legitimate worries and concerns like theirs – and this normally takes a long period of consistently educating or feeding people with information that promotes peace and their own well-being (McDonald, 2012).

Consequently, education, research and training are fundamental in any peace equation. At all levels of study, programs should be designed to ensure that people have the chance to let the abundant peace in them spring forth. In other words, it should be fully developed to flow in society's favour. This is never as easy as it may seem because there are numerous challenges to peace education at all

levels, be it local or global, ranging from contradictory beliefs to differences in values down to the fact that not all societies have the same notion of what should be accepted as good and bad (Salomon, 2011).

This is even why there is more need for education, research and training because it is through them that the level of understanding required to aid divided societies overcome their differences can be achieved. Moreover, things like research quickly expose unknown realities that are hunting the peace of societies and responsible for much of the havoc people are faced with.

A well prepared peace education program helps to harmonise antagonistic positions in an intractable intergroup conflict context, clearing away things that inhibit a proper appraisal of the other party and deals with the issue of collective narratives as well as deeply rooted historical memories and societal beliefs that constitute major stumbling blocks to peace (Kupermintz and Salomon, 2005). It also leads to greater understanding which helps durable peace to thrive and contributes in ensuring that training is done in a manner that targets the exact issues holding communities in a state of conflict.

**Track Six:** This is peacemaking through activism or advocacy. There are lots of people who contribute immensely to the peace of societies and even the world but have no specific office or address one can point at as where they operate from. Some might have offices or an address but their work is in places like streets and other easy-to-ignore milieux even though they are doing so much and their effort contributes significantly to the peace many enjoy. It could be a group of lawyers, doctors, environmentalists or women fighting for the fixing of particular societal issues (Patterson, 2008).

They are activists and advocacy groups and have different peace-oriented goals as what they toil for daily. Their lives are given to these struggles. They could be scientists concerned about environmental justice or other professionals and non-professionals battling diverse forms of social

injustice and structural violence responsible for societies' woes and serving as vectors of conflict (Frickel, 2004; Wright, 2008). Their works also include strong campaigns against human rights abuses, gender violence, climate change and the promotion of friendliness with the earth, the habitat of humans, so that the next generation does not suffer unnecessarily because of certain reckless and irresponsible behaviours of the current generation (Raymond *et al*, 2014).

Noticing the presence and integrating the efforts of these people in the collective strategy for peace is vital. This is what multi-track diplomacy has done – recognising these activists and advocates who are at times engaged in frantic struggles and battles against governments and whoever they think can do something to effect changes societies need. They are into track six diplomacy.

**Track Seven:** This is the role of religion or faith in peacemaking. Despite the multitude of issues and difficulties societies face whose roots some have linked to religion, one thing remains clear that religion is also a bearer and sower of pacifist seeds (Brewer *et al*, 2010).

This is in sharp contrast to certain positions held both now and in the past where theorists showed a greater tendency of excluding religion from the search for peace, preferring to connect it with the causes of conflict. Many have realised how erroneous this is and have made a sharp turn to face the truth about the enormous power of religion and the actual contribution of faith-based institutions in peacebuilding (Shore, 2008).

They promote reconciliation and humanity such that though they have been flatly blamed for specific conflicts, they remain a vital part of contemporary search for peace and a tool of conflict resolution and management (Uzmarehman, 2011).

The truth is that billions of people adhere to one or another form of religion. Touching religion is touching beliefs; and touching beliefs is touching society. It is a key aspect of the world whose result will always mean a lot. Even those who do not believe in God still have their own beliefs. They

too exercise faith in those beliefs and hold onto them strongly. At the end, everyone has one or another form of belief or a kind of religion they are practising consciously or unconsciously.

Though different in names and approaches one common thing in most if not all religions is the aspect of humanity. Many of them have teachings which forbid things like killing, stealing, injustice or maltreatment of fellow humans, be they strangers or servants. Mediation and other practices which promote understanding and discourage strife are part of their tenets even though in a lot of instances, the role religious institutions play in the peace many societies enjoy is overlooked while focus is rather directed to their flaws especially those linked to conflict and other forms of antagonism (Bercovitch and Kadayifci-Orellana, 2009).

At least, going by the teachings of multi-track diplomacy, religious bodies and faith-based institutions are important contributors to global peace. They are an important team player. Of course, there are arguments against the peacefulness of some major religions with lots of evidences testifying to this position (Davis, 2006). But an interesting aspect of the matter is that even religions that are castigated as promoting hatred and violence have billions of remarkably peaceful practitioners and empathic followers who lead remarkably peaceful lives, displaying the willingness to put others first and toiling for society's good in a manner many critics cannot deny.

The issue is, probably, not the religion but the interpretations certain followers and commentators make about what they read or were taught. These interpretations are at times influenced by people's prejudices, experiences, frustrations, biases, and frames which move some to use religious excuses to legitimise the pain they inflict on others as well as justify their urge to settle scores with those they think deserve a spank. Even those questioning the key tenets of these religions admit that they still pull billions of followers and are major players in world affairs whose role is too great to be ignored (Townsend, 2014).

Keeping arguments and debates aside, therefore, faith-based institutions play an undeniably significant role not only in world affairs but in peacemaking and have such a strong influence on their followers that once they move in any direction, say peace, billions of people move there too and when they do otherwise, the result always speaks for itself. It is thus wise to bring them into the effort to have a world at peace not just because they are a track of diplomacy which can work in synergy with others to foster this peace everyone desires but because leaving them out is an error too great that it should not be made given the helpful things they are capable of contributing (Bercovitch and Kadayifci-Orellana, 2009).

**Track Eight:** This is peacemaking through funding. It deals with the provision of vital resources for the attainment of peace or peace-generating goals. Here, one finds the work and endeavours of financial institutions, foundations, philanthropic bodies, and volunteer organizations that provide financial, material, human, and logistical support to boost peacebuilding initiatives and ensure that set goals are attained.

Arriving at a peaceful solution in any conflict situation requires a constant and smooth flow of resources. These resources are powerful enough to move the process forward just as they can also hold it back when absent especially in cases of ethnopolitical conflicts or challenging ones exhibiting features of intractability (Byrne *et al*, 2008).

As important as funds and resources might be, care must be taken, however, to ensure that they do not become the benefactor's bait to get the beneficiary. That is, it should not result to the giver lording over the receiver or moving them according to their desires and private interests. This is very important because though funding a peace initiative is a worthy and commendable endeavour it could be a trap as well. It is possible to be done in a manner that victimises the recipients and tie them down economically and otherwise in a way that will not achieve peace but make things more challenging and complex (Creary and Byrne, 2014; Byrne *et al*, 2008).

Since certain donors are very influential, they operate in a manner that actually shapes the agenda of NGOs and other recipients of their resources thus pushing them to act in a particular way and not the other even if that might affect the overall objective of peacebuilding (Heideman, 2013).

Despite the presence of these challenges, funding and the provision of vital resources is a fundamental part of peacebuilding. Without it, peace processes will get stalled or experience a lot of difficulties. That is why this is a whole track in itself and has so much to contribute that the others will not move as they ought without it. After all, great ideas, good projects, and ambitious initiatives will not achieve themselves. It takes money and lots of other investments to get them to fruition.

**Track Nine:** This concerns communication and the media. In other words, it is peacemaking through information. Information is power and the way it is managed and disseminated is crucial to much of what takes place in the wider society (Bruderlein and Kaimal, 2008).

In many instances, societies are nourished and then shaped by the content and type of news they get. Through a simple broadcast or a carefully prepared news content, for example, a lot of things can happen or change in societies for better or for worse. Taking the example of Rwanda, radio broadcasts played a significant role in sparking up the ire of people, triggering the scale of violence and butchery the country experienced during the genocide of 1994 (Kellow and Steeves, 1998; Baisley, 2014).

The manner in which information is handled can at the same time sow seeds of peace capable of transforming entire communities or pacify raging minds especially when the content is specifically developed to attain that objective (Lynch and McGoldrich, 2005).

This track, according to the manner in which multi-track diplomacy is modelled, is not the least though it is the ninth. As hinted earlier, there is no track that is more important than others; all of them simply make contributions into the system and the outcome is a product of their collective inputs (McDonald, 2012; Notter and Diamond, 1996; Diamond and McDonald, 1996). However, this track



is considered so important that it is positioned in the middle, holding all the others together and having a profound influence on their effectiveness since there is an aspect of communication in virtually all the others.

Moreover, communication can be compared to the package of a commodity in the production world. Any product is only as nice and attractive as the package in which it is presented to consumers. They can be moved to forego other things by the attractiveness of the product's package or what it is placed in, only to discover later the realities about it (Slywotzky and Weber, 2011). A poor or disgusting package can considerably affect acceptance just as poor or dysfunctional communication and media activities can cause a peace initiative to be unsuccessful.

### **Commentaries on the Interconnectedness of the Tracks**

All the tracks are interconnected. They feed from one another and feed one another. This implies that though standing as tracks on their own in an independent manner, they are interdependent and complementary. This is why we referred to multi-track diplomacy as a system to be operated in a world which is itself a living system with interconnected activities and happenings.

The efforts of track one, that is, the government, for example, might be good but they will not yield the desired sustainable peace without the contribution of say track five which deals with research, training and education or track eight which concerns funding and the provision of vital resources. Conflict, especially prolonged intergroup types, have a lot within them, including bitterness, pain, unwillingness to compromise and lots more which require far more than just brokering a peace deal and signing official documents acknowledging the end of things to actually achieve real peace (Rapp, 2007).

Consequently, all the tracks are not only good but necessary to have in any peace process because to successfully deal with such conflicts, one has to be willing to stretch themselves at full length and

do a multitude of other things simultaneously. Since they are caused by a combination of many happenings, using a combination of useful contributors like the different tracks becomes a wise and right thing to do.

This is how the possibility of having flaws or loopholes in a peace process can be minimised even though it is hard to completely and totally eradicate their existence because even the most stable condition of peace usually has elements of imperfection. This is probably because humans themselves are imperfect and usually only attain perfection in thoughts but rarely in the practical part of their everyday life. In places like Somalia, Cyprus and Israel, for example, a culture of conflict has mixed so much with the social system producing a unique environment of its own. To a lot of people, conflict is no longer a strange thing but the new norm. As Notter and Diamond (1996) put it, the social system has become addicted to conflict making it the way of life people are accustomed with.

This type of deep and entrenched addiction is not what can be solved by any hasty action or one that does not adequately deal with the causal and sustaining factors. It needs time and the bringing together of all what has a part to play. Because many forces contributed in taking things to where they are, it will equally require no less than a combination of many forces to bring them to the point of where peacemakers desire them to be – the point of durable peace.

Apart from multi-track diplomacy, there are other types of diplomacy. It will be nice to look at a few in order to draw some contrasts to foster understanding of our assessment of diplomatic types.

## **Assessing Other Types of Diplomacy in Relation to Multi-Track Diplomacy**

### **Track I Diplomacy**

It is diplomacy between sovereign governments. It is equally known as mainstream diplomacy. Previously, when the term diplomacy was used it was basically in reference to this type – focusing on the entirety of official intergovernmental activities (Kissinger, 1994; Berridge, 1995).

Track I is conducted by an organised personnel composed of well-trained individuals. Known as career diplomats, they are usually products of specialised institutions. Countries ensure that they have these institutions in place to serve as training ground or production centre of the type of minds needed to handle matters with other countries. Through them, the foreign policy of a state as well as its interests, will and power, reach other people in different parts of the globe (Nan, 2003).

That is why it is common to find personalities like heads of state, career diplomats, and other senior state cadres as the dominant actors in this type of diplomacy. They are moulded to support, uphold, defend, and apply a state's agenda as need may be (Freeman, 1997). In some occasions, it could be referred to as first track or first tier diplomacy. It is a part of multi-track diplomacy and is considered to have the same importance as all the other 8 tracks (Diamond and McDonald, 1996).

### **Track II Diplomacy**

This is diplomacy by private professionals and non-state actors to restore peace where conflict and other issues have taken over the scene. The term was coined by Joseph Montville, a diplomat at the US state department. It deals with the multitude of unofficial businesses and talks undertaken by private actors such as retired senior officials with experience in issues pertaining to governance and the welfare of societies, religious leaders, academics, NGO officials and professionals to boost the chances of peace and get society in the path of stability and normalcy (Jones, 2015).

As can be noticed, its major difference with Track I Diplomacy is that it is not done by national governments but private and non-governmental actors. At times, it might involve state personnel but they do not work or make interventions in the name of the state. Moved by Montville's work, others expounded on track two diplomacy in different but interrelated ways. The Australian academic and diplomat, John Burton, for example, explained that it is the unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations which aim to develop strategies, influence public opinion, and organise human and material resources in ways that might help resolve their conflict (Burton, 1989).

He does not only try to capture the entirety of what Montville was referring to but actually made his construction to depict the fact that when one hears of track II diplomacy or track II talks, it mostly refers to discussions held by non-state actors or informal meetings of officials of conflicting parties to get a solution to issues plaguing them. This is done in a manner that explores the full advantages of freedom that comes with operating out of governments' limitations and bureaucracies that at times constitute major inhibiting factors to peace agendas (Agha, Feldman, Khalidi and Schiff, 2003). This is because governments usually have their goals and interests and can, in many circumstances, sacrifice anything, including peace, to achieve what they desperately desire or esteem highly.

According to Montville and of course it is incontestable, there is much diplomacy going on outside what is traditionally known as diplomacy – interaction of states. To him, track two is the unofficial, non-structured interactions between adversaries with the aim of going pass a conflict and finding ways to better their relations or those of others. In it can be found significant openness, altruism, and an underlying assumption that actual or potential conflict can be resolved or relaxed by appealing to common human capabilities to respond to goodwill and reasonableness (Montville, 2006).

It is worth noting that though track II is private and the state is out of it, there are instances where its practitioners might be acting with the knowledge or indirect blessing of a state though they are not accountable to them and are functioning on their own (McDonald, 2003).

If well pursued, track two diplomacy is a useful complement to track one and it is endowed with virtues such as freedom from official limitations and protocols which make it able to do certain things that will be challenging for track one to do especially in this current dispensation where there are many unconventional conflicts requiring unconventional modes of intervention that are free from entanglements of any kind and are swifter and easily applicable (Phillips, 2005; Burton, 1996).

Whatever the case, it should be borne in mind that the role of the state still remains crucial and as it might have been noticed, it is the channel or track that has changed not fundamentally the source and content of what passes through it. This explains why track two diplomacy is also at times referred to as backchannel diplomacy, a term which suggests that it is simply a separate channel through which diplomatic flows occur.

### **Shuttle Diplomacy**

It involves the to and fro movement by a neutral party to parties in conflict. This outside party is considered trustworthy and ought to be as neutral as possible. It is a productive way of going after peace in disputes or conflicts involving parties unable or unwilling to meet face-to-face (Hoffman, 2011). The third party assumes the role of a peace broker moving at specific intervals between the parties in conflict, engaging each in talks aimed at normalising relations. Eventually, the shuttling enables bitter and alienated parties to find common grounds of working together again. Though there might be the possibility of the intervening party becoming too powerful at the expense of the parties in conflict, sincere and peace oriented shuttling has the power of ushering some form of

rapprochement which can move antagonists into a much more warm and improved relations (Fey and Ramsay, 2010).

### **Preventive Diplomacy**

This consists of initiatives or actions geared toward keeping unwanted or undesirable situations in check, not giving them the chance of happening or occurring. It comprises the use of measures of anticipation and caution especially in vulnerable situations to keep things under control such that they do not accumulate negative energy that can cause them to affect relations between parties or generate a conflict.

In the situation where they are already at the conflict level, preventive diplomacy ensures that they do not grow into crises or something worse (Lund, 1996). Not acting preventively at certain points could constitute a costly omission. Cahill (2000) contends that prevention is one of the supreme creations of the human spirit which all the troubles and challenges humankind had faced in different historical periods have not been able to take away. Like diseases, all challenges or threats, no matter their severity can be prevented such that they lose their inner energy and become unable to burst into anything serious even though everything might be working in favour of their occurrence.

Preventive diplomacy, therefore, deals with issues in stages, containing them at each point, not letting them go pass that stage to cause conditions worse than what existed before. For instance, it tries to prevent disputes from arising and if they do, it prevents them from becoming conflicts and if they do, it works towards stopping them from growing into crises and if they do, it works to stop them from becoming uncontrollable (Arrey, 2013).

This form of diplomacy is vital in reducing the tension and heat within an intractable intergroup conflict, giving time for useful interventions and other initiatives to be carried out in favour of peace and more cordial relations (João and Ngandu, 2014). Its success is therefore measured in terms of its

ability to stop or defuse a tensed situation from bursting destructively or growing into something bigger. If the situation eventually does, and seems difficult to control, this type of diplomacy must be substituted for a more adaptive type that responds adequately and is more suited for that particular case.

### **Development Diplomacy**

It is carried out through the use of economic and environmental keys on the international scene by some actors on others. According to Sanier and Yiu (2005), development diplomacy is a set of multi-dimensional actions to build bridges between economic, social, and ecological development policy objectives ranging from neo-liberal to state interventionist frameworks in order to help countries progressively reach higher stages of sustainable development.

As nice sounding and as appealing as this may appear, it can be a trap and a challenging situation to certain actors especially those at the receiving end of the purported development. Actors who pose as providers of development equally have their own troubles and challenges that are giving them sleepless nights. They are never least concerned about their own well-being and interests as they are about those of recipients. Consequently, though everything might appear good, any offer of development is scarcely just a goodwill and philanthropic gesture of some empathic people (Kissi, 2012).

In certain instances, it is instead carried out in a way which promotes the economic interest of actors using development as the main bait. Parties involved in this type of diplomacy need to be open-eyed and sufficiently conscious of their choices and actions because it can certainly lead to the prosperity and development of some, as the name rightly implies, but can at the same time lead to others emerging as losers. Such get trapped in a circle of poverty and dependence that could be hard to break free from.

As could be noticed, all the types of diplomacy examined so far have their strong and weak sides. Some are productive in certain occasions but not all. The type of diplomacy in use in a particular case therefore matters a lot. This can make the whole difference. But in our currently interconnected world where new and unconventional challenges show up regularly with multitude of interconnected issues at their origin, it is surely profitable to tackle them using a mixture of diplomatic approaches that give room for effective flows through multitude of tracks that target each root responsible for the firmness of the problem.

This is partly why we have argued that the qualities and characteristics of multi-track diplomacy make it a useful option in this dispensation especially as it does not focus on just a particularly segment or actor such as the elite and politico-military cadres but involves every composite part of society including even those one might think have nothing to offer any peace initiative (Grozev and Boyadjieva, 2005).

### **The Criticality of the Human Factor**

By criticality, we mean the importance and decisiveness of humans in the struggle against conflicts. Their role is crucial to the solution we seek. Consequently, as much as the type of diplomacy or approach used in particular cases is important, even so are humans to the outcome of any intractable intergroup conflict. Going by their decisiveness as well as what they are endowed with and can do under the right circumstances, this project wonders why intractable conflicts ever got considered insolvable and why the term *intractable* was even preferred in the first place as the description for any conflict given that it sends a completely negative message and discourages efforts that can effect change.



It more or less portrays an image of a struggle that is necessary but should not be waged because it is bound to fail no matter what is done. This is worrisome and sends discouraging signals (Burgess and Burgess, 2003).

We have thus argued that they are solvable and possible to transform partly premising this argument on the ability, intelligence and multitude of endowments humans are loaded with. It is important for any peace worker or intervening party to be fully aware of these realities and approach conflicts with the consciousness to succeed. Else, a significant part of the energy to effect change will be lost or left out of the solution-seeking endeavour if this type of pessimism accompanies anyone, no matter how well trained and sophisticated they may be, into a negotiation room or peace conference.

Ours is not a piece to challenge anyone or tag any position as pessimistic. It is an encouragement founded on scientific arguments we firmly believe in. Humans, it is true, are beings with many shortcomings but they are at the same time full of rare abilities and intelligence which give them a strong command over whatever they might face (Mayer *et al*, 2008). One of the implications of this is the fact that the ability to birth or discover solutions to issues in life, no matter what the name or nature might be, is within the capacity of human beings whose brains are unique in many ways and designed to handle multitude of complex situations. For example, despite little disagreements connected to certain things about the brain, neuroscientists agree that it has as many as 100 billion neurons and is so cognitively able, handling challenging and weighty human assignments that it consumes a staggering 20% of the total body energy budget even though it represents only 2% of body mass because of the high metabolic requirements of its neurons (Herculano-Houzel, 2013).

Moreover, it is helpful to be aware that when going about any challenge involving humans, impossibility is not one of the options to first consider because they are a highly intelligent species

with the ingenuity to turn things around and find desired solutions even when the challenges are overwhelming (Barrat, 2015).

As hinted earlier, it is true that they and their actions could be extremely destructive and responsible for many conflicts that plague societies. Truly, humans can be such a problem that there seems to be no end to the creative ways they use to hurt others and no end to the reasons they are ready to give to justify every action they take against their fellows and even against the environment which serves as their habitat (Tutu and Tutu, 2014).

Expounding on this, Marshall (2015) holds that if humans have any economic benefits in destroying or hurting other species or just anything else, they will do that without delay and can even wipe out an entire species or people if not stopped. But the good and consoling thing that is too obvious to be ignored is that humans, the destroyers, are equally humans, the repairers. They have what it takes to mend or rebuild each fence they broke. They are highly creative with an infinite ability to birth solutions to challenges. This might only take long but it is well within their ability to do so and eventually effect a change which matches properly with what they desire.

As (Tutu and Tutu, 2014) acknowledge, there is no end to humans' capacity of healing and making amends to whatever issues they caused because in each of them is an innate ability to create enough joy to take care of any pain they caused, generate hope in the most hopeless of situations, birth solutions to cater for different problems and heal any relationship that is under strain, staggering towards collapse. To describe a conflict as intractable is therefore disturbing especially in cases where intractability is defined as or considered to be a synonym of impossibility or a case which nothing can be done about.

This notwithstanding, Soriano (2012) cautions that there is a difference between what people desire to see happen and what actually happens in conflict situations. After working in places like

Somalia, Kenya, Niger, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other conflict zones, he indicates that it is possible for some conflicts to stay unchanged in spite of any level of domestic or international intervention. To him, the realities in the field are completely different from what one gets from other sources. Some conflicts just keep going on through different generations even though it seems the real reasons why it started have been long forgotten.

As true as observations of this nature might be, they still contradict many truths and seem not to give due consideration to the unique endowments of humans who are the main actors in any *intractable* conflict. Also, talking of impossibility ignores the extent to which humans can go in terms of triumphing over situations including fixing the broken parts of any relationship, be it in a community or state. There are certainly things that might be above them to handle at particular instances but historically, humans are traditionally noted to invent solutions to things that once troubled them over time. Apart from the brain, the entire human body, including cells and DNA, is built and wired in a unique and complex way which reveal the sophistication of this species and why it is expedient not to hastily classify a disagreement or any other challenge as too complex for them to handle (Awake, 2015).

### **Human Cells and DNA**

Drawing once more from natural science, we will consider a couple of useful lessons to bring clarity to our analyses. Ours, it should be recalled, is an interdisciplinary approach which permits necessary digressions in search of helpful empirical information. The human body is made up of cells. They are actually the building blocks of life (Silvano, 2009). It is true that different types of cells exist including, for example, blood cells, bone cells, skin cells, etcetera, but though they are different in many ways including appearance, cells have many things in common and all of them make significant contributions to the perfect functioning of the human system.

In other words, the final product is a function of their collective contributions. Despite their variableness, no cell's role is inferior to others. The place and participation of each is so important that the entire system suffers in the event of any malfunctioning of a cell or group of cells. In fact, humans can relate their wellness and health balance to homeostasis, the harmonised and correct functioning of healthy cells that make up the human system (Sprague, 2012).

The molecular biologists, Francis Crick and James Watson, working to improve upon earlier studies on the human DNA, made a major discovery in 1953 that was so crucial to the world's scientific understanding of life (Awake, 2015). The human DNA, found in the nucleus of cells, was discovered to contain multitude of fascinating encoded information about the human being. They held useful data about who humans really are including what they can do and other aspects of their ability.

Even from the time when some of these discoveries were made, though much of the information in the DNA could not be deciphered, the little that people understood indicated that humans are a loaded and sophisticated creature capable of accomplishing so much (Awake, 2015). As time went on and more deciphering was made, this position was reinforced though there is more to the human body than just the cells or DNA. This implies that if the richness of the entire body is taken into consideration, it will not be hard to see why the human being is such a unique and sophisticated creature who should not be quickly disqualified as not having what it takes to handle particular challenges.

Moreover, it will not also be hard to understand why they have led the entirety of creation for so long creating, building, and inventing different kinds of fascinating things whenever faced by new challenges.

Moreover, their adventurous attitude, creativity and curiosity is so strong that it is hard to say conclusively the length they cannot attain because with them any length seems attainable and

impossibility is never a fair word to use to describe any human endeavour (Marshall, 2015). They have created and invented things as need arose and gone to places as far away from the earth as space which does not even support life as the earth does. Yet they survived and accomplished the missions that took them there with accuracy and finesse.

Among the multitude of things that can be said with assurance about them is that they are an intelligent and unique species who have so much to offer no matter what the issue might be (Josephsen and Hauser, 1981).

Though there are talks and concerns of Artificial Intelligence (AI) from machines overtaking human intelligence and putting an end to the era when humans led the entirety of creation, the fact remains that even the machines and the intelligence they possess are from the human mind. That can be altered or reversed by the same humans if they please. No machine, no matter its level of intelligence, can create a human being but one human being can create many intelligent machines. It is always up to them. This can take the form of a change of decision on what to create and what not to. Humans can rearrange their priorities and work against any attempt to cede their power to their own creation or drop to the point of playing second fiddle in a world they have all along been accustomed to leading.

Relating these analyses to conflicts, the reason why we took much time to expound on this is basically to bring us to the point of understanding that it is safe not to tag any conflict as insolvable or impossible to handle. They might be difficult and challenging but the power of human endowments and creativity is known to abound where challenges abound. Even when they fail to rise to a level proportionate to what they face, humans still remain powerful and potent and can express themselves in a victorious manner anytime because people have so much in them though they normally do not use as much in their daily endeavours (Clegg and Birch, 2007). When pressed or challenged, much is released in the form of different solutions or attempts at getting a way out of any tight situation.

Even spiritual teachings agree perfectly with many academic and secular arguments about the wealth or endowments in humans and their uniqueness. Jewish, Christian, Muslim and other major religions highlight the place of humans in creation. Inasmuch as none of them downplays the importance of other species and things in creation, the Tora, Bible, and other such spiritual books paused at different points to acknowledge and highlight the power of humans and how they are possessors of rare qualities that can help them to accomplish a lot.

The Bible, for instance, in Genesis 1:26-27 holds that humans were made in the image and likeness of God and are just slightly lower than Him in rank and power, stating that the rest of creation was placed under their supervision and dominion. From this perspective, it is no coincidence to see humans in charge of the affairs of the world and leading in any conceivable area. They are held to be in possession of much of the qualities of God including creativity, wisdom, power, and the ability to know what to do whenever necessity arose.

After receiving a rare revelation that exposed who humans truly are and what they can do, the writer of the book of Psalm marvelled profoundly and wrote:

What is man, that thou art mindful of him? And the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet (Psalm 8:4-6).

Focusing on the same subject but from a different angle, Mittleman (2015) explores, from a Jewish point of view, what it means to be a human in the face of what science and other findings have said. While accepting scientific and academic positions including those of evolutionary biology, biotechnology, and neuroscience concerning humans, Mittleman explores some of the positions of

Jewish teachings, showing how they provide other rich ways of understanding humans and personhood. As he argues drawing from Ludwig Wittgenstein, science of course, answers many questions but does not and cannot answer all questions about humans and life.

Consequently, it needs more than just science and secular philosophy to know what ought to be known. Besides, even if all the scientific questions in the world were to be answered, the problem of life would still not have been touched at all (Wittgenstein, 1921). For there is more to life than the five senses can inform anyone, which are what academic and secular knowledge rely on a lot of times. From the perspective of conflict, killing people and destroying societies as a means of achieving set goals is one of the most futile and erroneous undertakings of any generation. Because even if a society had all its enemies killed and its goals achieved, it will still have many challenges to deal with. No real progress was ever made through such moves. Instead, regression is what such actions bring. This is usually characterised by the existence of more issues than what existed before. Consequently, the wisdom of solving problems through destruction, dehumanization and suppression of others remains a questionable and futile option that will remain costly and unrewarding through different generations.

Despite some of the disparities in the positions of scholars about human ability and personhood, one thing cuts across their observations. Whether they looked at it through scientific, secular, religious or philosophical lenses, they agree that humans are quite rich in the way they were made. They are capable of doing a lot in a manner that is clearly distinct from other species.

## **Conclusion**

The chapter explained the key terms around which this project revolves. It provided the meaning of phrases like multi-track diplomacy and intractable intergroup conflict. It also explained how multi-track diplomacy is related to, and at the same time different from, other types of diplomacy like track I diplomacy, track II diplomacy and development diplomacy. It made a case for multi-track diplomacy, giving details of why this project thinks it is a relevant option in challenging situations of conflict. It equally gave tips of how it could be applied laying emphasis on a simultaneous use of the multitude of tracks in a combination that is proportionate to the challenge to be eradicated. It hinted that care must be taken for all relevant parties to be involved, ranging from the media to the government passing through conflict professionals to ordinary members of society who do not seem to have anything to offer yet are loaded with many therapeutic things conflicts need to lose their strength and roll out of communities.

It also highlighted the importance of humans and the crucial role they have to play in the search of needed solutions. They are a gifted species with unique endowments capable of accomplishing a lot. Despite being the cause of many conflicts they are equally an indispensable part in the solution every conflict needs. Taking them away or using them below what should be the case will seriously affect a conflict and promote intractability.

Conversely, working with full awareness of who they are and what they can offer is a huge plus to any peace effort that seeks to permanently eradicate a conflict. This is an important factor to be conscious of and is equally an important step in the direction of procuring desired results that might be hard to get through other means. For with humans, impossibility is a word that should be used with much caution. Even when used, it should be done with a willingness to admit that other possibilities might still be existent because there are always windows of opportunities, many of which are usually not easily visible.



# CHAPTER SEVEN

## THE DIASPORA, MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY AND PEACEBUILDING IN SOMALIA

**Introduction:** This chapter evaluates the contribution of Somali diaspora in Denmark, especially those in the Jylland area, to peacebuilding back home. It also shows the patterns in which diasporic people contribute in fostering and sowing seeds of peace in intergroup conflict settings. As will be noticed, they serve among others, as agents of transportation of peace from peaceful places to conflict-ridden ones through different forms of contact, a lot of times without being aware. We look at these flows and equally expound the dynamics involved in order to make them more understood. This understanding, we believe, will increase the possibility of making them more researchable and easy to apply in similar cases.

The chapter also makes an evaluation of what peacebuilding is and what it is not. In a case such as Somalia where many actors are part of the conflict including those with private interests and others like humanitarian organizations whose objectives are and ought to be purely philanthropic, peacebuilding could be confusing because everyone is busy doing their own thing and trying to achieve their aim in their own way. As indicated, even organizations with similar objectives operated quite differently in many instances implying that though all of them were engaged in the same struggle, they were not as united as they should under a common strategy. This is laborious and increases cost. That is why apart from our use of multi-track diplomacy, part of our work recommends the use of strategic peacebuilding, a technique which deals with an effective coordination of the activities of all parties involved for, on the one hand, greater cooperation, and on the other, higher concentration of efforts against the common problem so as to guarantee greater output, reduction of incidences of duplicated actions and success.

## **Overview of the Current Situation**

Much has been done to put an end to the conflict in Somalia and reconcile its antagonistic groups. As we saw in chapter four, a lot of these efforts never succeeded in getting the country back on its feet as a flourishing democracy. Conflict, chaos, refugees, violence and insecurity are among the tags that still fill many minds each time the name Somalia is mentioned.

This is not to say progress has not been made. Of course, the country is less mentioned nowadays in the media, both mainstream and alternative, for reasons connected to attacks, bombings and famine, as was the case many years ago. This is indicative of the progress and gradual return of normalcy experienced lately. It even boasts now of a national government that has been in existence since 2012 known as the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS). Though this body is still struggling to get a proper hold of the country and put an end to the identity of conflict the country had become synonymous with over the years, the future looks promising and there are many reasons to hope for better days ahead.

Notwithstanding these developments, the truth remains that the country is still very far from entering into the rest and peace it desires. It is dreaming of these experiences and its people around the world are equally hoping to see that moment when their homeland will become a stable place with a vibrant economy and flourishing democracy comprising reconciled groups and a united people working for the common good of the nation.

That is why works like this are relevant at this point in time. It is a crucial moment of transition for the country. Stakes are high and though peace is in sight, its current condition remains fragile unstable and easy to fall apart. Knowledge of whatever can help move things forward is needed. Similarly, measures that can point to errors that should not be made in a period like this is equally

relevant whether it comes from academic, professional or state sources. That is why having a good grasp of the pursuit of reconciliation and peacebuilding is so necessary now.

### **Looking at Peacebuilding**

Peacebuilding has grown into a familiar term in conflict vocabulary in the last decades. It shot into prominence since the years after 1992 when the UN Secretary-General of that time, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, evoked it in *An Agenda for Peace* (Reynolds, Raghavan, Dorman and Sawin, 1993; Boutros-Ghali, 1993) stressing on its importance as well as key differences between it and similar concepts like peacekeeping and peacemaking. Among other things, the document clarified that being in need of peace does not bring peace neither do conflicts and wars recede by merely being detested and disapproved of.

Concrete actions which call for huge sacrifices are needed because achieving peace requires things to go beyond passive bystanding and much talking. This is because except it is made to change, an old order always stays in place and unchanged no matter how much it is hated. Even when this change eventually comes, it will not of itself create a new order unless people take proper actions to create the one they desire (Boutros-Ghali, 1993).

Consequently, having the type of stable and secure Somalia many dream of requires the building of strong foundations of stability and security. These can be done through resolute actions by every segment of the Somali society, including the diaspora, with the assistance of the world. Whatever is built will exist and the one which is not will remain an illusion and an unrealised wish. Continuous additions improve the beauty and quality of the thing, whether it is peace or any other phenomenon. That is why apart from raising calls against the attitude of criticisms and wishful thinking often used in this dispensation, this chapter also exposes the need for individuals to come to the realisation that this is a period which needs nothing short of full engagement and sacrificial construction of the peace

the world desires to see and live in. It also explains what peacebuilding is, giving ways of building it in volatile intergroup conflict situations.

### **What really is Peacebuilding?**

Nowadays, it is not one of the uncommon words with an elusive meaning. It is a relatively familiar word which simply stands for what its name suggests – building peace and strengthening foundations that help it to stay stable and flourish. One of the things to note about the word is that though it is a noun and not a verb, it exists in the present continuous form. This indicates that it is not a goal or destination that any government or actor can strive to arrive at but a task they need to be involved in continuously. It is required of them to continue working and improving it in order to make it better and able to provide real tranquillity to society.

This is partly why Lederach (1997) indicates that peacebuilding is a continuous process in constructing peace and strengthening its capacity to survive in a given society. Note the significance of the use of the word *continuous*. This implies that peacebuilding does not end with the signing of a peace deal or restoration of normal relations between former enemies. It continues even after the attainment of peaceful relations when everything looks fine.

This is a major difference between conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The former basically involves brokering a peace deal and putting an end to conflict so that peace can have the right atmosphere and environment to flourish in (Brubaker *et al*, 2014; Ramsbotham *et al*, 2011). The latter is more of a long term process that keeps being pursued even after peace has been re-established (Boutros-Ghali, 1993). It involves actions from a wide range of parties and stakeholders. They strive not only to stop the fighting and put an end to violence but continue working even after all these have been achieved so as to block the possibility of having renewed fighting.

Their activities continue in the form of promoting understanding, fostering good relations, building strong legal, political, economic and social institutions to protect the newly won peace as well as providing what the society needs to stay peaceful and resist the temptation of succumbing to the urge of slipping back to conflict (Schirch, 2004).

To bring in more clarity, Lederach (1997, 2010) compares it with building a house. Work does not end after a house is completed; it only reduces because the serious and pressing things have been dealt with. Things like maintenance, painting and renovation continue. Therefore, like building a house, peacebuilding is a whole process involving many different workers from a land surveyor to an architect to bricklayers, plumbers, electricians, painters, gardeners, decorators and even those who continue with renovation works after it is completed to keep its standard intact and prevent the building from wearing out or getting dilapidated fast.

Consequently, a lot of the things and actions that promote peace are aspects of peacebuilding no matter how small they may be. The mere fact that they contribute in increasing the level of tranquillity in a society, helping in strengthening the foundation of such conditions makes their contribution to count. Therefore, peacebuilding is a wide concept involving many interventions. It covers a lot of the other sub-fields including peacemaking, peacekeeping, reconciliation and even conflict prevention (Sarigiannidis, 2007).

Successful peacebuilding requires that parties consider issues lying before, during and after a conflict. It is not peacebuilding but a truce, ceasefire or something else if only violence, bloodshed and other such pressing issues are tackled. If it is peacebuilding, it will require that efforts continue to be carried out after stability has returned so that the foundations of peace can be made stronger and able to withstand pressure many years after the normalisation of relations.

Consequently, attention should be directed towards the well-being and happiness of people because the absence of direct violence is not synonymous to the presence of peace. Moreover, except the things that cause people to be angry, frustrated and pruned to violence are satisfactorily addressed, there can be no guarantee that stable peace has been built and hostilities will not resurface anytime in the near or distant future.

### **Things to Note to Engage the Future Productively**

From 2012 to the moment this section was written, Somalia had made interesting progress in its struggle to overcome the conflict that has plagued it for decades. Expectations have been high and there are many indications hinting that the country is in transition and soon its conflict might start being spoken of in the past tense (Horst, 2015). Evidently, many developments in the country point to this fact as it is easy to notice that the country is moving from its turbulent past into a future filled with hope and the possibility of many good things happening though it is advisable to wait and see because the future cannot really be predicted at this point (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2015).

Progress is so visible that for the first time in years, a provisional constitution was adopted, a parliament appointed, its speaker, chosen, and Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud peacefully selected as President of the country pending the holding of general elections (Maruf, 2015; CIA World Factbook, 2015). The government has been active on different fronts to hold the fragile state together and consolidate its democratic foundation since this seems to be a window of opportunity and perhaps that right moment when peace will pop in abruptly and end the decades of upheavals as is common with many intractable conflicts.

A number of programs have been launched including Vision 2016 which is a strategic plan and framework to implement legal, security and institutional mechanisms to ease the work of both the

government and its international partners to change the country's story in the most positive of ways (USIP, 2015).

However, one should be careful not to be misled by these happenings to think that Somalia is already out of trouble because that is just not the case yet given the challenges still at its door steps. Organised armed attacks are still very much present. In 2014, for instance, the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the Somalia National Army launched two military operations to eject armed insurgents from the major cities – a situation which indicated that there was still much to do to clean the country up. It led to an increase in the number of internally displaced persons and hardship on the part of the local people (UNHCR, 2015).

Moreover, though the government is battling against corruption, it is just not winning yet especially as it pertains to the theft of public funds. One of the consequences of this is that many ordinary Somalis live in conditions which do not testify of any real change. In addition, some members of the international community that once stood by President Mohamoud are increasingly losing confidence in him casting doubts on the brightness of the future currently in sight (Africa Research Bulletin, 2014). Even the elections scheduled for 2016 are clouded by doubts and it will not be a big surprise if it does not take place eventually and the cycle of political confusion continues (Maruf, 2015).

Yes, these challenges are there but the truth is that Somalia has come a long way and the years since 2012 have been promising and full of hope. They permitted a sigh of relief to be aired though difficulties still loom suggesting to everyone to be still and look up to what the future really holds because nobody can actually tell at this moment what the end will be given that events of this nature are capable of making surprising twists that were neither expected nor foreseen (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2015).

This positive atmosphere did not just happen by chance. A lot of things contributed to set the stage ready for this kind of change which has brought Somalis so close to one another with a noticeable level of understanding and solidarity. This is what many desired and prayed for over the years.

The mere fact that one is even talking of peacebuilding and reconciliation at this point coupled with the truth that the people are currently working together with determination to make way for lasting peace is indicative of significant progress. It points to the rise of feelings of common kinship and oneness. But how did things get here and how did Somali diaspora in Denmark, especially those in the Jylland area contribute to all of these? What exactly did they do which sowed seeds of peace and fostered rapprochement and mutual acceptance back home? This, we have explained, drawing relevant lessons from intergroup contact theory as they apply to Somalia's case.

### **Intergroup Contact Theory and Diasporic Peacebuilding**

In Somalia's situation, reconciliation and peacebuilding will remain hard if not impossible to attain if the method used comprises only official meetings and holding of peace talks with angry warriors and those considered to be key to the conflict. Inasmuch as they are important, they are not Somalia. Somalia is a name that means a lot. These warlords and active fighters are simply few of the many actors in Somalia's conflict. The state of Somalia is far bigger than the totality of the most notorious groups holding it in conflict. It is synonymous to all Somalis including those resident abroad, not just factional fighters in Mogadishu, Kismaayo and Hargeisa for instance.

Consequently, a workable solution for the country is that which involves the whole people or a large majority of them. To disenfranchise or ignore any group is to raise anger and disappointment that can nullify the credibility of any acquired peace. These are among the common and destructive emotions that fuel intergroup conflicts, making them durable and hard to overcome (Halperin and



Gross, 2010; Halperin and Pliskin, 2015). They push groups to retreat into positions of defending anything theirs and rejecting in the most serious of manners whatever comes from the other side (Klar and Baram, 2016).

For it to be effective, therefore, peacebuilding needs to be produced from a blend of the contributions of all the parts and forces of a society including, especially, the public and those at the grass roots since they are actually the soul of any society and leaving them out will discredit a peacebuilding process significantly. Such situations leave things bare, vulnerable and subject to renewed violence. There are a number of ways in which seeds of peace and reconciliation are sown or promoted by diasporic people in a protracted conflict setting like this. They always end up bearing fruits which help peace to prevail at the end. Below is an analysis of some.

### **Transporting Peace through Visits and Return Trips**

We observed that humans are transporters of peace and whatever exists in any society they had been to. Social realities found in a given place will be transported by those who had been there to wherever they go to ranging from the culture, to mannerisms, slang, way of thinking and even behaviour.

Though it is hard to get an exact figure of the number of Somalis residing in Denmark given that migration flows are constantly changing and people are regularly on the move, StatBank Denmark holds that there were approximately 26, 645 Somalis in the country by 2014. Many had been around for long and a lot came having no prior knowledge of the country because a refugee organization chose their destination for them (Gram-Hansen and Bech-Danielsen, 2011).

Yearly, many travel back to Somalia for visits while others return for different reasons. These visitors and returnees serve as agents of cross-pollination carrying peace, development, Danish language, culture and much of what has either rubbed on or entered in them from Denmark to Somalia. It should be indicated that much rubbing and entering occur whenever an individual resides in a place

for a given period of time. The longer they stay the more the rubbing and entering. This occurs through contact with the place and its people. Using knowledge from osmosis, this can be explained in terms of concentration. Materials flow from an area of higher concentration to that of lower concentration. Consequently, because Somalis are less than Danes, live in a Danish environment, do things according to Danish laws and customs, etcetera, things from Denmark flow into them more and reshapes a lot about them.

The more they live there the more flows from the society get into them. These things are then transported knowingly or unknowingly from the point of origin, Denmark, to the destination, Somalia. This happens as the returnees bring home new realities ranging from education, skills, thinking, different world view and gender perceptions (Sheikh and Healy, 2009; Galipo, 2011; Hansen, 2008). Contact increases knowledge and understanding of the other party and reduces misconception and prejudices held against each other (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Aalport, 1956).

As we noticed, changes in thinking, perceptions and attitudes towards the other group do not only occur when conflicting parties meet. They also occur when people connect with environments that are not in conflict. Realities from there influences their thinking and what they will prefer to do or not do. They then take them along to other places whenever they travel or have any form of contact with them be it through social media or any other platform.

This implies that the multitude of trips Somalis in Denmark have been making back home have actually been more than mere visits. While family members rejoiced and celebrated the return of loved ones, peace was a big beneficiary as the country served as a collection point of much of what came with the travellers from their host country including peaceful ways of handling differences. It is worth recalling that Denmark and much of the Scandinavia are at the top of current classification of the most peaceful places in the world (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015). Living there for

long, imparts a culture of peace and order in an individual thus influencing them to act in that line even when in a different land.

Both these diaspora returnees and those who have been toiling for the well-being of Somalia might not be aware of the implications these trips have had on peace in Somalia. Both they and their children who were born and raised in Denmark are a completely different group of Somalis. Like those back home who chose to stay in the very heart of the conflict and change things from within, they too are making enormous contributions to effect changes from without. However, unlike those trapped in the heat of the conflict and unable to go out, they are making certain contributions which are significantly helping in building a stronger foundation for peace not only because of their determination to put an end to the conflict but because their connection with the peacefulness of Denmark is tremendously helping that cause and introducing things in the conflict which are weakening its ability to thrive. Though contributions of this nature are hard to quantify mathematically, it was so clear while we studied these diasporic people that they have been a major contributor to the transformation of happenings in Somalia, promoting understanding, defusing tension and imperceptibly sowing seeds of recovery and normalcy.

One of the ways of knowing whether positive changes are occurring is to look at the current desire of people to stay together again and their willingness to return to or visit their homeland. It can also be confirmed if spending on resettling newcomers and internally displaced persons (IDP) has risen. According to the UNHCR (2015) there was a steady rise in needs connected to IDPs in 2012 and by 2015 financial requirements for operations in Somalia rose to USD 79.3 million, almost USD 10 million more than the budget of 2014 because more people were returning and there was more to do to cater for these returnees and IDPs.

This is indicative of the fact that not only are parties coming back together again but Somalia as a whole is on a path of recovery as could be seen from the rise in demand of permanent housing and appeals from different families and individuals to be reintegrated into the society.

This is not the only way diasporic people contribute in peacebuilding back home. Another way of looking at their contribution is to consider what gave the conflict much of the strength it displayed along the years and the extent to which these things have been fought or eradicated by them. Here, we call them conflict fuels. One of them is poverty and its cousin, famine (Mekonnen, 2006). They created harsh living conditions that made a lot of Somalis so desperate that not only were they in need of continuous emergency humanitarian assistance but were also easy to be recruited by warlords and sent on different operations with the hope that victory over the adversary will make life better and blissful.

In this light, remittances to families and development projects undertaken by diaspora members in Denmark did not only change lives and improve living conditions but equally unleashed a hard blow on conflict that weakened its strength and deprived it of much of the energy that caused it to flourish. The next subheading expounds on this.

### **Peacebuilding through Remittances and Development Projects**

Though the primary objective of remittances was not to make Somalia peaceful but to support families, friends and in some instances, the community, our study found out that peace was one of the biggest beneficiaries of these transactions. In economic terms, Somalis in Denmark as well as those in other places in the northern hemisphere support their families back home and those living in neighbouring countries in a way too significant to be ignored (Carling, Erdal and Horst, 2012). They make regular remittances and are responsible for the blossoming economy and empowerment of family members and groups (Gundel, 2002; Kleist, 2008; Hoehne, Feyissa and Abdile, 2011). This has considerably

changed many lives and freed a lot of people from the strong grip of poverty, famine and lack which were among the vectors empowering the conflict ravaging the country.

Moreover, since there was neither a national government nor functioning state institutions worthy of the name for years, a huge void existed which negatively weighed on the country's efforts to make speedy recovery. But through the diaspora, this void was filled to a large extent. Entire communities were helped to gain a noted measure of stability and economic revival through routine cash flows from family and friends abroad and the implementation of development projects by different diasporic groups (Hoehne, Feyissa and Abdile, 2011) including those in Scandinavian states like Norway and Denmark (Horst, 2008; Kleist, 2008).

The effect of this is not surprising. Ustubici and Irdam (2012) demonstrate that such remittances and projects have a positive impact on the beneficiary territory's human development level and are a potent way of empowering people and harnessing their ability to develop into useful contributors to society's well-being. This implies that while they were transforming lives and communities through these constant flow of money, they were at the same time disabling conflict and its propagators. The plans of these propagators got altered on several occasions making conflict to lose much of the strength it displayed and supporters it had.

However, remittances remain controversial in some circles. They are said to be a double-edged sword promoting peace and development while at the same time financing and sustaining conflicts (Kleist, 2008, 2010; Sheikh and Healy, 2009; Carling, Erdal and Horst, 2012). Since it is not the focus of this study to investigate in detail claims about the role of the diaspora in the proliferation of conflicts, we will simply stay within the limits of our study and reveal what we found without making digressions that can take us out of track.

We noticed that under the right circumstances and backed by the necessary support, the diaspora plays a vital and helpful role in development cooperation and the reduction of pressure emanating from humanitarian crises because it makes important resources available (Danstrøm, Kleist and Nyberg, 2015). Besides, it is the situation in the country that determines the flow of remittances, not remittances that trigger the problems a country faces. In other word, remittances come in response to needs. So they do not start anything; they only promote or facilitate the accomplishment of planned agendas whether they are connected to peace, food, school fees or war.

Moreover, it is not only the Somali diaspora that makes remittances, other nations do too yet no conflict was triggered. Instead, they improved the conditions of families, communities and countries at large. For example, in 2010, remittances to African countries was as high as US\$40 billion and according to the World Bank, this showed the ability of migrants as agents of development and a veritable leverage to the performance of many economies especially those in need of some form of lifting (Plaza and Ratha, 2011). Countries like South Africa, India, Ghana, Romania, Mexico and China are among those that receive huge remittances yet many of them are rather noted as emerging countries with promising economies, not war-torn places. Though these remittances alone are not responsible for their economic successes, they have equally not transformed them into conflict-ridden countries. Hence, remittances merely serve people and purpose, acting as catalysts to established agendas. They simply take communities to destinations they choose.

As a matter of fact, the positive role of remittances is so crucial that the diaspora is actually Somalia's major investor contributing about 80% of the start-up capital for small and medium enterprises (Sheikh and Healy, 2009). These profit-generating activities whose origin could be traced to diasporic flows provided many with employment and kept them busy with thoughts of how to improve their lives and secure a better future for their children. It also made them to prefer competing with other businesses in the free market instead of being carried away by propaganda from clan-based

war recruiters who exploited their needy and desperate conditions in previous occasions to get them fighting one another, spraying bullets on fellow compatriots in the battlefields in a war where only Somalia and its people emerged at the end as the biggest losers.

It is evident that the atmosphere in Somalia that is currently working in favour of peace was not developed overnight. It is the product of a lot of efforts from diverse players over the years. One of these is evidently Somali diasporic people of Denmark in particular and the Scandinavia in general. Apart from what we have seen already, these people also used language and communication skills as a weapon against conflict and a tactic of peacebuilding.

### **Peacebuilding through Language and Communication**

Track Nine of Multi-Track Diplomacy deals with communication and the media. It is peacebuilding through information and shaping of public opinion. Denmark is not peaceful by accident. A lot of initiatives have been in place for years producing the results the country is currently a beneficiary of. In other words, the components of the Danish system are working together to produce and sustain the peace the society is enjoying.

It is easy to notice some of the sources of this peace when one observes or studies the society. Among these is a culture of peace built within the very fabric of the Danish society and way of life. This has been done for many years through repeated peace-oriented education delivered through different informal and formal programs from daycare to the tertiary level.

The media equally promotes this and shapes public thinking in that line. Extremism, radicalism, bloodshed and taking the life of another person are alien to the vast majority of those wholly nurtured the Danish way with a mindset and thinking pattern influenced by its core values, among which is peace, respect and equity.

However, Hussain (2000) disputes this point, arguing that Danes have on many occasions demonstrated dislike and mistrust on ethnic minorities and people of other races and religions especially those of the Muslim faith and prefer fellow Danes than foreigners as neighbours or transactions involving contacts. He adds that the Danish media has played a big role in the growth and development of this attitude which does not help the development of genuine peace. In line with this argument, Wren (2001) adds that a fundamental shift in attitude occurred in the Danish society which saw Denmark move from a country reputed for having an abundance of peace and liberal values to that noted for cultural racism and mistrust of minorities, refugees and those they do not consider pure Danes.

It might be argued that these studies were conducted decades ago and cannot be a just reference for Denmark's current character since the actual situation on the ground is completely different in a lot of ways from what existed many years ago. However, a number of recent reports and studies incriminate Denmark even further, accusing it of being harsh and unfriendly to refugees and other categories of strangers (Delman, 2016). Moreover, the country is said to demonstrate a degree of self-centred behaviour that neither makes things easy for others nor help global appeals for inclusion and genuine acceptance of non-citizens, be they refugees, asylum seekers or belonging to any other category (Bendixen, 2016).

Despite these stark truths, the fact remains that Denmark is currently among the world's champions of peace. Being peaceful is not synonymous to being politically pure and not having any social challenges and faults. All nations have their share of challenges and an ugly part in their story. Consequently, because ours is a project interested in peace, we stayed focused on lessons to be learned from Denmark's peace so as not to be carried away by reports about its current political and governmental flaws.



The peacefulness and politeness the country is noted for can be found even in the local language. For example, though it is acceptable to ask in English and many other languages that 'can I sit here?' when one walks into a place or another person's domain, it is unacceptable in Danish. That is considered as not being polite enough. The Danish language lays a lot of emphasis on the necessity of demonstrating politeness, humility and respect in any form of interaction be it vocally or in writing.

For example, because asking for permission is not a question of ability but that of possibility, it is uncommon to say in Danish that 'can I sit here?' because anyone can sit down if they want to. If they were able to walk all the way from where they came, then they must be certainly able to sit down if they wanted to. In other words, they have the ability and will carry out the act if they please. But being able to sit does not mean they should. Therefore, from the Danish way of expression, it is linguistically improper to say 'can I' because by doing so, the speaker will be laying emphasis on their ability.

To make it sufficiently polite and peaceful, the Danish language requires them to rather ask for the other party's permission based on the possibility available. Consequently, what is acceptable to say is *Må jeg sidde her?* (May I sit here?) (Christophersen, 2015). It informs the other party that though you can sit down, you will not go ahead with the action until their permission is given. This authorisation should not be driven by pressure but by the possibilities available for the request to be granted.

Even when it is not about asking for favour like in the case above but about the speaker offering help or favour, it has to still be done in complete meekness and politeness which places the other party in a higher and respectful position of deciding whether to accept or reject the offer. That promotes peace considerably.

For example, it is common and acceptable to say in many languages including English that 'Can I help you?', 'Should I assist you?', or 'May I help you?' when one wants to offer their services to others. In Danish, it is preferred that the speaker exhibits even greater politeness and recognition of the other party if they (the speaker) are the one to offer the favour. It is therefore more common and acceptable to say *Må jeg hjælpe dig?* (May I help you?) (Vigh, 2015; Thompsen, 2015). Can I help you is rare and even unacceptable. Not only is it thought to bear some aspects of rudeness, it is also seen as being a misplaced question because the speaker should be the one to know if they can help anyone based on their energy, health, ability and willingness. To ask someone else if you can help them is therefore not a linguistically balanced expression. It will help peace better if restructured to hit on the right target politely and with a show of love. Interestingly but curiously too, this is the format in which it has been built within the system and hard drive of many languages without the negative implications on peaceful communication being noticed.

Relating this to peacebuilding in particular and peace and conflict research in general, the ability to do a thing is usually there but being able should not make one to proceed with the action unless authorised by the other party. In other words, being able to do anything, whether good or evil, should not make anyone proceed with the action unless those to whom it is directed accept that it should be done. Consequently, both to kill or help are unacceptable unless the party to which they are intended are pleased with the action and authorises them. This is because it is not about ability but possibility, necessity and relevance.

One argument for the preference on this style of communication is the need to promote meekness and peace and eliminate arrogance and pride from benefactors, making them to be nice and respectful to beneficiaries. That is why it is the beneficiaries, not the benefactors, who are placed in the position of deciding whether there will be a deal or no deal. Benefactors can, however, influence the beneficiaries to accept their offer by being respectful, meek and peaceful.

Though many languages sound nice and are widely used, they are void of peace seeds and fan the flames of conflict unknowingly. Some of their slang sound great and attractive with a strong urge to be used in regular conversations but they can sting or trigger negative things which do not help peace in any way.

Polite and peacefully profitable ways of expressing opinions are full in the Danish vocabulary. Unfortunately, one thing we kept hearing about the language from those in the different places we went to is that it is one of the most difficult languages in the world to learn. Many do not seem to be aware of its huge contribution to the peace Denmark is widely noted for in the world and how much can be drawn from such languages to make peace achievable without much struggles. Moreover, it has an important role in Danish way of thinking, acting and relating with others.

Because a lot about the local approach of communication, especially in formal contexts, places much value to the other party, the possibility of interpersonal friction is greatly reduced. Different cases around the world indicate that irritating the other party or not esteeming them high enough breeds offences which develop into different kinds of conflict. In fact, many conflicts have their origin from things connected to disrespect and zero recognition of an individual's or people's dignity. Therefore, creating a culture which eliminates many of the commonest ways of hurting others and developing peaceful ways of connecting with them is profitable to peace and the stability of societies.

These are some of the things other communities can learn from Denmark and why different studies (see for example IEP, 2015) continue to place it at the top of the most peaceful places in the world. This implies that learning the language as well as the culture is learning peace, tolerance and respect of the other party's life and space.

In this light, Somali diasporic people in Denmark, especially those who have lived in the country for long as well as those who were born and raised there are veritable carriers of things that are of

immense value to peace. They transport much of these things to Somalia as indicated earlier, through visits, social media and other forms of exchanges. Though this is often done unconsciously, the fact remains that there is a high level of cross-pollination between the two territories that contribute in weakening the power of conflict, helping in building certain aspects of the peace Somalia has been in dire need of over the years.

The question now is if it was only Somalia that benefited from this connection between the two territories and if flows did not also occur from Somalia to Denmark. Of course, there were flows moving to and from both sides. According to the osmosis and reverse osmosis model we are using, the direction of these flows can be understood by looking at the concentration of what exists in either of the territories. By reason of contact between the territories, what exists in higher concentration in one side will flow to the other side with lower concentration.

In an osmotic manner, peace flowed from Denmark to Somalia. Interestingly, the flow did not diminish the peace in Denmark, the place of origin, just as a candle's light does not diminish when it lights up another candle. This implies that peace is transferable and it wastes when left to profit just a single society when it has the capacity to trigger peaceful conditions in other societies without negatively affecting the effectiveness of that of the source. One lesson from this is that peaceful societies can, by means of osmosis or reverse osmosis techniques, make releases to others using specific procedures including transfer of knowledge and skills.

### **Peacebuilding through Knowledge, Education and Skill**

The diaspora has made a huge impact here, putting knowledge and skill at the service of Somalia. To adequately understand this it is important to cast the eyes backward and recognise that at a given point, Somalia's education system was hit so hard by the civil war that in certain places like Somaliland, formal education was completely destroyed (Hoehne, 2010). Even in the rest of the

country conflict brought much of the education infrastructure to ruin. Things were made worse by subsequent tragedies and the effects of the civil war which served as the last devastating blow that completely shattered an already collapsed education system that barely existed, leaving the country empty and void of anything to support its needs (Moyi, 2011; Abdi, 1998).

This implied that the territory's backbone was damaged because no country, no matter how ambitious it may be, can continue to stand erect as a thriving political force and withstand the fierce competition and pressure from other nations on the international stage with such a shattered and dysfunctional education system.

As a matter of fact, education is an indispensable leverage all societies need to stay afloat and be able to handle the challenges of the constantly evolving world. The fact that the one in Somalia was destroyed, brought the entire country down in many respects. Given that this occurred in the midst of a ravaging conflict that continued to wipe out even the remnants of other institutions the society looked up to as its last hope, the country was left with almost no formal training and career development programmes (Abdi, 1998).

This was good news for conflict but a bad and sad occurrence that worked against peace. It implied that young people were exposed to greater possibilities of growing up with empty heads which warlords and the environment of conflict filled with philosophies of killing, brute force, sectarianism and uncompromising violence thus guaranteeing a future connected with militia heroism and warlordism. But Somalia has fought its way back energetically, rescuing its education system from previous ruins and securing a better future for its young people. This reversed the fortunes. This is good news for peace and a sad story for conflict. The dividends are currently being reaped as can be seen with the current state of peace and restoration in Somalia.

One of the main contributors to this powerful comeback is the Somali diaspora. Many returned and supported local schools and institutions, teaching in universities, paying the salaries of staff members of struggling schools and offering technical assistance to the different bodies that played managerial roles since there was no national government worth the name that ran state affairs anymore (Sheikh and Healy, 2009; Hoehne, 2010). They also offered their skills to international development agencies in the country, boosting projects like the UNDP Qualified Expatriate Somali Technical Support (QUESTS) and others (Sheikh and Healy, 2009).

Apart from these contributions, more Somalis, especially the younger generation in the diaspora with varied skills and education, got engaged in different initiatives to foster the country's current peacebuilding and reconstruction efforts. Horst (2015) reveals that not only those in Norway and other Scandinavian countries are willing to place their skills and training at the service of the country's revival, but even those in other industrialised as well as non-industrialised countries are ready to take part in ongoing reconstruction projects. Many of them still connect with Somalia both emotionally and otherwise and continue to see it as their homeland for whose sake they will give as much as they can to change its image and story for good (Langellier, 2010). This diaspora is in many respects, one of the new and prominent development actors (Sinatti and Horst, 2015).

The stay of this Somali diaspora abroad permitted them to acquire different skills and training which some think their homeland currently needs. They have been offering what they have in a bid to change the country's condition and take it out of conflict into a path of growth and development. This increase in the supply of skills and knowledge has significantly prospered the cause of peace. It fortified the foundation of stability and normalcy, releasing a hard blow on peace spoilers and forces threatening the successful restoration of Somalia as a functional democracy.

It should be indicated that the fact that one is willing to make a positive input to change the fortune of a conflict does not imply such offers will be readily accepted. The atmosphere of conflict

and war is not negative to everybody; some parties make huge gains from it by means of a vibrant and flourishing war economy. They prefer that peace and order never return because to them, those are instead the adverse conditions to be discouraged and fought (Shortland, Christopoulou and Makatsoris, 2013). So, to have been willing to provide their academic and professional know-how and eventually succeed in doing so is a mark of plausible commitment on the part of this diaspora peacebuilders.

The attitude and commitment of the diaspora to things back home is not the same for all age groups, it is worth pointing out. First generation members show greater interests and involvement than the second and third and this drop continues as one moves to the fourth, fifth and more recent generations (Abdile, 2010). To these younger ones, their parents' homeland is a distant and imaginary place. They feel a weaker sense of affinity with it than with their host country which is the reality some of them have known in their whole life. They no doubt have feelings for where their parents come from but when talking of home, many have strong attachment to where they were born, raised and look likely to be where they will spend the rest of their lives in (Abdile and Pirkkalainen, 2011; Abdile, 2010).

As a result of the multitude of actors working in the same conflict terrain to salvage peace, possibilities of confusion and repetition of roles occur. Here, we look at the efficacy of strategic peacebuilding and argue that it is one of the potent ways of minimising the waste of peacebuilding initiatives especially on the part of the diaspora.

### **The Diaspora and Strategic Peacebuilding**

Strategic peacebuilding is the connection or coordination of the activities of the different actors working in a given conflict terrain to ensure that their actions take into consideration the efforts of one another so as to eliminate chaos and wasteful competition (Schirch, 2004; USIP, 2015). Clash of

interests and competitive agendas of actors rank among the strongest inhibitors of successful peacebuilding. Without adequate provision to eliminate these occurrences, conflict will keep having its way even though different actors may be working tirelessly against it.

It is thus vital to have an effective strategic peacebuilding agenda in place which can help build inclusive national capacities to tackle the remote causes of conflict that prevent durable and sustainable peace from being experienced (PBSO Briefing Paper, 2007).

Looking at the different ways in which the diaspora contributes in Somalia's peacebuilding efforts one might wonder if the role and actions of the parties do not overlap given that we are talking here of many independent groups driven by the same passion and working in the same conflict field.

Hammond *et al* (2011) identify as many as ten categories of diasporic intervening groups who contribute to peacebuilding activities like relief and development in Somalia, adding that the activities of these actors at times overlap. The table on the next page presents these groups and the nature of interventions they make. **(SEE TABLE OVERLEAF)**



## CATEGORIES OF DIASPORIC INTERVENING GROUPS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Category of Supporter	Kind of Intervention/Contribution Made
1) Individual households	They make remittances and provide different assistance to relatives, friends and communities.
2) NGOs	They assist and boost the work of partner NGOs, supporting social service providers on the ground in Somalia.
3) Clan-based or home-town associations	Focus on particular areas, especially their place of origin and on NGOs working in those areas.
4) Professional associations	Provide technical support to NGOs and social service providers. Members donate their time and skills, travelling back to Somalia to render professional services to both the state and local people.
5) Transnational associations	They are transnational because they group Somali diaspora from different countries so as to effectively mobilise funding and support for projects back home. They work in an almost similar way like the clan-based associations.

6) Mosques	Active in funding educational projects and cultural establishments. Especially during Ramadan, they mobilise to help other mosques and needy communities in Somalia.
7) Private investors & shareholders in private businesses	A great proportion of large businesses in the country have shareholders and investors in the diaspora. They are an important economic force making useful contributions to improve the country's fortunes.
8) Members of boards of trustees	Diaspora members are on the Boards of Directors of different investments, NGOs and social service providing firms in Somalia. They ease the acquisition of funding from abroad and provide expert knowledge.
9) Women's groups	They work with NGOs, home-town associations and others to alleviate poverty, boost local capacities and empower families.
10) Youth groups	Their interventions and way of thinking is different from their parents' but they too are contributing. They prefer contributing skills than money. When money is needed, they prefer sending it for community purposes than for the cause of distant individual relatives.

In order not to lead to confusion, chaos and breakdown of their efforts there is the use of strategic peacebuilding approaches. In this regard, actors promote strong collaboration between one another

so that their activities do not compete against those of others operating in the same field to constitute a hindrance against the attainment of their common objective (Schirch, 2004). As such, NGOs, development organizations, relief bodies and other actors work in a manner which takes into consideration what others are doing so that they can move faster towards their objective of defeating the conflict instead of turning around circles and making no progress because of inadequate cooperation and duplication of duties (Soriano, 2012).

Addressing this issue of cooperation, Rufanges (2012) cautions that though nice, it could in some circumstances serve as a trap which rather slows things down. Using his long experience as a worker with *Medicos Sin Fronteras* (MSF), he admits that when different players cooperate it helps a lot but advises that no one should be carried away by the benefits that cooperation brings to neglect the importance of granting individual actors the chance and space to pursue their established agendas which made them to intervene in the conflict in the first place. Coming together and cooperating is definitely good but could breed bureaucracy and a struggle for dominance by notably the powerful actors within groups such that instead of helping things to move faster, they instead run the risk of getting slower and stuck thus promoting intractability (Rufanges, 2012).

In Somalia's case, strategic peacebuilding should therefore be wisely applied taking into consideration when it is best to fuse efforts and when it is profitable to give different actors enough space to operate on their own and achieve their set agendas for the common good of the society.

## **Conclusion**

Lately, the tone of commentators, researchers and even Somalis themselves in relation to their description of events in Somalia has changed considerably. In different periods in its troubled history, the country became synonymous to conflict, violence and insecurity. The language of everyone reflected these conditions. That was fair enough. But one has to be careful nowadays with the type of adjectives used in describing the country because a lot has happened over the years which has tremendously weakened the power of conflict and pulled the country out of the strong grip of intergroup intolerance and antagonism, placing it in a path of steady transition. In fact, a peaceful future is in sight but whether the country will get there or not will be determined by the events of this period.

As this chapter explained, the conflict was so entrenched and its level of intractability firm that changing the situation required a strategy that took into consideration the inputs of all actors, near and far, no matter how small their contribution was. Somali diaspora in the Scandinavia in general and those of the Jylland area of Denmark in particular were among the actors whose contributions helped in getting the country where it currently stands – on the road of recovery and hope.

Through remittances, visits, exchanges, provision of skills, assistance to educational establishments, promotion of development initiatives and empowering local people and communities, the diaspora served as a veritable partner in peacebuilding. Its efforts were complementary with those of others and today the dividends are so evident that one can say with a degree of certainty that Somalia has been significantly pulled out of the bizarre situation it was stuck in for decades and is currently on a slow but steady journey to peace.

It is true that one should not be too optimistic given that intractable conflicts of this nature are full of unexpected surprises. But whether the situation continues to improve as many desire or slides

back to chaos as has been the case for decades, the fact remains that the same Somali diaspora in Denmark which made contributions before is determined to continue making even more contributions until the era of conflict finally comes to an end.

The chapter equally explained that though no actor's initiatives are indispensable, every actor's contribution is important. Bringing all of them together and not neglecting any is as important to Somalia as it is to peacebuilding and the fight against stubborn conflicts and insecurity both in the Horn of Africa and beyond.

# CHAPTER EIGHT

## THE DIASPORA, MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY AND RECONCILIATION IN SOMALIA

**Introduction:** This chapter addresses reconciliation among Somalis. By diaspora, we are referring to Somalis in Denmark, especially those in the Jylland area, even though examples were drawn occasionally from other Scandinavian countries and beyond when need arose. It explains what reconciliation is and what it is not, giving details of ways in which it can be successfully pursued in cases of protracted intergroup conflicts where parties are bitter and bent on not seeing one another face-to-face.

As explained here, Somalia's case has an extra peculiarity in the sense that the conflict is not only intractable but its people are so many abroad that they constitute something similar to another nation – what some authors have called a transnational community with the ability to act with notable decisiveness as an oversea Somali state.

Therefore, Somali reconciliation is not only about having warlords and other fighting groups in Mogadishu, Hargeisa, Kismaayo and other Somali cities and regions come together to be one again but also involves having members of antagonistic Somali clans and political groups in overseas localities like Copenhagen, Aarhus, London, Amsterdam, New York, just to name these few, accepting one another and resolving to put the past behind them to pursue a common future that places Somalia above private and sectarian interests. This requires the taking of measures which target not just the Somali nation in Africa but that abroad because the rebirth of a truly functioning Somali state is a mega project which should be sufficiently inclusive.

## **Overview and Assessment of Current Reconciliation Realities**

If reconciliation is successful among transnational Somalis, that is those abroad, but fails among those back home or vice versa, one cannot talk of successful reconciliation because reconciling Somalia and reconciling Somalis are not the same thing. Both need to be achieved because of the effects each has on the attainment of the overall objective. In other words, none should be neglected else whatever will be achieved will not be sustainable. Consequently, talking of reconciliation in Somalia's context is talking about a huge thing involving different levels of activities, actors and interventions. Even the smallest contribution from any actor matters. In fact, in a context like this it is beneficial to approach reconciliation bearing in mind that though no contribution from any actor is indispensable, all are too important for any to be ignored.

The improved relations currently prevailing among Somalis both in the diaspora and back home is the product of years of uniting different actions from different stakeholders including those in Denmark. But for hope to stay alive and the current progress expanded, both the periphery and the centre of the Somali nation, that is, the clan-based administrations representing local populations and the central government operating from Mogadishu need to blend properly and focus not just in organising a credible, free and fair general elections but also to tackle fundamental issues of healing, forgiveness, trust and acceptance of one another (Aman, 2015).

Currently, a lot of attention is directed instead at issues relating to elections. Though there is nothing wrong with this, current enthusiasm for the return and re-establishment of a prosperous democratic state should not move actors to try to build it at the expense of important ingredients of reconciliation and stability like truth, confronting the past, repentance, healing and forgiveness because Somalia did not disintegrate because of the absence of elections but because of decadence that ate deep into the society including institutional injustice, clan rivalries, political dysfunction, inadequate space for expressing different thoughts and an excessively worrisome level of foreign

intervention (Aman, 2015; Menkhaus, 2007, 2010). A lot of focus should thus be directed to these issues.

As we look at the subject of reconciliation, it is worth keeping in mind that there are different types of conflicts. As indicated in the general introduction and chapter three, knowing what is unique about each is important in successfully coming up with workable solutions. This is because what produces a satisfactory result in one context will not necessarily do so in another.

Learning and drawing from Denmark in particular and Scandinavia in general, we have demonstrated how conflict-ridden societies can benefit from peaceful ones and evolve to become reputable household names of peace themselves. As stable peace flows to them from the area of higher concentration, Denmark in our case, they can grow and become prosperous through a careful and context-based application of multi-track diplomacy and the encouragement of a people-centric, accountable administration that is fluid and prioritises the common humanity of its people over the bigotry, suspicions, fears, incompatibilities and cynicisms of its groups.

### **Explaining What Reconciliation is and what it is Not**

Reconciliation is generally seen as a word which brings hope and positive changes. It suggests the return of understanding and better relations after a situation of conflict or broken connection (Govier, 2006). Forgiveness is a cousin to reconciliation but while it looks at the past to tackle or erase the effects of wrongs suffered, reconciliation looks at the future, bringing enemies together and eventually building cordial relations to help them face the future together as a team (Rigby, 2000).

These two are very crucial to the restoration of peace and good relations. Their absence is strong enough to keep a peace process grounded for long even though everyone might be determined to effect real changes and move things forward (Tutu, 1999; Lederach, 2007; Tutu and Tutu, 2014). One of the reasons for this is because though parties desire reconciliation they often feel that things like



apology, acknowledgement of wrongs, promises not to cause hurt again and repentance should come from the other party, not them.

Since these are the ingredients that make reconciliation possible, attitudes of this nature make it unachievable. Parties usually feel they are right and the other, wrong. That is, they are driven by thoughts that they were and have always been the victim so the other party owes them an apology and genuine repentance (Govier, 2006; Diamond, 1997; Shmueli, Elliott and Kaufman, 2006).

### **The Other Side of the Reconciliation Story**

Though known to be nice and explicit enough, reconciliation is tricky, constituting one of those words in the peacemaking world which easily deceive many into thinking they know exactly what it means not knowing they probably do not.

As a matter of fact, though relatively common and widely used, the exact meaning of reconciliation is unclear and can be deceitful (Zorbas, 2009; Trimikliniotis, 2012). It has been ascribed many definitions partly because it means different things to different people and contexts. One can easily, because of the meaning lexicographers have given to the word, misuse or generalise it in settings where it ought to have been contextualised. In reality, it always has to be contextualised. That is why we have drawn attention to this aspect so that the way it has been used in a case like ours which deals with intractability can be understood and assessed within context.

For example, reconciliation is not the same thing between an employer and an employee as it is between a husband and a wife or between two communities trapped in a religious or political conflict. We discovered that it is erroneous to approach a conflict, especially the complex, protracted type, with a pre-prepared version of reconciliation that was made based on assumptions of what one thinks is good for the case under consideration. That will be like designing a gown believed to be beautiful

and fitting enough for an expected baby only for the latter to show up with a size, sex and height that defies every aspect of what was prepared.

Consequently, it is the conflict that determines what its own version of reconciliation should be, not the intervening party. A lot of times, it is instead the opposite that is done. It is not too difficult to notice where this error came from and why many reconciliation efforts failed. It partly came from the fact that though the word conflict fits in many cases of fighting, the word reconciliation does not fit in the same way in all cases of restoring good relations and understanding among divided people.

It is one of the reasons why some conflicts manifest stubbornness and do not go away even after multiple interventions and hard work. Reconciliation's lexical origins is also deceptive as the subsequent paragraphs explain. It is connected to western/northern Christian traditions and the way it is used in that context is at times just not the same as what it connotes when used in secular milieux such as those concerning intractable intergroup conflicts about identity, territory or other sociological realities (Trimikliniotis, 2012).

After the genocide in Rwanda, for instance, what the government understood to be reconciliation and pursued energetically is not entirely what many of the local people understood reconciliation to be – moreover, even the different populations had different meanings of reconciliation. What they were expecting from the government was not the same even though they were all expecting reconciliation (Zorbas, 2009).

That is why it is imperative to highlight that reconciliation is not universal but contextual. Based on the uniqueness of each conflict and the combination of realities specific to them, is reconciliation determined. Many of these realities are not given sufficient consideration in a lot of instances. Whenever there are turbulent situations involving fighting and violence, peacemakers usually rush to make peace and reconcile the antagonists without sufficiently considering what kind of reconciliation

the case needs and will yield to. The effects are obvious and manifest in the form of failed and at times, counter-productive results (Nets-Zehngut, 2007).

For a particular case, it could mean a changed psychological orientation toward the other party to ensure that victims and perpetrators or members of antagonistic groups decide to let go of the past, not allowing it to determine the way they relate to each other in the future (Staub, 2006). In another, especially in faith-based settings, emphasis might be laid on forgiveness and genuine willingness to overcome the issue so as to pave the way for parties to move towards each other with a mind driven by love and acceptance (Frise and McMinn, 2010; Al Qurtuby, 2014; Tutu, 2009).

In yet another, it could mean admitting the truth, forgiving one another and stepping out to face the future in a manner whereby the gloomy experiences of the past are not allowed to interfere with the bright expectations and possibilities of the future (Tutu, 2009). To others, it could mean punishing perpetrators in a manner proportionate to their offences so that victims get satisfied and feel a sense of justice that is strong enough to move them to accept getting into a new relationship with their former enemies with clearly defined duties and responsibilities which offer sufficient protection for each party and satisfactorily take into consideration the interests, expectations and emotions of everyone (Zorbas, 2009; Halperin and Pliskin, 2015).

To some others, it could mean a coming together after a rift that undermined the capacity for decent cooperation (Govier, 2006). This usually entails a willing movement into an improved relations where parties abandon their differences and bitterness and enter into a new experience of cooperation, focusing on their commonalities, not differences and issues that stir negative feelings and desires of separation.

We have looked at these different meanings because it is important to raise awareness that reconciliation does not mean one particular thing for all conflicts. This is necessary especially in the

situation of major conflicts that involve states, communities and large groups. As might have been noticed, knowing what the people of a specific conflict consider to be reconciliation is very crucial and can be decisive to the success or failure of any initiative that seeks to achieve it in that society.

This is one aspect of multi-track diplomacy we have laid emphasis on. It discourages coming into a conflict with the mindset of an expert or a sophisticated personality who knows everything about conflicts and can be relied on for solutions (Notter and Diamond, 1996; McDonald and Diamond, 1996). These are some of the actions that orchestrate failure. Multi-track diplomacy encourages peacemakers to intervene in conflicts not as the all-important solution bearer but submissively as a learner who is only a facilitator. Every conflict has new things to teach any expert, no matter their experience and how long they might have been in the business of peacemaking. This implies that excessive protocols and bureaucratic impediments should be taken off the way to permit sufficient contacts with grass roots people and understanding of the daily realities of the conflict so that the issues themselves will point to the solutions that can cause real and durable change in society.

As a matter of fact, intervening in a conflict with an already prepared brand of reconciliation will expose the peacemaker to so much labour that would have been avoided had they paid attention to the specific type of reconciliation pill the case requires or the type the people will quickly identify with and swallow without hesitation (Arrey, 2013; 2015). Inadequate mastery or application of these realities is both a major cause of intractability and failure of reconciliation initiatives. To end this section, it is nice to see the root meaning of the word, reconciliation, in order to foster an appropriate use of it both in lexical and intergroup conflict cases.

### **The Etymology of Reconciliation**

Reconciliation comes from the Latin word *reconciliāre* which means to bring together again or to make friendly (Redekop, 2002). It is an important part of any peace effort that does not just seek

to end violence by having parties sign an agreement but desires lasting peace. Ending hostilities and signing a peace agreement is good but not sustainable and therefore cannot guarantee peace because the peace societies enjoy is the product of a combination of forces including personal healing and interpersonal acceptance, not just the absence of violence (Al Qurtuby, 2014).

Due regard should, therefore, be given to the fact that reconciliation is not synonymous to the final end of everything. There is much that could be added. At times even though it is a good step forward, some hold that it is even not necessary for certain conflicts (Christiansen, 2012). Intervening parties should constantly be in the position to determine when it is necessary and when other options are better placed to do the job.

Moreover, before getting to the point where an intergroup relations suffered setbacks and got engulfed in conflict, it is not conclusive that there was necessarily love, understanding and unity between the different sides. The groups probably only coexisted or tolerated one another. They perhaps even lived in competitive victimhood where each thought it was suffering from certain things because of the other and thus lived with a mind which simply permitted things to be so for the moment (Noor *et al*, 2012).

In cases like this, if reconciliation only means bringing parties together again for conditions to exist as before then it is certainly not a pill that heals relationships of their ailments. As can be noticed, it only took away the new challenges that added to previously existing ones thereby bringing things back to where they used to be.

In this instance, real peace was not attained. It just cannot in circumstances of this nature. Real reconciliation that guarantees sustainable results needs to go pass mere restoration of antagonistic parties. To achieve it, efforts should be made to release the different facets of the word in order to

enable it have a proportionate impact on different cases instead of confining or limiting it to only the meaning that aligns with what its etymology or grammatical correctness requires.

We think it is appropriate, at this juncture, to re-state one of our major findings. It is our position that each conflict is the determinant of its own version of reconciliation. A one-size-fits-all approach is definitely going to lead to tremendous challenges and might even be counter-productive, leaving many unanswered questions and weak spots through which unexpected difficulties can infiltrate to hunt the entire process in the future in the form of renewed fighting or violence.

This has contributed significantly to some conflicts manifesting stubbornness even though, generally, making peace and working towards its survival after a period of an intergroup conflict is an excessively challenging task by itself (Matínez-Tur *et al*, 2014).

Looking at the word reconciliation, the prefix *re* is tricky because it suggests that there is an agreeable and complete coming together again after staying apart from one another or breaking up (Redekop, 2002). This is not exactly true. When dealing with communities and states that have been torn apart for some time like Cyprus or Somalia, words like reconciliation or unification do not always mean what everyday language say (Leonard, 2013; Zorbas, 2009).

Therefore, reconciliation does not obligatorily mean coming together or complete fusion. As indicated earlier, in a lot of instances, those concerned never ever lived in the type of oneness and understanding that the word suggests. Maybe there was relative peace but that did not mean parties were happy and completely embraced or endorsed one another or the system in place. They were just busy in their own space and never really lived as a completely united people who were proud of every aspect of their union.

Taking the example of multi-ethnic or multi-religious societies with noted diversity like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, or Iraq, reconciliation can involve a coming together to live

in harmony and acceptance of others but will not forcibly involve real fusion because some of the societies were never in such a state in the first place. When carrying out any reconciliation initiative it will be an error, though not impossible, to compel all the people to unite in a manner that completely ignores these realities just because unity is a good thing which should not only be spoken of but practised.

Such a situation is dangerous and can result to chaos and an undesirable outburst that might take a lot to contain except that the intervening parties take advantage of opportunities that usually exist in a post-conflict atmosphere to encourage both the in-group and out-group members to cooperate and consolidate their fragile relations (Martínez-Tur, 2014). Otherwise, reconciliation will simply be more or less the promotion of coexistence, paper love and acceptance of one another for the society to move forward and accomplish its goals despite the presence of other challenges.

In the case of serious intergroup conflicts, especially those of international magnitude, reconciliation will not also obligatorily mean complete unity characterized by kisses, hugs, and shedding of tears as can be the case with spouses. In this light, a concept such as national reconciliation will not mean an automatic turnaround from bitterness to an experience of love and oneness because the issue of the in-group seeing anyone out of it as the *other* still remains strong that it cannot be eliminated overnight but will take much time and much persuasive and encouraging talking or actions (Bruneau and Saxe, 2012).

Consequently, sustainable reconciliation will instead mean a gradual and careful bringing together of the different communities and components of the nation to the point of cooperation and acceptance of others for a long-term or indefinite stay. As could be noticed, reconciliation does not mean reinventing the nation such that all old problems are taken away overnight and everyone becomes one to form a new breed of people whose ethnic or other identities get swallowed up by the new national identity everyone is expected to promote (Zorbas, 2009; Bruneau and Saxe, 2012).

As we round up this part, it should be noted that for reconciliation to succeed in notably an intractable intergroup context, aspects such as acknowledgement of faults, openness, sharing perspectives, honesty, apology, repentance and willingness to forgive are of importance (Govier, 2006; Chapman, 2007; Bruneau and Saxe, 2012; Bar-Tal, 2013). Even in other conflicts, without them, especially without forgiveness, not only will reconciliation be challenging to attain, but the future will also be tumultuous and bleak since parties will constantly have uncertainties and bitterness to deal with. Such situations inhibit commitment to peace and real hope for a blissful future (Tutu, 1999).

### **Multi-Track Diplomacy and Reconciliation in Intractable Intergroup Conflicts**

#### **a) Sampling the Views of Somalis in Jylland, Denmark**

First of all, effective reconciliation requires, among others, an understanding of what Somalis themselves think about the conflict in their country. What are their grievances and what do they want to see done in order to accept and cooperate with proposals of reconciliation? Moreover, what kind of reconciliation can suit the Somali context given the multifaceted nature of the conflict and the number of actors involved and expected to be part of any reconciliation that will be durable?

As we proceed, it is worth keeping in mind that intractable intergroup conflicts are known to develop a culture of conflict which becomes the new norm people are familiar with especially generations that were born and raised in the conflict atmosphere (Diamond, 2007; Bar-Tal, 2013). So, it is possible for the peacemaker to be dealing with people who see conflict as the way of life they are most accustomed with and hold doubts regarding what abandoning it will mean for them.

This holds true for Somalia as well. A lot of the people conflict therapists deal with, especially members of younger generations, usually know no other reality but that of conflict (Leonard, 2013; Mohamed, 2015). To some of them, changing the conflict situation is like changing their culture and the only reality they know.



This does not mean they are naturally aggressive and prone to violence. As Ahmed (2015), a Somali resident in Aarhus, Denmark, explained, it is erroneous to claim that the conflict in Somalia has continued for this length of time because there are aspects of violence and hostility in the people's way of doing things which has developed as a kind of subculture. They do not like fighting but have simply been trapped in it and will get out if they find a trusted alternative way of achieving their goals and living with those considered enemies and threats, be they outsiders or rival clans.

Being trapped in conflict is different from being conflict-oriented. Moreover, being shaped in conflict is not the same as being naturally conflict-driven. Mohamed (2015), another Somali resident in Aarhus, feels the conflict is just like a hot and sticky substance which has glued itself on the Somali people and state despite its undesirability and the discomfort it is creating. He adds that the conflict has so far not had any solution because it is big business for many nations and arms manufacturers, arguing that the public has constantly been misled into thinking that because it (the public) desires peace in Somalia that is what all the nations, organizations and individuals intervening in the country under the banner of peace actually want as well. Apart from constituting a strategic interest to many, Somalia has been a profitable business ground for war entrepreneurs and the military industrial economy.

But it has not only been about the activities of outside parties. Somali clans and other lineage-based groups are really divided and uncompromising. This kind of clan politics holds a society hostage, keeping it in a frustrating condition for long not forcibly because of the activities of other actors but because unity, inclusion, merit and much of what drive states forward are lacking (Samatar, 2001, 2010; Mohamed, 2015).

From a cultural and sociological point of view, such groups and clans, driven by beliefs that they deserve better, are victims of the other, its members are gifted, civilised or superior to others, always

act in a way which oppresses or subdues others so as to be sure of staying in that advantageous position for as long as possible (Conill, 2014).

The challenge is therefore not just about achieving reconciliation but also convincing people to be willing to change from the way they have been shaped: conflict – to a new way of being shaped – peace. This is hard because it makes the journey to peace an adventure full of uncertainties and questions related to why it is thought to be a better way of life and why it should be trusted. The lenses through which the people see the issue will need to undergo serious adjustments or completely changed because at the end of the day these frames or lenses through which the issue is viewed and interpreted are decisive to any hope of peace or reconciliation (Schmueli, Elliott and Kaufman, 2006).

Using multi-track diplomacy in Somalia's case, it will require intervening parties to use a combination of official and unofficial diplomatic techniques to weaken the strength of the conflict and move warring parties closer to one another and eventually to the point of reconciliation. This implies that any action and every track of diplomacy, from the very official to the very private, that can add to the existing level of peace is needed and should be used to foster reconciliation.

It should be remembered that peace is not a specific destination neither is it a thing that can be mathematically calculated to determine whether one is there or not. It is a state which can be promoted or cultivated in societies (Diamond and McDonald, 1996). There are certain steps to be mastered which can ease one's way to reconciliation in a case like Somalia's.

### **Steps of Reconciliation in Somalia's Intractable Intergroup Context**

**Acceptance:** At the very beginning, the intervening party should focus on moving the opposing groups to accept what has truly happened and what they did. In other words, they should be softly lured to accept, not deny or justify things that happened or caused antagonism and alienation. Parties should equally acknowledge that something is wrong and not only does it need to be fixed, but it can

be fixed if they honestly engage it with a willingness to build better relations and face the future together (Soriano, 2012; Govier, 2006; Mohamed, 2015).

This step unmask the problem and exposes it to the power of illumination and recognition. As creatures which are strong in darkness or when unrecognised become weak with the appearance of light, so do the causes of intergroup conflict become weakened and vulnerable when the quarrelling parties expose them sufficiently enough and acknowledge the real reasons behind their predicament, showing enough willingness to collectively deal with them.

Dealing with the problem collectively does not mean the groups must have a common future thereafter. Even if they are unwilling to have a shared future after the conflict, cooperation between them against the problem of the moment is necessary to transform things. It is a potent antidote against the problem's effectiveness and strength (Nets-Zehngut, 2009). Moreover, genuine recognition of the problem by the groups opens the way for some kind of trust to begin being built between them. This is because understanding and acknowledging the core reasons of a conflict, be it a genocide or any other kind of violent conflict that caused deep psychological wounds in people, plays a vital role in healing and restoration processes (Staub, 2006).

Soon, the ground will be ready for some, though very little, rapprochement to begin. This gets better as understanding of one another increases thus eliminating, to a significant degree, the sense of self-perceived collective victimhood in-group members always hold against those of the out-group (Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, Schori and Gundar, 2009; Allport, 1956).

Consequently, the type of negativism which usually dominate the thinking of the in-group about the out-group begins to wane, allowing positive and tolerant thoughts to come in. Progress will still be slow, though, because acceptance only sets the stage for serious things to follow. By itself, it cannot

actually move any reconciliation process forward. That is why after it, defining the problem that has been identified becomes the next vital step to engage.

### **Defining the Problem and Understanding Its Strength and Effectiveness**

Accepting the existence of a problem is helpful but defining it and agreeing on that definition and the direction any solution should take is very vital and probably more challenging in reconciliation contexts. Here, lots of discords often arise. It can be a really problematic stage in the reconciliation journey of an intractable conflict especially in intergroup cases.

For example, leaving Somalia for a moment and drawing from the conflict in Cyprus, one notices that both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots agree that there is a problem but while the former prefer it to be solved by means of *enosis*, which is reunification with Greece, the latter feel it can be best solved through *taksim*, which is a partition of the island (Ladisch, 2006). Moreover, when things got really complex and Turkey sent troops into the island, Greek Cypriots were appalled by this, calling it an 'invasion' while Turkish Cypriots expressed support for it, describing the action as a 'peace operation' (Diamond, 1997:355). So, they all saw something and acknowledged its presence but their definition or interpretation of it differed and this inhibited the making of a workable solution or progress.

Consequently, things have continued turning around circles causing Cyprus to be stuck in conflict for decades. Instead, groups continue to stay away from important political events they dislike such as Independence Day celebration as a way of protesting against the state of things (Coulfoudakis, 2011).

Number-wise, the island has been existing as a politically separated nation for 52 years and a physically divided country for 42 years though both groups know what the challenges of the island are and the expectations of peace its people have (Morelli, 2016).

In Somalia, this lack of consensus has been a strong issue which has held back processes of peacebuilding and reconciliation on many occasions. Unlike Cyprus where the difference between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots is clear and easy to notice, Somalia is homogeneous in many ways be it ethnically, culturally, linguistically or religiously. Yet its internal politics is complicated and divided by clan factions that have held everything hostage for decades even though they are trying to arrive at a consensus on how to handle their differences and achieve a harmonious post-Barre era characterised by progress and steady development (Loubser and Solomon, 2014).

This is why multi-track diplomacy is helpful in contexts like this because it takes the focus from official struggles for reconciliation characterised by regular conferences and board meetings to the common people in the streets who are actually the soul of any nation. No nation can claim to be well when its common people, who are usually the majority, are sick. It encourages dialogue, cooperation and training at notably the grass roots level which eliminates alienation and antagonism, triggering acceptance, inclusion and healing (McDonald and Diamond, 1996; Kriesberg, 2007, 2012). In this way, conflict gets weakened and any serious effort can weed it from the roots.

In addition, by paying attention to the daily concerns of people and making provision for needs to be met, there will be a transformation of minds which normally results to deep-rooted challenges and thinking patterns being transformed to help society make a faster move to peace (Diamond, 1997; Notter and Diamond, 1996; McDonald and Diamond, 1996). This will need to be boosted by a sense of compromise from all the groups.

### **Compromise As a Facilitator in Reconciliation Processes**

Lack of compromise has been a serious stumbling block that derailed Somalia's desire to overcome its conflict on a couple of occasions (Menkhaus, 2007; 2010). Compromise is not weakness or cowardice but a fundamental anti-conflict behaviour whose absence can keep parties in continuous

struggle and nullify every reconciliation initiative they come up with. Conflict is about disagreeing and objecting to the position of the other party and sticking to one's position without compromise (Redekop, 2002).

For there to be agreement, some form of reasonable compromise needs to exist. It is an inevitable prerequisite. It is unhelpful and paradoxical to desire peace yet stay stubbornly unwilling to compromise any aspect of one's position. Unfortunately, in a lot of cases, groups show complete unwillingness to make even very necessary compromise. They often feel making concessions of any kind is a sign of weakness or surrender to the pressure and demands of the other group (Bar-Tal, 2010, 2013; Halperin, Gross and Dweck, 2014; Staub, 2006; Klar and Baram, 2016).

The necessity of compromise was acknowledged by a number of Somalis we spoke to. Gradually, all parties are coming to an understanding of the role this factor has on the future of Somalia and the peace its people desire to have. Increasingly, compromises are made and this has had an instant reflection in current situations in the country. Things are better now and the future looks promising though it is advisable not to make any conclusions at this point but keep working for stability and durable peace (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2015).

### **Taking Decisive Steps and Acting out Plans**

It is baffling how the conflict in Somalia continued with such intensity for so long even though so many actors were involved against it. Since fighting, bitterness and bloodshed dominated the scene, reconciliation remained elusive over the years and did not have a chance of surviving.

However, as we noticed, not taking decisive steps and robustly acting out laid-down plans of peace and reconciliation is an endorsement of more fighting. This tremendously inhibits the attainment of envisaged results. By staying back under the guise of whatever excuse, be it disapproval, annoyance or whatever, the peacemaker and even the parties in conflict, at that point, share to some

degree the guilt of whatever atrocities may continue to be committed against people in the conflict ground (Keen, 2008; Evans, 2009; Bellamy, 2009).

It is true that in a hot and volatile context, using track one diplomacy might be risky and inexpedient. So, diplomats and officials of peace can be pardoned if they refrain from going to areas where bullets are flying all over the place. But they are not restricted to just the use of track one diplomacy. Other options exist which can move even highly opposing parties to a point of agreement (Fisher, Ury and Patton, 2012). Multi-track diplomacy, for instance, could be vigorously used at that point. Still sitting back and only pointing at the dangers that might befall whoever tries to get involved is inexcusable.

With or without any direct presence in the conflict ground, the peacemaker can use the other tracks of diplomacy such as track five which deals with research, training and education or track nine which deals with the media, be they social or mainstream, to effect decisive changes. Many of these other tracks have the capacity to function properly even while fighting is going on and anger, raging. Applying track five for instance, things like short videos, emotionally appealing messages, photos and artistic creations can be posted to make an impact. It took just a radio broadcast to start the genocide in Rwanda (Zorbas, 2009) and can equally take a simple post, be it a video or short message, to make a massive change in favour of peace.

Track eight which deals with funding can combine with tracks two, three and six to deprive the fighting parties of arms, money and other vital resources that keep a conflict alive so that efforts from tracks two and four can yield speedy results.

This is not the era when once career diplomats cannot go to a place because of security and other concerns, all peace processes grind to a halt and hope of a secure future gets dashed. No matter what the prevailing situation of a conflict might be, there is always a track of diplomacy that can work well

to trigger important changes. Not all tracks can be shut down by a conflict, no matter its severity or intensity. Nowadays, different tracks can be used in a manner which projects their power and effectiveness from one point to another. It could be from a place of peace and stability to that of conflict. It is not only war techniques and arms production technology that have evolved. Peace options and techniques of countering conflict and neutralising its effectiveness have equally evolved. It is essential for the peacemaker to master these dynamics and evolve as things evolve so as not to be left behind.

A lot of times, things go bad not because the conflict is too complex and hard to handle but because some peacemakers do not seem to realise that because humankind's knowledge of the production of destructive weapons and techniques of killing have continued to get sophisticated, so too should their knowledge of making peace and techniques of neutralising conflicts grow in sophistication in order for peace not to keep lagging behind all the time.

These are, therefore, days of taking decisive steps and acting out established plans of peace to procure concrete results. They are not those of giving excuses connected to how hostilities prevented the peacemaker's involvement and foiled the possibility of implementing good peace plans which existed on paper. These actions, it should be indicated, even when applied, can still fail to bring in the necessary results if sufficient measures are not taken to heal the mind of the people. Without their cooperation, any reconciliation effort will remain a continuous struggle.

### **Healing and Detoxing the Mind**

A lot of atrocities and painful acts are committed during an intractable intergroup conflict which leave deep feelings of anger, brokenness and bitterness in a lot of members, especially those of groups that felt unfairly victimised by the other. Understandably, instead of drawing closer to one another after a moment of hostility, a blame game often arises between groups as each points fingers at the other for



its predicament expecting repentance and sincere apology from it (Noor, Shnabel, Halabi and Nadler, 2012; Bar-Tal, 2009; Govier, 2006).

It gets the situation stuck, making the achievement of reconciliation a hard assignment. Achieving it in this kind of context requires the taking of sincere measures to help people get healed from painful memories and detox their minds from souvenirs preventing them from wholly and honestly cooperating with any initiative that promotes cordiality. In Somalia's case, doing this is inevitable if sustainable reconciliation is hoped to be achieved (Abdi, 2016). Things really did fall apart so much that some clans and regions have not been in working terms for long. Without boldly confronting and silencing these negative voices and souvenirs, reconciliation will remain a mere rhetoric which will not be achieved in concrete and durable terms especially given that the case of the day is an intractable conflict that caused much provocation, hurt, damages and alienation (Čehajić and Brown, 2010).

Even when the political atmosphere looks calm and there are multitude of reasons to believe in a bright future, it still remains risky and inexpedient to proceed with other things or conclude that reconciliation has been achieved when the past has not been sufficiently dealt with. There has to be reliable evidences that healing has actually taken place and people's minds have been detoxed. Anger stemming from feelings of injustice or wrongs suffered from an unrepentant and arrogant perpetrator is not something to be ignored or taken lightly by any peacemaker who aims at achieving lasting peace (Zeitsoff, 2014).

Research has repeatedly shown that a sudden change can occur, reversing the atmosphere of a society from calmness to conflict when fresh memories of things suffered from perpetrators resurfaced because they were partially or not tackled at all (Noor, Shnabel, Halabi and Nadler, 2012). They push individuals to undertake actions that can plunge an entire society back in the path of violence. But once healing takes place and the mind is detoxed and freed, the way will be opened for

forgiveness or at least the determination not to allow the past to resurface and affect the future, to follow suit. Getting to this point paves the way for long-lasting reconciliation to be achieved.

### **Forgiveness and Renewal of the Mind**

This is the last stage of our reconciliation model and it can be the last for many others depending on the angle at which one is positioned and viewing the process. It is a serious and very decisive stage. According to Tutu (2009) forgiveness is so crucial that there can be no reconciliation without it. No matter the context, any reconciliation which is built on a foundation that lacks forgiveness will be unable to stand the strength and severity of future challenges. This is because even though all the other stages and requirements are important, the real challenge of reconciliation is not for it to be achieved but for it to stay alive as years and generations come and go. Time is such a tester of the solidity and effectiveness of reconciliation. It brings different kinds of challenges that hit, press and stretch reconciliation on every side.

When all these things come against it, it is the power that flows from sincere forgiveness and the renewal of the people's mind that will respond and hold the reconciliation process in tack, preventing it from falling apart. It should be noted that reconciliation is a process which can take much time especially in situations where trust was severely damaged. That is why once established, it can continue moving from stage to stage. It requires the renewal of people's minds because the human memory is strong and can retain or remember a lot of the atrocities suffered from the hands of perpetrators. These are strong enough to hunt any peace process no matter how well established it might be unless the mind has been renewed and trained to the point where it processes information differently and does not get moved whenever thoughts of past offences pop up.

At this point, the past loses its power, recedes into history and does not negatively affect the future or determine the way groups relate with one another anymore. It is a completely new era with

new realities which challenge group members to rise and construct the blissful future they expect to see their children in.

**Conclusion:** The rate at which things usually go wrong in an intractable conflict situation makes reconciliation a hard assignment to undertake in such contexts. Yet it is vital and cannot be substituted. Any peace expected to be durable and survive the odds of the future should move from cessation of hostilities and signing of peace accords and make a complete journey of reconciliation.

Because it is a complex and demanding process, it is expedient not only to master the dynamics of carrying it out in intergroup contexts but also not to rush it unnecessarily because things like healing which are vital ingredients of any reconciliation process need a lot of time to optimally manifest and have real impact on people's attitudes towards reversing a divisive conflict that damaged trust severely.

As the chapter clarified, reconciliation does not forcibly mean coming back to where things used to be. It requires the establishment of better relations, no doubt, but this could be a completely new reality which never existed before. Being aware of this is important in order not to be caught in the trap of wasting resources and burning calories in a desperate effort to take things back to the once glorious past which, given current circumstances, cannot be re-established. This has held many conflicts hostage as they remained unresolved for years though so much was being done by different actors with all the necessary competences and resources.

Equally crucial to successful reconciliation is the fact that the process suffers where compromise is absent. Giving up some of one's positions is not weakness or surrender as many parties often think but is a necessary prerequisite in reconciling conflicting groups since conflict itself is about lack of compromise. In fact, its strength is basically determined by the degree at which parties hold onto their positions and remain adamant to calls for change. This makes them determined to push their views through whether the other party feels good about them or not.

Once the antagonists can rise to the point of being able to separate the real issues of the moment from the people they are opposed to and show a willingness to bargain not over positions but concrete problems, compromise will be seen differently with a positive eye. As soon as necessary compromise begins being made, useful ingredients like trust and satisfaction will flow in. At that point, reconciliation becomes a thing that can be achieved without too much struggle and pain.

## CHAPTER NINE

### RIGHTS, SOVEREIGNTY, THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT AND INTRACTABILITY

**Introduction:** Here, we tackle the connection between intractability and the responsibility to protect (R2P) in relation to Somalia. As we saw in chapter four and again in chapters six and eight, one of the dominant features of the conflict in Somalia is the involvement of many foreign powers and organizations. Though their presence is connected to the general effort to end the conflict, foreign involvement is at the same time one of the factors that have made the conflict so complex and full of things to deal with.

In fact, dealing with the question of foreign interests and presence in Somalia is intertwined with the quest for lasting peace because no remedy which ignores this factor can succeed to secure a future that guarantees stability and sustainability. Given that some of the interventions were made on grounds of protecting and redeeming the country, we resolved to assess the connection between R2P and the quest for peace in Somalia.

R2P is a new global security and human rights norm which advocates for the international community to have permission to step into a sovereign state even without the invitation of its government and undertake activities aimed at preventing or stopping serious offences like genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing against the people.

How does this connect with the intractable situation witnessed by Somalia and how can one settle the discord between the necessity for citizens to be protected by foreign intervention and the right of the state to stay sovereign and protected from outside interference in order for it to concentrate in serving its people in a manner expected of all responsible political units and in accordance with

the state's *raison d'être*? To fully understand the country's reconciliation struggle and efforts geared towards having it back in peace, one cannot ignore having sufficient understanding of the connection between these multitude of interventions the country has experienced and how they served in either pulling its people together or putting them asunder. But what is the R2P in the first place?

### **Situating the R2P in Context**

R2P is not about humanitarian activities or the right to intervene when things are going wrong. It is equally not about begging those assumed to be in need of assistance to accept philanthropic offers of security and relief from those who can and want to offer them. It is about the responsibility of humans to protect fellow humans notwithstanding race, religion, nationality, political belief or background whenever need arises (Evans, 2008; Thakur, 2003).

It holds that because human life is of greater value than any political gain and because humanity should always be put ahead of any kind of state business, whenever a state is not or cannot protect its people and they become trapped in situations that expose them to extreme suffering or death, the international community has the responsibility to step in and offer protection (Bellamy, 2009, Keen, 2008). At that point, state sovereignty should be scraped and kept aside for humanity to rise to the point of being treated as the most important priority because human life is too important to be compromised or traded for any other gain.

Notice that it is also not called *le droit d'ingérence* (the right to intervene) or the right to protect or humanitarian intervention, even though suggestions came from different authorities including imminent state personalities for some of these names to be adopted in reference to the concept (Evans, 2008). These were eventually turned down primarily because there is an aspect in them that is suggestive of the use of some kind of coercion. Besides, if it is made to be a right and not a responsibility, legal issues may arise as to who is the custodian of the said right and what criteria must

be met for states to be eligible to be accorded the right so as to be permitted to intervene in situations requiring such moves.

That is why the milder name, *the responsibility to protect* was preferred (ICISS, 2001). It was preferred to be seen as a responsibility, not a right. This is somehow understandable given that being one another's keeper and connecting with them both in their moment of joy and distress is more of a human thing that comes naturally as a responsibility than a right established through agreement and held in place by legal frameworks. Moreover, as we saw in chapter six about the peaceful aspects of the Danish language and Somali diaspora in Denmark, being in a position to offer help does not give one the right to impose themselves on the beneficiary. More power is instead accorded to the beneficiary not the benefactor. It is the former who decides whether there will be a deal or no deal, not the latter.

For example, the Danish language obliges the benefactor to say *Må jeg hjælpe dig?* (May I help you?) to the beneficiary; not I want to help you or can I help you? Having help to offer does not mean one should be pompous or forceful be it an individual or state. That is even the point where more meekness and politeness is expected. Those in need of help scarcely reject it when it is offered in meekness, sincerity, love and politeness (Arrey, 2015).

It is worth indicating that the R2P does not strive to take over the protection of people from states. It acknowledges that the protection and well-being of citizens is first of all the responsibility of their government. It is only when, for whatever reason, the latter does not or cannot effectively perform this role or meet up anymore with its obligations to its people, is the international community allowed to step in and offer protection, especially to vulnerable people (Woodward, 2012). Again, this should be done only in cases of serious human rights violations from either the government or rival groups especially when failure to do so leaves people exposed to death or highly dehumanising treatments.



## **Some Controversies of the R2P**

Though nice-sounding and bearing much hope, the R2P is the subject of controversies and debates ranging from concerns that it is a carefully designed ticket by powerful states to ease their way into others' domains to pursue their interest without hindrance from international laws which impose a strict respect of the independence and sovereignty of all states (Woodward, 2012; Mohamed, 2012). Laws of this nature stopped states, especially powerful ones, from making such interventions unauthorised or uninvited. But now an acceptable legal channel has been created using the attractive language of protection, the argument goes.

Advocates of the R2P do not agree with this. To them, the R2P is not an interventionist mechanism but a necessary international step in challenging times like this when threats faced by people come not only from known enemies but unknown ones including even governments and entities least expected to constitute a source of oppression or obstruction of people's happiness. They argue that though states should have unconditional and complete sovereignty over their affairs, there should be a point where the international community can come in for humanitarian or protection reasons (Evans, 2008; Thakur, 2003, Bellamy, 2008). It is held that governments who are against the protection of people probably have an agenda to oppress or want to be free to be in a position to harshly exercise power over them without being probed by any checks-and-balance mechanism.

If there are examples in recent times of countries that have seen so many interventions within their borders ranging from neighbours to regional and global actors, Somalia is certainly one of them. It is hard to ignore or not notice this phenomenon which in certain instances, dominated the evolution of its conflict. Subsequent subheadings focus on this issue, assessing it in light of the country's quest for reconciliation.

## **Current Trends of the Responsibility to Protect<sup>4</sup>**

The genocide in Rwanda and the chaotic situation in Somalia were among the shocking incidents that moved some thinkers to engage in findings that aimed at developing a way of avoiding a repeat of such horrific occurrences – this eventually culminated in the emergence of a number of measures including the R2P in 2001 (Ziegler, 2016). Though around for just about one and a half decades, the R2P has not only quickly gained a place of its own on the front lines of world affairs but has grown to become one of the concepts seriously considered in conflict and humanitarian milieux nowadays.

Its backers have been striving to have it go pass being just an idea dominating debates and international thinking into one that governments and institutions apply based on a sincere believe in its relevance (Thakur, 2003; Evans, 2009). A drive that is expected to transcend limited selfish interests and lead to genuine global acceptance of the need to protect humans from cruel acts and happenings which do not only embarrass but shame the common humanity of all people.

One of the challenges this concept is grappling with is for those who accept and apply it to be willing to exclude any possibility of handling it in a hypocritical manner that looks outwardly good and promising as the name suggests but leads, in reality, to nothing but politics as usual which makes a victor out of the powerful and influential members of the global community. In such circumstances, the R2P will be called, rightly or wrongly, a Trojan horse, subtly used by some to access the private space of others and foster their agendas unperturbed because of the sufficient legal guarantees it offers (Bellamy, 2009).

There are two fascinating things that stroke our attention as we studied both the evolution of the R2P and the manner in which it connects with the question of intractability in Somalia. One is the rapidity with which the concept broke its way through multitude of hindrances and competition from

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<sup>4</sup>Hereafter referred to as R2P.

other concepts onto the world stage and placed itself among the things world leaders are working overtime to get the best way of applying when need arises.

As Evans (2009) highlights, when measured against the decades and even centuries that it often takes for new ideas and concepts to gain grounds and be endorsed, it is hard not to notice that the R2P has used a remarkably shorter time in the history of ideas to gain significant global acceptance and position itself on the front line of concepts that currently drive the world around.

It is nice, we think, to make a quick appraisal of this rapid breakthrough. Actually, the R2P first showed up in 2001 through the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) and was endorsed by the World Summit of 2005 which, history records show, was the largest ever gathering of world leaders (Cunliffe, 2011; Bellamy *et al.*, 2010). Given another boost in 2009, the concept took off as a global norm pending the consensus of states on how it will be applied and the manner in which it should function when it goes fully operational. These have been the dividing issues about the R2P but it has survived as a concept and continues being used by different powers though shrouded by ambiguities and criticisms of varied nature ranging from what has been experienced in notably Libya, Afghanistan, Syria, Somalia and Iraq (Jeanbaptiste, 2012).

The other, and surely more striking of our amazement, is the way virtually all actors who wage war nowadays or intervene in other states quickly point to protection as the motive behind their action, adding that doing so was the last option they had because all other possibilities had been exploited without success. Consequently, as a last resort, some form of force had to be used because it is the language oppressors understand best and it is what makes them to sit up and live up to global expectations.

At this juncture, it is imperative to narrow the study down to Somalia, zooming its case for a clearer view that permits an understanding of the link between R2P and protracted conflicts. This is

intended to provide insights on how to overcome these conflicts hitting on real issues responsible for their continuity, not shadows which prolong the struggle for an unnecessarily long time.

### **R2P and the Complexity of Somalia's Conflict**

In terms of states, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, the United States, just to name these few, have all intervened in Somalia and on the part of organizations, the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), the European Union (EU), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), just to name these ones, have had a presence in Somalia as well (Eriksson, 2013; Wallace *et al*, 1996). The country has been at the receiving end of different interventions whether they were tagged as diplomatic, military or humanitarian.

A significant number of voices connected to the conflict, including that of the UN's Ahmedou Oul-Abdallah, a Special Envoy to the country, echoed the need for positive engagement and protection-driven intervention, though cautioning at the same time the need for this not to serve as a leeway for outside powers to get into the country for reasons unconnected to the general quest for peace (UNSC, 2008). Despite cautions of this nature, Somalia has been a conspicuous case of foreign interventions which generated a number of questions about the R2P and humanitarian interventions in general (Clarke and Herbst, 1996).

But what connection exists between Somalia and the R2P and of what significance is this to its reconciliation and peacebuilding efforts? As a matter of fact, dealing on the one hand with this influx of *philanthropic* outsiders who were officially on a mission to help and maintain security and on the other hand, preserving its sovereignty as a democratic state with the capacity to speak for itself and chart its own course, were among Somalia's greatest dilemmas for years.

Many Somalis in Denmark expressed reservations against the phenomenon of always having foreign presence in their country and prefer a Somali-led peace process where Somalis themselves

can have the liberty to chart their own course and build the type of future they desire for both the current and future generations (Mohamed, 2015; Ahmed, 2015).

Some of these interventions truly helped the country to cope with its overwhelming challenges, especially those of humanitarian nature, as food and medicines flowed into different parts of the country when they were desperately needed. But they equally unleashed a series of complex challenges on the same people they aimed at rescuing thus prolonging the conflict instead of terminating it speedily (Ahmad, 2012).

Having food and medicines is good but they are by-products of war and will not be needed if war were absent altogether. In other words, Somalia's priorities will change and it will not need a lot of the supplies it now depends on the benevolence of outsiders to have if the current conflict, whose complexity is partly the responsibility of multiple and conflicting foreign interests, was not there. At that point, it can transition from a weakened state accustomed to interventions and being fed by others to a state poised to taking over the control of its own life and determining its destiny.

These realities brought the relevance and practical effectiveness of the R2P to question. A lot of the interventions, for example, led to the injection of money into the informal economy which triggered different kinds of challenging effects since the country had no government to carry out necessary checks and control important flows (Ahmad, 2012). One direct consequence of this was that it affected the relationship between warlords, their disciples and others out of their circle of influence thus increasing their hurtful activities against people in diverse ways. This complicated the country's already troubling situation, rendering the conflict tighter and resistant to remedies.

Another striking aspect about the interventions, notably military ones, is that protection, self-defence or other goodwill arguments connected to security have often been cited as the motive behind

them whereas other realities have continued to prove that there were more to what was officially admitted as the reason for such interventions (Bamfo, 2010).

For example, when Ethiopia invaded Somalia in December 2006, Ethiopian Prime Minister announced it to the world saying: “The Ethiopian government has taken self-defensive measures and started counterattacking the aggressive forces of the Islamic Courts and foreign terrorists groups” (Allo, 2010:139). As one can notice, according to Addis Ababa's official position, it was not Somalia that was attacked but the Islamic Courts Union. Fighting terrorism, not surprisingly, was equally evoked as one of the motives.

Containing terror has risen not only as a dominant foreign policy objective of states but has equally taken centre stage among reasons quickly advanced nowadays to justify coercive actions against others on the international scene (Stohl, 2008). Though the ICU was the target, Somalia and its people were the victims. They paid a heavy price including more complications in the country's hope for peace. Understandably, Ethiopia had to protect its people as well as Somalis who were facing threats from the Islamic Courts Union. But the habit of shifting blames and arguing that one's hands were clean, a common feature in conflicts of this type, manifested clearly.

This does not mean the justifications of these interventions are usually inaccurate. In this example, for instance, Ethiopia had on a number of instances been truly subjected to provocations and threats from the Islamic Courts Union including attacks on its troops and declaration of a holy war against it (Yihdego, 2007).

For its part, the ICU was also not just acting irrationally. It had strong reasons for acting the way it did. First of all, it did register a significant level of security successes during its reign in Somalia and felt that Ethiopia was the one acting in a provocative manner by meddling in Somali affairs in an

inadmissible manner that necessitated the rise of a voice to alert it to learn to stay on its side of the border and mind its business (Mwangi, 2010; Yihdego, 2007).

This scenario of accusations and counter accusations from both sides is not strange. Whether the Islamic Courts had stained hands as the Ethiopians claimed or not, they the Ethiopians were equally not free from guilt because many developments indicated that there was more to the invasion than they publicly stated (Abdirashid, 2016; Bamfo, 2010).

This is just one instance of the complications Ethiopian presence had. Given that it did not make just one intervention, coupled with the fact that other powers and organizations made their own interventions on a couple of occasions for diverse reasons, Somalia became host to a fiesta of interventions which instead made peace hard and elusive, compelling the country to go through a complicated political nightmare some of its people became determined to use any means they thought was best, to come out of.

Secession attempts, piracy, religious extremism and other security challenges that made the situation tougher, sprang up. Islamic fundamentalism fed from happenings like these foreign interventions to grow in strength and popularity. The Islamic Courts Union (ICU), for example, though in existence for a number of years earlier, regrouped and became a very active and strong force during this period partly because it hoped to serve as a counterforce to the Ethiopian-backed Transitional Federal Government (TFG) that ruled the country at the time (Barnes and Hassan, 2007). They felt Ethiopia and its foreign allies were actually the real rulers of Somalia – a situation they disliked and were bent on reversing.

Even after the successful military campaign from Ethiopia during which they ousted the ICU and took over Mogadishu, it only led to the defeat of the ICU, not extremism or insecurity. On the contrary, such interventions and coercive measures triggered the renaissance and reorganization of

other groups like Al-Shabaab or Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen which is linked to al-Qaeda and constitutes a more complicated security challenge to both governments and people, compelling the US government to label it among terrorist organizations to be dissolved or ejected from the world stage no matter how long it takes and how much it will cost (Masters and Sergie, 2015; Barnes and Hassan, 2007; Africa Research Bulletin, 2012).

Evidently, instead of protection, many of the interventions instead triggered widespread insecurity and warfare which forced ordinary Somalis to be victims of challenging phenomena that exposed their lives to different kinds of danger. Reconciliation became more difficult especially given the fact that Somalia no longer existed as one state as was the case before the start of the conflict. It existed in parts including breakaway territories like Somaliland and Puntland which declared autonomy from the main state and have been doing things completely independent of Mogadishu's authority (The Economist, 2005; Africa Research Bulletin, 2011).

They too had their own allies and carried out state businesses normally like other sovereign states. In light of this, talking of reconciliation in Somalia is talking about an assignment as complex and challenging as bringing not only highly opposing forces together but equally territories that have been disconnected from one another for years and are more accustomed with being on their own than living together. It involves different interests, states, organizations and lots more. That is why in chapter six, we exposed the necessity of the application of strategic peacebuilding procedures so that the efforts and activities of different players can be united and properly coordinated within the framework of multitrack diplomacy to work for the common good of the Somali state and eventually bring it out of its current predicament.

In chapter eight, we showed the necessity of a people-centred, long-term reconciliation process which draws insights still from procedures of multi-track diplomacy. We tackled it as a process



because it permits one to show how possible it is to work with different sectors of society simultaneously to heal minds and fit broken pieces of both the state and people together.

While some foreign interventions can be justified using the argument of protection, armed non-state actors like Al-Shabaab do not hesitate to equally justify their actions on similar grounds of protecting people, culture and values from being eroded or defiled by outsiders. Even if this is untrue and in no way connects with their actions, they are convinced they are equally in the business of protection like anyone else. As Abebe (2011) highlights, it is important for them to be obligated to protect humans and other treasures since their actions are military and can lead to much destruction of property and innocent civilians. Somalia's reconciliation case is thus really unique given both the stakes and the facts. It is a case that needs to go as far back as re-establishing the state, restoring its sovereignty and voice and then bringing its people together under the same Somali umbrella no matter where they may be found.

### **The Scapegoat Theory and Reconciliation in Somalia**

Clan politics and intergroup feuds based on dissimilar identity formations have been part of Somalia's challenges even before the fall of President Barre in 1991. His repressive measures prevented them from manifesting fully. But after his fall a lot of things popped open and got blown into worrisome proportions by the civil war and hostilities that followed (Menkhaus, 2007; 2010). Somalis are angry not only against one another but against non-Somalis they think played a role in what they have been suffering from along the years. They know who did what and are pregnant with unspoken issues and grudges.

Decrying the heavy foreign involvement and manipulation as well as the excessive power and influence of clan leaders are among the recurrent issues a lot of those we spoke to kept evoking. “Somalia's conflict is big business for arms dealers. Too much foreign interests have hijacked the

country. Foreigners can intervene positively but a lot of time, they say one thing in the open and do another under the table,” said Faisal Mohamed in Aarhus.

“Clan division has been a serious issue for us. There is too much power struggle. The various groups do not trust one another. To make things worse, foreign powers are so much involved backing allies they think should have the upper hand. They should withdraw,” added Mahmoud Ahmed still in Aarhus.

Even humanitarian and relief organizations that were expected to be seen as neutral actors with a purely philanthropic mission came under attack forcing some like *Médecins Sans Frontières* (MSF) to withdraw from the country (Sa'Da, Duroch and Taithe, 2014). This was not only an indication that scapegoats can be made out of people's pain and frustrations but equally echoed the truth that there was mounting discontent against foreign presence notwithstanding whether they had good or exploitative intentions. Apart from Somalia, this same trend of violence against medical organizations that have been helping the people were repeated in other areas of long conflict like Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Terry, 2013). The people were biting the same fingers that fed and brought relief to them and did not care about whatever consequences that might produce. But this was surely not an irrational action that was instigated by nothing. There was certainly a lot behind such actions.

At this juncture, we will bring in an interview conducted with Dr. Javier Soriano of *Médecins Sans Frontières* to bring clarity to some of the realities of these kinds of conflict. He spoke from the MSF's point of view. One might wonder why such organizations should be attacked given the degree of sacrifices they make daily, risking the lives of their own staff to save those of others. The reason is partly because their attackers see things from their own lenses and therefore have their own point of view which is completely different.

## **Excerpts of an Interview with Dr. Javier Soriano of Médecins Sans Frontières**

**Sylvester:** As someone who has worked in conflict zones, do you think there are conflicts which are intractable and cannot be solved? If yes, kindly give some examples.

**Dr. Soriano:** I agree. I think there are some conflicts that exhibit such features. I have worked in countries like Somalia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sahel Region... where the situation has no solution so far and things are not getting better. There are countries where the problems started many years ago and are seemingly forgotten but the issues they caused are still continuing. It seems there will always be issues to deal with and things will never be over. I'm sure the problems will continue in the future in spite of the international interventions.

**Sylvester:** Can organizations like MSF be considered as an extension of the hands of the governments that fund them? You do not have a territory, an army or a government but you are so powerful and can do a lot of things. Can it not be that some governments are working behind the scenes through you?

**Dr. Soriano:** Definitely NO. MSF doesn't receive money from governments. All the money comes from MSF partners and private donations. We are on our own and instead speak the truth against governments when their actions put people's lives in jeopardy and create situations of misery and abuse of human dignity. Many of them don't like when we do this but at times it is difficult to be quiet when you see the way certain human beings are treated.

**Sylvester:** In which country did you enjoy the most working in? In which do you regret the most working in? Kindly explain yourself.

**Dr. Soriano:** Working in Kenya – Somalia was quite interesting. We were working in refugee camps. It was my first mission in 2002. I worked very hard for 6 months. We did a very good work,

saving thousands of lives, bringing back joy and hope to thousands of people who were suffering from severe malnutrition.

On the other hand, my experience in Niger was frustrating. I worked in Niger in 2005 and 2007. It was very frustrating working there because the malnutrition is endemic. The population suffers from this problem year after year. It is frustrating to see people suffer to such a degree. But I think we did our best.

**Sylvester:** Has MSF ever been sent away by the government of a country you know? Which government and what was the reason?

**Dr. Soriano:** Yes, sometimes [they send us away]. For example: Niger, Sudan, Sri Lanka, etc. Because MSF at times does not only offer medical attention, but also denounces human rights violations and the type of appalling treatment people, especially the poor and vulnerable, suffer from their own people. We are independent and neutral but as I mentioned earlier, there are times the degree of suffering of people can become so much that one finds it difficult not to call on the attention of the leaders to take action.

**Sylvester:** In places where you have worked, how does your organization relate with other NGOs and governments? Any cooperation or it is just anyone doing their own thing and leaving when their mission ends?

**Dr. Soriano:** Well, in general, we coordinate our different actions with other NGOs. We distribute the different tasks among the different NGOs present in the same area. With the different governments, we try to explain to them that we are here to help them. We work against the same problems the majority of times.

**Sylvester:** MSF and other big international NGOs have been accused of employing mostly European and American personnel. Kindly comment on this and kindly let me know how valid this assertion is.

**Dr. Soriano:** It could be true. I have not enough information to express my opinion. The explanation could be that the origin of MSF is Europe. That is, it started there. But currently, I think the situation is changing. I have seen a lot of people from Asia in my last missions and many other people from other places too.

**Sylvester:** In your opinion, who benefits more from the existence of NGOs like MSF? Is it the personnel (especially the top executives and directors) or it is the people they were formed to serve? In other words, who will lose more if NGOs like MSF close down, is it the personnel and executives or the people they are serving?

**Dr. Soriano:** The answer is clear... even for you... if you visit some of our projects. The answer is clear when you see with your own eyes the hundreds and thousands of children and people we treat every day. When you see the people we take care of, feed, and do a lot of other things for every day. When you see all the refugees being attended to in our camps ... when you see thousands of children being vaccinated everyday... when you see hundreds of people improving in our centres of cholera treatment, etc, etc, etc. I would like to invite you, Sylvester, and to invite all the people who asked this question before... to visit our projects... and to talk with the beneficiary population. Talk with the mothers we have saved, the lives of their children we preserved. Please talk with them...The beneficiary population is mostly the poor people in the world. Maybe there are ten or twenty directors who gain thousands of Euros every month from NGOs but that should not divert our focus from the real issues. There are millions of people who improve their health situation everyday thanks to MSF.

**Sylvester:** Are the services of MSF expensive, cheap or free? Kindly explain your answer.

**Dr. Soriano:** They are free. Money and profit should not always be the issue. How much is the price of one life?

### **Useful Commentaries**

While MSF and other such organizations and relief missions like Operation Restore Hope in Somalia viewed things from their own angle with the help of lenses of philanthropy, a lot of Somalis saw them from their own angle and felt they were Trojan Horses disguising other aspects of their real mission and therefore directed their anger against them even though that was shocking and least expected (Miller and Moskos, 1995). But since reconciliation is fundamentally an initiative that should bring people like Mahmoud and Faisal cited above together to pursue a common cause in a restored and prosperous Somalia, ignoring the innate worries they are carrying and forging on with peace is a clear error. It misses the mark and does not hit the target that guarantees lasting peace.

As can be noticed, though they spoke on different occasions and probably do not know one another, their concerns are related touching not only on Somalis but foreign interests as well. Therefore, targeting Somali warlords and fighters who committed atrocities and bringing them to face the law is not bad but is insufficient to achieve perfect reconciliation. It merely makes scapegoats from an issue which has many other guilty persons who have been part of the network that has held Somalia hostage for years. A just and durable reconciliation is one that does not create scapegoats out of situations or display any form of injustice or weakness when dealing with the different actors of a conflict. It should rather be the type that faces facts squarely and boldly, moving each actor to admit their wrongs and take responsibility for their actions, remorsefully seeking for pardon from those they hurt (Lederach, 1997; Govier, 2006).

Though it is important for peace to return, fully facing the facts and atrocities is imperative and should not be downplayed because there is human rights in conflict and things are usually more fluid

and successful when truth is not sacrificed nor twisted but allowed to play its full role among which is healing and a willingness to cooperate with a peace process (Parlevliet, 2015). This is a decisive phase in any peacemaking or reconciliation initiative because accountability is so important that once the peacemaker gets it right at that point, things are sure to get easier and head in the right direction but will, at the same time, get really tough if it is lacking or tampered with (Sriram, 2015).

In line with the scapegoat theory, while those who have been in the battlefields need to take responsibility for their actions and be brought to justice as part of the reconciliation process, it must be remembered that the guns, bombs and other armouries they used were not made by them but supplied by others to make their mission easier. These suppliers are equally guilty of whatever evil their mission produced and are accomplices in every respect because they knew what the combatants needed the arms for and equally knew the effects that will be produced (Tutu, 2009).

Similarly, those who offered them training, drafted their war strategies, provided them with uniforms, food, funds, war vehicles, other vital logistics and wished them well in their assignment are all partakers in the offence. They knew the degree of killing and bloodshed that will take place and instead of stopping it, they offered their full backing and aided the mission until its successful completion. To single out only the field combatants and punish them as is usually the case, is sheer scapegoatism because they are only one actor in a long network of actors that made the mission a success.

A just, effective and long-lasting reconciliation should look beyond the visible and commonly spoken elements of conflict. It should not rush to make peace but must take its time to address fundamental issues that are deep in people causing unbearable hurt but seldom spoken of. It should focus a lot on these issues because it is in overcoming them that genuine healing and sincere willingness to support a reconciliation process and make it a success can be attained. Groups always know who hurt them and who helped their oppressors to exercise cruelty on them. Until the whole

truth is tackled and perpetrators admit, regret and repent of their actions, any peace that is made will not stand the test of time because victimhood is a hard feeling to live with for long. Those trapped in it always have scores to settle with their perpetrators.

It might take long, maybe even longer than a generation, but whenever they have a chance and think the ideal moment has come, victims or their descendants seldom hesitate to strike disruptively and expose the dangers and vulnerability of a peace initiative that masqueraded fundamental truths and avoided dealing with all the important actors on whose neck hung guilt. That is why some conflicts go and everyone celebrates that peace has come but they pop up again spontaneously after a while, taking everyone by surprise and plunging the society anew in its once forgotten conflict.



**Conclusion:** In terms of content and what it stands for, the R2P is a rich and important global security principle. It brought state sovereignty under check and triggered different human rights and security debates which have been of benefit to conflict research and the quest to make the world a safer and more peaceful place where violence against the weak as well as omissions from the strong, are minimised. This is partly why it quickly gained global endorsement and penetrated both academic and professional circles comparatively faster.

However, as Somalia's case shows, the appealing content and attractive appearance of the R2P does not mean it is automatically a redemptive pill. It could be injurious when misapplied. There is apparently a lack of global harmony in terms of how it should be applied and under what circumstances is intervention justified. As such, some parties apply it as it pleases them. Consequently, controversies and ambiguities have shrouded the principle's brief lifespan with some wondering why anyone should oppose a principle like this in challenging times like ours and others attacking it virulently as something whose absence reduces chaos, insecurity and confusion than its presence.

This has seriously affected the smooth functioning of the principle because even those who accept and admire it differ as to when and how it can be best administered in a particular case so that the results align properly with why it exists – protecting people. As a result of the multitude of unsettled issues connected to it, the R2P has in a lot of cases instead been a burden on the very people it sought to protect. Interventions in states whose people were supposedly undergoing oppression and needed to be helped by outsiders ended up triggering angry responses and the birth of armed non-state groups from Libya to Iraq down to Syria and Somalia which have become greater and costlier threats to global peace and security than what existed before. Protection is never a bad thing. But until it is protection in the most genuine sense of the word, it cannot promote neither security nor peace but will rather instigate feuds and reservations.

In this age of new wars where both the nature, actors and procedures of warfare have changed considerably, intervention on even grounds of protection still remains risky and can lead to painful and profoundly costly consequences that might render a conflict more intractable and trap a state in a frustrating and nightmarish condition for long. This is because once powerfully armed non-state groups using unconventional methods of defending what they believe in are born, they neither die quickly nor get dissolved easily.

Consequently, as nice as it may be, the R2P should be used with much caution. Even oppressed people cheer their foreign liberators only during the time when they are set free. After the celebration, they expect the liberators to leave for them to take charge of their own affairs. Any delay in doing so, no matter how justified this may be, always irritates and triggers huge waves of negative feelings. When the delay continues and begins to last for years as has been the case in Somalia, it stirs disapproval and strong anger even though the liberators and protectors might actually be making legitimate sacrifices for the well-being of the local people.

So, while sovereignty should not move a state to treat its people poorly just because outsiders are compelled to respect its borders and steer clear of its domestic affairs, the R2P should equally be used by outsiders with much caution and pragmatism because in both cases, there are severe risks people are exposed to which can cause them to suffer or become victims of the very things both the state and the R2P exist to shield them from.

That is why reconciliation in contexts of this nature is usually not only a very challenging assignment but requires that all parties, both foreign and local, that played a role in the conflict, be made to assume full responsibility for their actions and repent remorsefully enough so that healing can take place to guarantee a long-lasting peace where no one harbours feelings of victimhood or thoughts of having been sacrificed unfairly as a scapegoat.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

Though defined differently and analysed from various angles, conflict is a phenomenon with a recognisable identity that should not be confused with related concepts like disagreement, struggle, opposition or discord. These may be part of it but it stands apart on its own as a clearly distinct thing. Therefore, when talking about conflict, one should pay sufficient attention to its real identity because missing it at that point and mixing everything up can lead to serious difficulties in terms of providing workable solutions or getting things fixed in societies plagued by it. Conflict is basically the product of incompatible perceptions and can grow to any level or manifest in different forms, both constructively and destructively.

As indicated in chapter three, professionals and scholars of peace and conflict studies, though having some dissimilarities on their stance relating to what conflict really is, share striking similarities on certain key aspects about it including their use of the word 'perception' or the conjugated form 'perceived' in defining what this phenomenon truly stands for.

There will be no conflict but friendship or at least some kind of coexistence and harmonious relationship when there is agreement and unity of perceptions because desires, interests, needs, values, investments and goals which are what drive people's and society's actions and choices will be achieved without obstruction or threats from one another. Once this is the case, the possibility of conflict will be eradicated or greatly reduced. But when it is not and parties begin to move in different directions or develop images and thoughts that present the other party as an obstacle or threat to what they seek, a conflict will be imminent be it at the interpersonal, community, state or interstate level.

Nonetheless, conflict, it should be remembered, is not forcibly a negative phenomenon. As explained in different sections of the project, good lessons flow out of it in certain circumstances, making it beneficial and a thing not to be despised but mastered and gainfully managed. For example,

its occurrence reminds parties of the inevitability of having incompatible and parallel positions even when people are disciplined and determined not to get at odds with one another. It pushes them to get awake and develop practical ways of beneficially handling disagreements and bettering relationships since life itself is about effectively and harmoniously relating with others at all levels from the home to the public place in both official and unofficial contexts.

It equally obliges parties to grow up and learn the art of discussing and accommodating different views and opinions since their thoughts and desires will not forcibly be those of others. Quite significantly, it triggers the birth of creativity in people in response to the challenges that come their way or as a result of difficulties they face relating with other people. These move them to come up with ways which help in mastering how to cope with the diversities and dissimilarities life brings to everyone and between societies on a daily basis.

But now, this holds true mostly for certain category of conflicts, notably those that simply pit parties against one another but do not involve violence and bloodshed. When these incidents come in, especially when accompanied by high levels of destruction and pain, conflict becomes something to be combated and eradicated. Interestingly but challengingly too, desiring to eradicate it does not make it eradicable. There is a category which does not only involve the carrying out of shocking and destructive actions but is hard to overcome and refuses to go in spite of sincere actions undertaken by determined parties to stop it from occurring or eradicate it when already in existence.

Tagged intractable conflicts, they oblige people to be trapped in, and continuously go through, cycles of misery, pain, dehumanization, fear, violence and much of what makes life distasteful and nightmarish. Dealing with conflicts of this category is one of the greatest challenges of this age. It is the focus of this project which has, among other things, made contributions exposing their strength and how to transform them using a people-centric, multi-track diplomatic approach.

Using Somalia's case, the project demonstrated that being against complex intractable conflicts and desiring their end never succeeds in getting them away. They instead get stronger and thrive especially when there is too much hand-folding, by-standing, talking and mere criticisms. As a matter of importance, one should note that these conflicts have both roots that grow deep into societies and others that spread wide across societies to safeguard their balance and maintain a steady supply of nutrients which help them to keep flourishing for generations defying eradication efforts.

Successfully dealing with them requires not just the determination or commitment of those seeking a permanent solution but equally and very importantly, a sound understanding of the dynamics underlying their unique nature, why they are complex and problematic, as well as the socio-psychological realities influencing the thinking and perceptions of those involved. The way the mind is shaped or the manner in which these people think is among the key elements that make these conflicts to resist peace efforts. It significantly influences the way they are prepared to relate with out-group members – they choose to see them only as foes who should be fought and defeated.

As Somalia's case shows, once the realities underpinning these conflicts are sufficiently understood, one of the very first things to do to alter the trend, weaken the conflict's strength and eventually trigger transformation is to deal with the thoughts and perceptions of the groups. Their members are holding strong thoughts and feelings against those not considered a part of them. Changing their perception definitely changes the strength and trajectory of the conflict. It is worth understanding that perceptions lock parties up in little worlds of their own, blocking their ability to see others clearly as they really should. This fans the flame of conflict causing it to continue raging not necessarily because the other party is bad and conflict-prone but because of thoughts held against one another which, at the end of the day, victimise everyone, holding them in stagnation and mutual destruction for generations.

Breaking this psychological stronghold is a demanding and dangerous job yet it is important and remains a goal that should stay as a priority. Dealing with it is challenging because changing the thinking of people is an uphill task which, apart from taking much time, can stir anger and resistance. In certain intractable conflict cases, making progress can simultaneously involve attempts to transform the people's perception as well as some aspects of their way of doing things which have been identified as constituting a hindrance to stable peace and the pursuit of a fair and harmonious relationship with the out-group in a manner beneficial to everyone.

Any encroachment on a people's culture and their cherished lifestyle is always an adventure. It is a risk worth taking only when the rationale is as noble and helpful to them and others as to lead to durable peace and a more conducive living for the wider society's prosperity since no society is an island but all are part of an interconnected whole.

Doing this requires not just the holding of formal peace conferences and other activities of track one diplomacy, though they are necessary and should never be ignored, but equally and very importantly, a careful application of measures from the other tracks of diplomacy, coordinating them to work together as a system since the world itself, including every society in it, operates as a system.

As the project showed, Somali reconciliation and peacebuilding has received huge boost and contributions not only from the widely known and acceptable initiatives that took place in Mogadishu and other parts of mainland Somalia or foreign capitals but equally from the activities of Somali diaspora in Denmark who are going about their daily activities not realising in certain cases the huge contributions they are making to peace and restoration back home. As I showed, their actions are decisive in a lot of ways and form a vital part of global efforts that have moved Somalia out of the path of the extreme violence and bloodshed it had become synonymous with for decades. It is challenging to see or notice some of these contributions because much attention has regularly been

given to the red carpet and fanfare activities undertaken within the framework of track one diplomacy since they are what both the media and pundits analyse and propagate more frequently.

It is worth stating, however, that the silence and little recognition the contributions of certain actors received was neither intentional nor done to denigrate their efforts and sacrifices. According to my findings and as elaborated in this project, it was just an omission which research should expose and bring to the fore so that they can be appreciated as they should because some of them are quite subtle in nature and hard to notice. For example, I found out that many members of the Somali diaspora in Denmark are themselves not even aware of the huge contributions their actions and activities have been making on reconciliation and peacebuilding back home though they knew that their remittances were changing lives and empowering local communities, taking them out of desperation and vulnerability.

As shown in chapters seven and eight, merely visiting Somalia after living for long in an environment of peace and tranquillity like Denmark leads to the transportation of peace from the area of higher concentration to that of lower concentration. This operates according to principles governing osmosis and reverse osmosis. Many diaspora visitors as well as others saw these trips as mere visits to either see loved ones, revive broken family ties, celebrate together during major occasions or establish new businesses and boost existing ones.

Though it was difficult for me to mathematically quantify the contribution of these trips and related connections to reconciliation and peacebuilding, the truth is, as I have shown in the work and also briefly below, not only did much peace flow from Denmark to Somalia, but a lot about Danish ways of developing, nurturing and sustaining peace also travelled to Somalia with the visitors though they were not aware and saw themselves simply as travellers. Their actions too, though not directly intended to solve the long-standing conflict, challenged the status quo in Somalia and weakened the conflict considerably.

Those were actually some of the kind of things needed for a complex case like Somalia to be ripe for a sudden return to peace and good relations. They brought in new realities. They equally rendered the ground ready and fallow enough for seeds of peace and reconciliation which could not grow before to develop roots and start growing. It is partly why the same efforts which were earlier counter-productive and generated hostilities have since 2012 been leading to rapprochement, understanding, acceptance and a noted determination by almost all parties to make conflict, history, and peace, a reality, in Somalia again. It took a lot of time for the ground to attain this degree of fallowness. This is because reconciliation in a context like this is a long-term process requiring time and different kinds of inputs from different actors. For time is both a healer and a fortifier of peace.

Though hints have already been given, I will, at this juncture, evoke and respond once more, though very briefly, to the first of my research questions which sought to know if peace and development can flow through diasporic people from a conflict-ridden country resident in a peaceful one back to their homeland. Like an osmotic situation where properties of different texture and solutions of dissimilar concentration are tested, I observed that when people who were groomed in a conflict environment or those who lived in such environments for long move to peaceful ones with completely different and calm features, a lot of exchanges and flows take place.

As the case of Somalis in Denmark demonstrate, even when the number of diasporic people is large, as long as they are a small minority in an environment noted for peace, they will be heavily affected by flows from the host territory without anyone directly influencing anything such as the passing of laws to encourage or discourage certain happenings. On their own, just as is the case in an osmotic process, many of the features of the peaceful territory move slowly and imperceptibly toward and into the minority group. This, I observed, occurs not because of any government compulsion or robust state efforts and policy of integration, though that contributes in its own way too, but because



there was greater concentration of the host country's culture and ways of thinking in the place than that of the minority diasporic group.

Consequently, a lot flowed from the area of higher concentration, Denmark, to that of lower concentration, the diasporic people, moving them to a point of greater conformity with their host environment than the other way round. As such, through mechanisms similar to what the contact theory postulates, all forms of contact between these diasporic Somalis and the state or people of Somalia back home led to transfers which therapeutically affected the conflict the country has been trapped in for decades.

Flows equally occurred from the diasporic people to the Danish environment though at a much smaller rate than the reverse. One of the ways of proving that flows from the environment actually got into the diasporic population is to look at the rate of 'shedding' from the latter. Simply put, shedding is the rate at which the things which were in an individual or people are dropping off or separating from them and no longer constituting a part of their life or influencing them as much as before. Somalis shed a lot to the Danish environment. Voids were not created by the shedding. Instead, much from the Danish environment moved in as replacements.

As indicated earlier, some reports and studies linked to Danish political circles and officials of law and order show that there were times when crime rate among Somali nationals in Denmark was high. This triggered different reactions from various quarters including the Danish government, Somalis themselves, political pundits and those of the media. Now, though it is not part of the mandate of this project to probe or check the authenticity of figures released in such reports, knowledge from this study teaches that one should not be surprised if the rate of dysfunctional behaviours from people originating from conflict and troubled areas is high at a given point.

This is partly because when flows from the new environment combine with the multitude of difficult experiences people had suffered, it triggers a couple of reactions including much shedding. This shedding can take different forms including, calm actions like withdrawal from the rest of the society, operating in one's own corner, dissatisfied with the way things are done but remaining quiet, trauma, etcetera or could take a wild form like open criticisms of the society, crime, pessimism or moves to make changes and solve issues without following the society's legally laid down procedures.

Time, education, and empowerment are effective antidotes to this type of actions that go contrary to the rules in society and the expectations and happiness of the majority. In a rather positive and reassuring way, they fill the gap created by things that left as a result of shedding, opening the way for greater willingness to participate inclusively in society's affairs not with the feeling that one is an outsider that the rest are against but with assurance that one is an insider whose contribution the rest need to make the system more effective, inclusive and functioning for everyone's good.

Regarding the second question that sought to know the extent to which gifts, remittances and goods sent back home by diasporic people contribute in combating wars, alleviating poverty, empowering families and weakening the strength of an intractable conflict, I noticed that as a result of Somalia's clan-based system and communal approach to life where bonds of kinship remain strong and manifest in the form of united and cohesive family ties, people live not only for themselves but look beyond themselves. One does not succeed alone but is expected to take others along, especially the weak and vulnerable, as much as they can.

Consequently, making remittances and expressing other forms of generosity are common practices among Somali diasporic people in Denmark. These have grown into norms many are accustomed with though not everyone. Many among the younger generations that were born and raised in Denmark, for instance, do not adhere to practices like these which look like unnecessary extra burdens that are weighty and can lead to stress and unnecessary endurance. Diasporic people in

the Jylland and Copenhagen areas contributed significantly in empowering families and friends living in Somalia and in refugee camps in neighbouring countries.

Economic empowerment and independence of notably those of youthful age groups dealt a severe blow to conflict. Unlike during circumstances of hardship and misery when out of desperation, though not only because of it, they easily fell prey to the enticing and cajoling language of warlords and recruiters who exploited clan differences and the plight of the people to recruit them into different militias, the situation changed drastically with the advent of the constant flow of support, both financial, material and otherwise from family members and friends abroad.

There was a gradual but steady rise of an enterprising middle class which established various businesses and became more concerned with developing ways of expanding their businesses and competing effectively with others in the free market economy to make gains for themselves instead of following fighters to the jungle and risking their lives for what many started seeing as another person's gains. As can be noticed, it was their perception that began to change, not the conflict. Once this happened, the whole conflict was affected and started changing too. This change of perception caused them to begin to question the conflict's relevance and *raison d'être*. Consequently, it began losing momentum and the enthusiasm certain fighters, especially youthful and elderly ones of working age group, had for it.

Truly, situations exist where remittances and other packages from diasporic people worsened the conflict and provided antagonistic groups with necessary support to carry out destructive actions against one another. That is why these diasporic people have been described as a double-edged sword or a two-faced actor who simultaneously builds and destroys. Others presented them in more negative terms as conflict drivers and unscrupulous long-distance nationalists whose activities were depriving Somalia of sleep and the kind of good rest they were enjoying in the countries they have escaped to.

This is partly why I investigated the issue. Admittedly, the diaspora played roles that built and others that destroyed. But as I noticed, their clans and communities back home were actually the main drivers and influencers of their actions. They seldom acted on their own. Whenever these clans and communities raised calls for an urgent need of developmental projects like schools, hospitals and other such facilities, the diaspora spontaneously responded through financial contributions and the supply of equipment and even human expertise by volunteering to work back home to accomplish these projects without pay. At the same time, when the call came announcing an imminent threat from a rival clan or group and the need to rally quickly and defend their clan from elimination, the diaspora responded in a similar manner.

At the end, it was mostly the prevailing affairs back home and the direction their clans and communities chose that the diaspora, in loyalty, aligned with. These local community members were at the scene of events in Somalia and were thus trusted and considered to possess a more accurate understanding of the realities and immediate needs of the community. This does not mean diasporic people were a yes group that just followed those back home like sheep. They brought new opinions and challenged the status quo in many instances, pressing for greater political openness, engagement, pluralism of ideas and more space for discussions that touched on sensitive issues which broke stereotypes and opened groups to new realities about others by means of greater contacts with them and appreciation of their own worries.

Concerning the next question about how effective multi-track diplomacy is in successfully carrying out reconciliation and peacebuilding in protracted intergroup conflict contexts, I arrived at a number of conclusions. First, I observed that just as societies operate as systems, so do the groups in them. Secondly, the real battleground of a conflict is not the fields where fighting, bombing and shelling occur but the mind of those involved, especially those at the head who direct the course of events. Once the mind is filled, overwhelmed or taken over by images that produce negative energy,

negative feelings will be aroused. These feelings combine with the images to produce negative thoughts. The more these thoughts stay in the mind, the more they get the chance of being processed in a negative manner that influences decisions and actions that seek to calm them down by targeting things or people concluded to be the problem. There is a connection between this and the scapegoat theory.

The strength of any conflict and the extent of damage planned against the out-group is a function of what the mind processed at that point in time. Altering what is in it and what drives the thinking of people leads to a significant alteration and change of the trajectory of a conflict. That is why a conflict can get very hot and intense or lose its magnitude and move into dormancy not because the reason for fighting has increased or decreased but in response to happenings around and the way they got processed.

This is where my brand of multi-track diplomacy comes in. It is similar but slightly different in approach from what Diamond and McDonald, the parents of multi-track diplomacy, postulated. They advocated for a systems-based approach which targets the local population especially and is not limited to a single diplomatic track. I agree with this and am fascinated by its simplicity and practicability given my discovery that like states and large societies, groups in conflict operate too as systems whether they are small or big. But I laid emphasis on targeting not just the people but the mind, extracting from it whatever does not help peace but fuels violence, enmity, intolerance and destruction. These things should then be replaced with what promotes peace, tranquillity, inclusion, acceptance and the well-being of everyone including people that are considered different from the in-group.

I argued that peace in an intergroup intractable conflict situation is actually a battle for regaining the mind and aligning it with what fosters cordiality and harmony. As I discovered, conflict has no place and is completely powerless in any society dominated by people with minds filled with values

of peace and reverence for other people's lives. The mind is the cockpit and centre of human actions. Whatever is there determines the direction things will go. It can be detoxed using an effective multi-track system that works using reverse osmosis principles. Reverse osmosis is a technique used to purify water, rendering it clean and drinkable by removing contaminants that made it toxic, unsafe and dangerous.

I noticed that water can be abundant in a place yet so scarce that people will continue to suffer from thirst and severe dehydration. This is not because water is actually absent but because of the heavy presence of contaminants. They deprive the entire community of a thing that is abundantly available, forcing it to go through difficult and stressful experiences it should not if things were fine. This is the same with peace. As I argued, there is abundant peace in every society including those stuck in generations of conflict. The brutality and carnage one sees are not indicative of the absence of peace but the presence of contaminants. They soil peace, rendering it unfelt, impotent and unavailable for consumption. In other words, the peace has simply been suppressed by a high presence of contaminants like intolerance, hatred, superiority complex, negative perception of others, fear, mistrust, violence, jealousy, exclusion and the desire to stay above and ahead of others.

In the case of water, no matter its state of contamination or the quantity of particles and impurities found in it, reverse osmosis permits a successful undertaking of a thorough process of desalination and purification which transforms the same unsafe water into clean, drinkable and healthy water everyone can consume including even babies and those with delicate digestive systems. As can be noticed, the water was not created neither was its quantity increased. It was simply the contaminants which were taken out to give it the chance and power to be what it truly was but different kinds of toxics deprived it from being. Through reverse osmosis procedures, desalination and purification liberated it to affect society desirably.

Similarly, I argued that nobody creates or makes peace for any society. Consequently, the concept of peacemaking should not be confused with the making or creation of peace. Enough of it exists everywhere and no one can add or reduce it. However, some societies enjoy more of it than others as could be observed in the level of tranquillity and normalcy that characterise their daily affairs. This is basically because they have a lesser presence of manifested contaminants at that point in time than those that are stuck in conflict. An increase or decrease in the level of these contaminants is what makes the difference. That is why detoxing the society, starting with the minds of individuals is a fundamental prerequisite of any reconciliation or peacebuilding initiative. That is where the contaminants accumulate and it is equally from there that they manifest to affect people's behaviour, the society's actions and other outside happenings which suppress peace rendering its presence unfelt.

Using multi-track diplomacy and applying principles of reverse osmosis, the designing and implementation of a nice and acceptable peace education program enables ideals of peace to penetrate the mind and flush out doctrines of violence and anti-peace beliefs that made their way in and had been influencing people's actions negatively. According to the structure of multi-track diplomacy, this is track five diplomacy in action. It deals with steps geared towards achieving peace through research, training and education. The mind functions the way society educates it. Fortunately, it can always be re-educated or retransformed to start thinking in another way if the other was dangerous or unhelpful to the wider society. The new education causes it to align its way of thinking and therefore, the person's actions, with values of peace which make the well-being of others a thing they treat as important and worth respecting.

Peace, empathy, people's common humanity and love are stronger values capable of defeating and flushing hatred, fear, jealousy, exclusion, mistrust and other such vices from the mind when given a fair chance to compete naturally. Love, for instance, is so powerful a virtue that it can neutralise the strength and destructiveness of a whole lot of vices that cause pain or unhealthy relationships between

groups. Interestingly, it flows naturally from the innermost parts of a human being unlike hatred and other vices which are learned from the environment and through people's experiences. That is why peace education is vital because it provides a platform for unhelpful things which were learned along the years and have been injurious to society to be unlearned. In other words, these impurities can be removed to grant peace and other virtues like empathy and love the freedom to have their way unhindered.

While applying track five, it should be ensured that track nine is at the same time vigorously implemented. It deals with efforts geared towards achieving peace through communication and the media. Especially with the advent of smart gadgets, the media is so powerful, featuring among the most effective educators and shapers of minds and thoughts in this age. When used to serve the cause of peace, track nine is very potent and gives faster results. Through carefully chosen music, posts, news, videos, documentaries, etcetera, this track can remove contaminants that made their way into the mind, replacing them with new materials aimed at promoting peaceful living and harmonious relationships. It is an effective shaper of public opinion and a determiner of what people end up believing which drives their actions and choices.

Societies are basically a mixture of both things that work for peace and those that block its effectiveness and seek to destroy it. Especially in difficult conflict settings like Somalia, this mixture is so evident. Vices and other unhelpful realities defile, contaminate or choke up good ones if they mix up disproportionately. It is important, therefore, for a functioning mechanism for extracting these vices and impurities to be in place so that like in reverse osmosis, a kind of purification and detoxing process can always occur to free peace from the suppressive power of the multitude of enemies and contaminants preventing it from being enjoyed by the society.

Bringing in track one which is official government diplomacy to complement the previously cited two, in addition with the rest of the tracks which make up multi-track diplomacy, durable peace



can be achieved because when all the tracks work effectively together and are properly coordinated in the same conflict terrain, they have the potential to tackle not just pressing issues and orchestrate the signing of a ceasefire which is what conflict resolution dominated by governments and official institutions does; for this is negative peace, but goes as far as dealing with the underlying causes of the conflict including structural problems and deep-rooted worries which have eaten up the mind of people and are the veritable issues sustaining the conflict and giving it the strength to survive continuously for ½ generations.

For Somalia's case, the conflict has penetrated the society so much that thinking of effecting a serious change through any hasty meeting or periodic conferences is insufficient. The meetings usually only bring representatives of groups together to talk to each other for a given period. The truth is the different groups have multiple worries they have internalised and the conflict continues being fed and sustained by different roots which cannot be dealt with by a meeting of a couple of hours or days. Looking through different lenses, each group has its own explanations regarding why things went wrong and what route should be followed to get better results for Somalia. Because it is such a multilayer conflict, the possibility of achieving positive peace requires the use of options that seek to reconcile groups not through a linear process but through one that is proportionately multilayer with tracks that deal with these roots sufficiently and decisively.

In this way, the Somalia that has been down for decades will rise up again as a prosperous and flourishing country with an enviable democracy. Its story will change so much that instead of being constantly cited around the world as an example of a failed state, others will instead look up to its case to learn how to get back on their feet whenever they fall and circumstances try to keep them down eternally.

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# APPENDIX

## EXCERPTS OF INTERVIEW WITH ABDIRASHID SHEIKH, LEADER OF SOMALIS IN DENMARK AND DIRECTOR OF AARHUSOMALI

**Sylvester:** Thank you for receiving me in audience. I always felt talking with you will help bring clarity to certain issues about the intractable conflict in Somalia from a diasporic perspective. It feels good to be here today.

**Sheikh:** It is nice having you. Just let me know the things you want us to discuss about. [Introduces me to his aides who expressed delight seeing me]

**Sylvester:** My preliminary findings indicated that you are a senior official of the Somali community here. Is that accurate?

**Sheikh:** I am the leader of Somalis in Denmark.

**Sylvester:** That is a high office. I'm sure many responsibilities are attached to it.

**Sheikh:** It is a position that demands a lot. Among other things, my job is to ensure the unity of Somalis in Denmark, inform them of what is going on back home, promote solidarity and make sure things are fine with them here.

**Sylvester:** Are you well known? In other words, is the organization you are leading popular and widely known out there?

**Sheikh:** The answer is obvious. When you were looking for information about Somalis in Denmark you went nowhere else but came here. We didn't invite you neither did we tell you we were existing here. You knew about us through your own means. That should tell you something. Moreover, because you were convinced that we are an organization with a pedigree that is high enough to position us to

be of help to a project like yours, you did everything to be here today. It's not only you. Others visit us from different places around the world. Major media houses from Denmark like TV2 and others from other countries come to us to get different things. Check the website of our organization and our activities will let you know the extent of our national and international popularity.

**Sylvester:** The fact that you manage the information Somalis get is very important. As you surely know, information carries much power and can divide, unite, cause a war, promote peace and do lots of things from worst to best. Among the immediate causes of the genocide in Rwanda, for example, was a simple radio broadcast. When you say you inform them of what is going on back home what exactly do you mean?

**Sheikh:** Formerly, people depended on particular sources of information which were controlled by the state. Information came through officially registered radio, television and newspaper corporations. Today, the situation is different. It comes from all kinds of sources. Nowadays, virtually everybody is a journalist and information distributor especially with the advent of smartphones, tablets, and other mobile gadgets. Though this is good and helps one to be informed quicker, the danger of getting the wrong information or being completely misinformed is very high. Somalis who live here are flooded daily by all kinds of information from the mainstream and alternative media. A lot of information comes through the numerous social media outlets we have everywhere. That is why one of the responsibilities of my office is to ensure that the people get the correct and verified information. Information should be one, not many. It should not be conflicting. That creates confusion and divides people's focus, opening the way for many unanswered questions to come in and steal people's peace and calm. So, in the midst of numerous, competing information, my office gives them the reality; the truth. This spares them the stress of struggling with contradictory messages which compel everyone to be wondering what to believe and what not to.

**Sylvester:** Looking at Somalia, one notices that there is a great deal of religious, cultural and linguistic similarities. As a matter of fact, Somalia is a country with a population that is homogeneous in a lot of ways, speaking the same language, practising the same religion, etcetera. Do you think homogeneity is a factor of unity? One may be tempted to say yes but the reality on the ground in the country is challenging this position. There is instead conflict and disunity everywhere. What have you to say about this?

**Sheikh:** Homogeneity promotes unity though it is not automatic that homogeneous societies must be united societies. Certain things happen at times which can cause the power of homogeneity not to be maximally felt as Somalia's case currently testifies. But being similar is an advantage which can be exploited to promote unity and the bond of oneness.

**Sylvester:** Given the fact that Somalia has the advantage of being homogeneous coupled with the truth that it is a country blessed in many ways ranging from its strategic position in the Horn of Africa to its numerous economic endowments which can empower it to overcome its difficulties, why has it remained stuck in conflict for so long even though so much has been done by the rest of the world to help it overcome this situation?

**Sheikh:** Let me tell you, Somalis can get their own solution and overturn the current conflict. They are tired of war and want peace. But those who are purported to be their helpers are actually their obstacles and destroyers. All those countries that keep meddling in Somalia's affairs and will not allow it have a moment of rest are not helpers as they say to the world. They are pursuers of private gains. Ethiopia is a big obstacle to peace in Somalia and so is Kenya, the US and the rest of them who are currently in Somalia or had been there. The United Nations, the African Union and other international organizations are among our biggest obstacles. In actual fact, they are hindrances to peace in Somalia. Don't mind what is said in the open. Their real motives are hidden and they are there for reasons that serve their interests. If Somalis are truly given the freedom and opportunity,



they will come up with their own solution quicker than you think. They are not addicted fighters and warriors as some may say but are simply trapped in that condition. They don't like fighting and destroying one another. There is hope that things will change for peace to return. If all the foreign countries and peace spoilers can just be sincere and leave Somalia to do things its way, the people will develop their own solution in a manner that will amaze many doubters. Don't forget that a couple of years ago, around the 1970s, this same Somalia we are talking about was among the most peaceful countries in the world. We got that result because we were doing things our way.

**Sylvester:** Do you really think it is wise for everybody to pull out and leave Somalia alone? When two parties are fighting, it always requires a third, neutral party to step in and separate them. Leaving them on their own appears dangerous as they can fight to exhaustion and completely destroy one another especially when their anger is raging as we see in Somalia. Should we not instead be talking about praising those who have taken the risk to intervene and probably ask for more interventions and the reinforcement of their activities?

**Sheikh:** The truth is that Somalia does not need them. Get that straight. Somalis will not fight one another if allowed on their own. One of the reasons for this is that there will be power balance. The different regions that are currently fighting or are engaged in disagreements have almost the same level of power. No group will want to fight the other because that will be a dangerous and unwise risk. Moreover, the group will not be sure to win and its people will be aware that such a move will only lead to destruction of lives and property. Now, they are fighting because they have foreign allies and backers who supply arms and war resources. Al-Shabaab, for instance, was backed by Saudi Arabia. Everyone is backing who they want. Once these allies, resources and support come in, they alter the power balance. The group which receives them begins to think it is superior and powerful and should subdue others to display its strength. When this happens as is often the case, the others get their own allies and resources in order to feel safe and defend themselves. The result is insecurity

and continuous fighting as groups battle with one another for supremacy and dominance. The foreign powers never say they intervened or backed groups because of their interests. Ethiopia, for example, is a landlocked country that desperately desires access to the sea. Somalia is just next to it and has abundance of water which can connect the landlocked country with the rest of the world. With a massive population of over one hundred million people and shut behind there by huge land barriers, Ethiopia is under enormous pressure and in an uncomfortable situation. It desires to pass through Somalia to gain access to the world by sea so as to benefit from what is happening out there. Time and again, it meddles in Somali affairs under the pretext of halting the conflict. But you surely want to know that Somalia's problems are not what Ethiopia is worried about. Its interests and the fixing of its own misfortunes are its real worries.

**Sylvester:** Some might make a case for Ethiopia arguing that Somalia has been an aggressive nation itself which caused other states pain and suffering. For example, Somalia attacked Ethiopia in 1977 during the Ogaden War. This led to much hardship and destruction. Had it not been for the assistance received from its allies coupled with its determined resistance, Ethiopia would have been subdued and probably taken over by Somalia. Can't one say even if Ethiopia's current actions in Somalia are wrong they are somehow justified since there is always a payback time? When you were strong you dealt with them, now that they are strong they are doing to you what strong people like doing to those who can't match their power. Isn't that balanced enough?

**Sheikh:** That was in 1977 and it happened during the regime that Somalis overthrew. I will admit that Somalia actually attacked Ethiopia. The truth should be admitted and declared. Justifiably, Ethiopia was angry with this act and has found it difficult to forgive and let go of the past. The question now is if Somalis actually approved of that action. The government that masterminded it had long been chased out of office by the Somali people because there were many things they did not like about it. This is a new era. We should be talking of something else; probably how to better the lives of our

people and make our region more prosperous. I wonder if it is fair for us to remain stuck in the shadow of the events of 1977-1978 and continue to use them to justify our actions and unfairness against one another throughout our existence. We should move on. Truth should guide our actions. Peace is more important. It is what we desire. Those who are blocking our way to peace are certainly not doing the right thing. They don't admit that they are obstacles to peace but that is actually what they are. One thing is sure: Somalia will overcome its difficulties and rise again as a peaceful and democratic state if allowed to face that challenge in its own way.

**Sylvester:** Talking of democracy, how will you assess its current state in Somalia given that it is an important aspect of whatever peace model one might want to apply in that country?

**Sheikh:** It is sad that Somalis don't have the power to choose their president and other important leaders who run their affairs. All over the world, it is known that there will be elections this year and a new president will be elected. That is true. However, it is the parliament that chooses the president and the parliament itself is not directly chosen by the people. The clans and their leaders are still very powerful and decide on a lot of things that affect the entire society. People don't have ways of expressing themselves. There should be genuine political pluralism and acceptance of different views. I think Somalis desire to be granted more say in the affairs of their country and should equally be allowed to vote the different leaders that manage the activities that affect their daily lives.

**Sylvester:** Looking at the current state of things and the progress that has been made, can one be happy and say peace is finally in sight?

**Sheikh:** We need to keep our hope alive no matter what is happening. The truth is we have a long way to go. We think we are a country but the reality is that we are not. The foreign meddling is just too much and not helping at all. It is making us weaker, dependent and vulnerable. If you come to Mogadishu, for example, those in charge of security are from Uganda, Rwanda, Kenya, Ethiopia,

Djibouti, etcetera. Somali police are just shadows. The military of your neighbours cannot be in charge of your security. That is not done anywhere in the world. The UN and the international community have made things such that the Somali police and its role now appear minor in every sense of the word. For example, the foreign security officers from neighbouring countries receive about US\$2000 a month while Somali police receive only about US\$100 and this is not even regular. A lot of times, they are owed and have to wait for months before receiving their pay. This has promoted misery and corruption to the extent that Somalia is currently ranked as the most corrupt country in the world. Even the president of Somalia is not as powerful as he should be. Foreign powers have much say on what is done and who should be president. Consequently, when chosen, the individual is obliged to operate in a tight box where he has to cooperate with what these powerful kingmakers desire. I will not be surprised if the UN and the powerful states connected to Somalia already know who the next president will be even though elections have not taken place yet. They plan everything and are the undercover leaders of Somalia though there is a visible head of state the world knows of and the Somali people look up to. If you look at the way UN envoys who come to the country behave you will probably understand what I am saying. They act as though they are the president. They take the leading role in many instances.

**Sylvester:** Given that the a key goal of this project is to contribute in taking Somalia closer to peace and boost efforts geared at helping it bounce back as a successful and prosperous state, what are some of the recommendations you are making or want to see implemented soonest to help the country overcome its current predicament?

**Sheikh:** Let Somalis sit down and talk in the freest and most sincere of ways. A lot will come out of that. The family system and Somali indigenous ways of solving conflict should be encouraged. In former times, elders sat under a tree and discussed about both minor and major societal issues. They disagreed and went through rough arguments but at the end, an acceptable solution was arrived at.

This sustained the society for hundreds of years and even more. It constituted the foundation of Somalia's conflict resolution mechanism. On the pretext of modernism, this and much more have been scraped and replaced with foreign systems that are still struggling to connect with the realities in Somalia and might never do in certain cases. In the family system, for example, the male figure who headed the family had the responsibility of seeing to it that everybody was fine and well catered for. He did not live for himself but ensured that he lived for everybody, taking decisions that benefited everyone fairly. The rest supported him to succeed because his was a delicate assignment which could not be successfully performed without the help of the rest. In the current system, leaders don't care much about others. Once they are voted into office, they start working to protect their power and make themselves rich, prosperous, well known and respected. It is an egocentric system where the well-being of others does not matter much anymore. It is a kind of survival of the fittest scenario. In Somalia, if you are a good leader, you will succeed. The people will support you. That character is in them. Empower Somali people and leaders. Make the leaders to function like the fathers of old and they will succeed and take care of the Somali family in an admirable and enviable manner. They will do their best to be good because a good father takes care of his children, women, relatives and everyone in the family. He sacrifices his all because of them. Their well-being and success is his pride. This is seen and examined differently by foreign eyes and minds but don't forget that it is Somalia we are talking about here. The way they themselves see and want things to be should be paramount and given priority in any kind of solution we are seeking.

**Sylvester:** Thank you very much, Sheikh.

**Sheikh:** You are welcome. I wish you the best in your research. Take a look at the website I gave you. You might find one or two things that will probably be of interest to your study.