

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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Units: 1–9



**Department of Sociology, Social Work & Population Studies
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

The course is an effort to define and discuss the issue of conflict and different strategies involved in the process conflict resolution.

In the first unit, it is tried to explain the concept of conflict, its origin an nature. Further to this the functions of conflict are included to present different roles of conflict in our day to day lives. The unit 2 is further extension to different explorative about courses of conflict and its sources.

The Units 3 & 4 of the course explain different types and levels of conflict. It is tried to briefly discuss disputes, inter perusal and inter personal conflicts. In addition, source elaborations are made on inter and intra group conflicts as well as international conflicts. The conflict process model is presented at the end for having an in depth understanding.

Units No. 5 & 6 are written to present and explain the techniques of conflict prevention and management. Under this umbrella, a discussion is made on developing an understanding of negotiation, mediation arbitration and influence of cultural aspects on their processes.

The units no 7 & 8 of this course are included to develop as understanding on care studies of different international conflicts and the most prevailing conflicts with in Pakistan. After discussion on the conflicts of Palestine, Kashmir, Iraq etc. Some issues of Pakistan i.e. regional ethnic and sectarian conflicts are also highlighted.

The issue of terrorism has emerged as a very important phenomenon both at national and international levels. So the last unit is a discussion on this.

Syed Imran Haider
Course Develop Coordinator

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Unit 1

THE CONFLICT

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OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, student will be able to:

1. define that what is conflict.
2. know and study the origin of conflict
3. Define the nature of conflict
4. discuss the function of conflict

MAJOR TOPICS

- What is conflict
- Origin of Conflict
- Nature of Conflict
- Function of Conflict

1.1 What is Conflict?

The word “conflict” comes from the Latin word *conflictus*, which means collision or clash. Nevertheless, considerable disagreement exists over how to define conflict. Many attempts to define conflict in a way that best sums up its major aspects have been made. People who work in the field continue to work on developing definitions of conflicts according to their various features. For example, definitions exist based on the major causes of conflict, such as material resources, power, values or feelings (these are sometimes called “causative agents”). There are also definitions based on the nature of the conflict parties, such as individuals, organizations or states. These definitions have developed along with what is today known as conflict theory, taking into account newly emerging practices of conflict analysis and intervention.¹

Conflict is defined as **a disagreement through which the parties involved perceive a threat to their needs, interests or concerns.**

Conflict refers to some form of friction, disagreement, or discord arising within a group when the beliefs or actions of one or more members of the group are either resisted by or unacceptable to one or more members of another group.

It can be described as a disagreement among groups or individuals characterized by antagonism and hostility. This is usually fueled by the opposition of one party to another, in an attempt to reach an objective different from that of the other party. The elements involved in the conflict have varied sets of principles and values, thus allowing such a conflict to arise.

Conflict is an inevitable social occurrence because human beings have widely varying needs, interests and viewpoints. One of the values of conflict is that it sharpens our awareness of whether or not we are committed to respect the opinions of others and whether or not we have the skills to work through and resolve our differences with others irritably.

At times, there will inevitably be areas of conflict between you and the young people you work with. There may also be conflict between:

- you and your work colleagues
- youth development practitioners and the agencies they work for
- the prevailing laws and what the young people you are leading feel compelled to do.

You may also face inner mental conflict that impacts on your work. Conflict between and among groups is also very natural, given that groups tend to be in positions of rivalry over relatively scarce resources: land, wealth, jobs, territory, reproductive resources, etc.

¹<http://pjp-eu.coe.int/documents/1017981/7110680/3-Understandingconflict.pdf/0f63c846-6942-4e8f-83c0-3626f2f73dfa>

Defining a Group

A group is a social unit that:

- (i) consists of a number of individuals who, at a given time, stand in definite interdependent status and role relationships with one another, and
- (ii) explicitly and implicitly possesses a set of values or norms regulating the behaviour of individual members, at least in matters of consequence to the group; thus shared attitudes, sentiments, aspirations and goals are related to, and implicit in, the common values or norms of the group (Hogg and Abrams, 2001).

There are various sociological perspectives of group conflict. Some commentators will accept that there is a situation of conflict only when there is open struggle such as fighting. Others require there to be only the existence of competing claims to scarce resources. The following definition of conflict illustrates this latter perspective:

“Conflict is...a process that begins when one party perceives that another party has negatively affected, or is about to negatively affect, something that the first party cares about.”

Conflict thus represents a clash of ideas, interests, values, behaviours or the competing needs of two or more individuals or groups (who are the ‘parties’ to a dispute). It is not always a win–lose struggle since most instances of conflict occur when individuals share the same goals and simply disagree over the means by which these goals can be achieved. Regardless of the divergent perspectives of the concept of conflict, one of two common themes can be found in most situations:

- the conflict occurs around tasks
- the conflict occurs around relationships.

These common themes will help you to understand and deal with conflict in a youth development context. Because you will be working in teams, it is important to recognise the two types of conflict that affect team performance, based on the themes identified above:

1. Task conflict: This type of conflict concerns disagreements over the content of the tasks being carried out – for example, differences of opinion among the young people involved in a project on how best to achieve the desired outcomes.
2. Relationship conflict: This type of conflict concerns interpersonal hostility and tensions between individuals, rather than conflict over the task being carried out.

Perceiving Conflict

Whether a conflict exists or not is normally an issue of whether or not it is perceived to exist. For a conflict to exist, the situation must be perceived as a conflict by the people or parties who are involved. If no one is aware of a conflict, it is generally assumed that no conflict exists, though a key tenet of Marxist analysis is that the working classes are in structural conflict with the ruling classes in capitalist society, whether they know it or not.

In your practice, you should be wary of entering into conflict situations until you have fully ascertained whether the conflict has a real basis. Perceived conflicts may not be real. For example, you may have found yourself arguing with a friend and realised at the end of the argument that you were both saying the same thing in different terms. The initial perception of conflict may have been caused by difficulty in communicating your ideas to each other. This would sometimes appear to be the case when sects of the same religion are in conflict over matters of small differences in the interpretation of scripture, though sometimes these are very real conflicts of principle.

As Marxists have realised, many circumstances that could be described as situations of conflict do not become conflicts, because the parties involved do not perceive the conflict. For example, despite equal pay legislation and commitment to the International Labour Organization's convention on equal pay, there are many examples of women in Commonwealth countries who receive significantly less pay than men for doing equal work. In some situations, women have perceived this as a conflict and converted it into a real conflict in order to address the inequity, especially when influenced by radical feminism (see below). In other situations and in some industries, it remains a potential conflict situation, but not one perceived by the parties; hence it has not yet become an overt conflict situation. In Pakistan there is no structural inequality in pay of women and men especially in public sector, but in case of private jobs especially as teacher in schools, the inequality exists.

Conflict Behaviour

Let's consider the example of resources: all resources are limited and therefore relatively scarce. People's needs (or wants) often exceed resource availability. This imbalance between the available resources and the needs (or wants) of the people often causes 'blocking' behaviour, with both parties trying to get more of the resources than the other side. The parties are likely then to be in opposition. When one party is perceived to block the access to the resources of another, a conflict will most probably result. To identify a conflict situation one should assess whether the conflict is caused by an intentional act – that is, somebody does something on purpose – or whether the conflict is caused by an unintentional act – that is, somebody does something accidentally.

The question is then whether blocking behaviour is likely to be a conscious and intended action, or whether it might have occurred as a result of circumstances. For example, in many Commonwealth countries, the eldest son in a family traditionally inherits more resources from his parents than the other siblings. However, given the modern democratic context, does this suggest to the other siblings that the eldest son, in collusion with the parents, has deliberately blocked their access to family resources? Today that might well put the eldest son in a formal conflict situation with his siblings, one that could end in court.

1.2 Origin of Conflict

Society's view of conflict and conflict management has evolved substantially over the last century. These views can be summarized in three perspectives on managing conflict:

1. **Traditional View**—This view was predominant in the early 20th century, when it was believed that conflict was always bad and should be avoided at all costs. This perspective posited that conflict was a result of dysfunctional managerial behaviour and therefore should and could be stopped at the source. Presumably, if the dysfunctional behaviour was stopped (i.e., the manager is fired), the conflict would cease to exist.
2. **Human Relations View**—This was the over riding perspective for the three decades spanning 1940 through 1970. In this view, conflict was viewed as a natural and inevitable part of human existence and was accepted as a normal part of group interaction and relationships. Sometimes the conflict was functional, other times dysfunctional, but it was always present.
3. **Interactionist View**—The contemporary view holds that not only is conflict inevitable, but maintaining a degree of tension can actually be helpful in keeping a group energized and creative. In this view, conflict is seen as a positive force for change within organizations, groups, and relationships. The challenge is finding constructive means for managing conflict while still maintaining some differences that energize a group toward continued discussion and innovation.

1. Functionalist

The functionalist view of conflict is determined by the functionalist view of society. Functionalist thinkers argue that the prevailing forms of social behaviour and social structures in a given society have developed as natural, manageable developments of the way that society has evolved. Therefore, many social conflicts are functional for the problems that that particular society has to resolve. When you point to examples of caste or gender conflict, functionalists are usually able to say that there are underlying social changes that are making the existence of certain caste or gender relationships out of date.

Therefore, these traditional relationships are dysfunctional for modern society. The caste and gender conflicts are therefore functional because they will help the society to adapt to the change. Where repeated patterns of conflict occur and are eventually resolved, then those patterns of conflict function to ensure that the society goes on adjusting sensibly to change. Such are the conflicts between teenage children and their parents in capitalist societies, for example. In rapidly changing social systems like capitalist societies, teens are the ones who carry the seeds of social change, hence they are the first to make the inevitable adjustments that their elders often later accept it. An example of this view on conflict in capitalist societies is the sexual freedom of young people compared with their elders.

Eventually, as the conflict situation evolved, the whole society tended to become more sexually permissive. Functionalists interpret the many forms of conflict that we observe in society as a natural part of the process of living together and resolving our social problems. Capitalist societies are based on competitive processes, so we inevitably see frequent struggles between workers and managers, women and men, the old and the young, those within the law and those outside the law. Functionalists argue that these struggles can be resolved by intelligent leadership and good management.

Over the years, the social structure has had to change in order to accommodate the new forces that are at work within societies, groups and individuals. Functionalists see this as a valuable response to changed conditions – unlike conflict theorists, who tend to see it as part of an ongoing social revolution. Functionalists point to societies like Vietnam, for example, which won its freedom fighting as a communist revolutionary society against the US capitalist superpower, in a war that many people described as an ideological struggle against world capitalism by poor people. Yet, today Vietnam is developing as a very successful capitalist society, with America as one of its major partners.

As a youth leader you may find that there are some people or groups causing conflict that you can do nothing about. Functionalism says that their behaviour is dysfunctional for the society in which they are working, and/or it may be dysfunctional for them if they wish simply to achieve more social prestige or success than they are getting. Your skills may not be enough to deal with this, though social analysis will help: either human relations analysis and/or structural analysis will assist in examining the social class/ caste tensions. It may be that the conflict theorists are right, and that what you are facing is part of a revolutionary struggle to establish a new social order, based on very different lines. This may well be what is happening among some young Christians and some young Muslims.

2. Structuralist

The structural view of conflict starts from the idea that human societies progress and develop primarily through social conflict: the struggle between social factions who are basically hostile to each other, even though for long periods they may co-exist peacefully. Let's look at social conflict under the following three perspectives:

- Marxism
- Capitalism
- Radical feminism.

Marxism

The main influence on structuralist conflict theorists is the work of Karl Marx, though the essential ideas have now become strongly influential in radical feminism, whose conclusions are very different from Marx's (see below). Marxists analyse societies, including the history of pre-capitalist societies, in terms of structural conflicts for control of the production and distribution of wealth in a society. Marxists say that this conflict may sometimes take the form of a religious struggle, but at base it is a political and economic struggle. This conflict is fought out also in the world of ideas or ideology, and each side will try to get control of the ideology of the mass of the people in order to gain power. In capitalist systems, the basic conflict is between those who have, the control of production and distribution of wealth (the bourgeoisie) and those who have to sell their ability to work to the capitalist system (the proletariat). You will probably be able to see this for yourself, if you work with unemployed youth. They are likely to be unemployed because, in a world where capital is free to go wherever it wants, the people who have the money want to invest it where it creates most profit. Today that will be mainly in places such as China, where the costs of production are cheap but the economic infrastructure is developed. It's very difficult for working people to fight against this in Commonwealth

Youth Programme Diploma in Youth Development Work the global market because there are few barriers to rich people and corporations who want to put their money where it will earn most for them.

Radical Feminism

Radical feminism – ‘radical’ here meaning looking at root causes rather than extremist – takes a structural conflict view of society, but in this case, the two social factions in conflict are women and men. The movement also points to the evidence for this struggle as the main human struggle throughout history. Radical feminists explain that, because men have usually come out on top as winners in this conflict, the achievements of women have been hidden by male historians. Just as the rich exploit the labour power of the working classes and label them as intellectually and socially inferior, so have men done this to women. Women’s labour in home-caring and family development is unpaid in financial terms and badly recognised in most societies, where men are usually in control. But this form of labour is crucial in maintaining living standards and, through the support of children, many of whom will be the organisers and leaders of the coming generations, women are the gender mainly responsible for overall social development. Women do the majority of the world’s work, but have much less wealth than men and own a very small proportion of the world’s property.

The conflict between women and men will be visible in how the work is organised, what the distribution of opportunities is between males and females, the nature of the gender relationships in groups and so on. It can be difficult to deal with because of social sensitivities and social norms, especially in societies where women are supposed to show modesty. But it does require at least partial resolution if you are to get the best out of your groups. If the feminists are right, women are the key to social progress. You will be able to help young women and men understand this concept, as you work with them to build up women’s skills and enormous potential.

3. Human Relations

Human relations theorists have extended the ideas of functionalism by a sophisticated analysis of what managers and leaders need to do in order to manage conflict in human groups. As a youth development worker are being trained to mediate and manage: to recognise the signs of dysfunctional behaviour among your clients, to analyse the likely causes of it, and to make adjustments to the situation so that your group can pursue and meet its objectives satisfactorily. The reason behind this training philosophy comes from the ideas of functionalist administrators, who posit that conflict is the result of poor communication, narrow mindedness and lack of trust between people. The functionalist human relations view of conflict is consistent with the perspective of the local administrators who replaced the old colonialist authoritarianism in many Commonwealth countries.

The view that all conflict is the result of bad people management provides a clear framework for analysing the behaviour of people who create conflict, and for developing strategies to address that conflict. According to a functionalist human relations view, most

conflict can be avoided if we direct our attention to identifying the causes of conflict and focus on programmes that help people to avoid future conflict.

Skilled leaders and managers can reduce and resolve local conflict to a useful extent, depending on the nature of the conflict. While, for example, you will be unable to resolve major issues of gender conflict by confronting the local gender issues sensitively in your group work and developing the right insights and skills in the young men and women you work with, you can develop their skills to effectively deal with these issues in the real world.

Recent research indicates that the human relations approach to conflict reduction does not necessarily lead to improved long-term relationships between groups or individuals. Often the conflicts are structural, as in the case of the Mau Mau struggle against the colonial seizures of traditional Kikuyu land holdings in Kenya. Not even bodies as powerful as the United Nations can resolve structural issues very easily and effectively, as the ethnic conflicts in Somalia show.

The human relations view on conflict maintains that many conflicts cannot be avoided, and therefore have to be faced up to and worked through. Moreover, this view sees conflict as an opportunity; it offers a challenge to personal growth and development, as well as a means of promoting change or social cohesion, clarifying an issue or finding a solution to a problem. To this end, we can say that conflict can be an honest confrontation that respects diversity, and creates environments where differences can be expressed non-aggressively.

Those who endured the kind of savage political conflicts that took place in Nazi Germany, in wartime, China following the Japanese invasion, in Rwanda and in Darfur have undoubtedly found it extremely difficult to achieve any kind of resolution. And it seems almost insulting to view conflict through a human relations lens, as a means to resolving those post-conflict traumas that are so horrific.

However, the social and psychological damage done by such trauma needs to be undone if that is possible. Social healing is clearly demonstrated in the Amnesty Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, where people who have committed even the most horrendous of racist and political crimes are enabled to face their accusers in open court.

With the prospect of amnesty and therefore without threat, they are enabled to acknowledge their guilt through a full confession, and to plead mitigation if there is any, while the evidence for and against them is made public. The end of the process is moral and public forgiveness. The alternative is a life of hiding, fear and reprisals, and bitterness and revenge. In the words of Tanya Glaser of the Conflict Research Consortium (at the University of Colorado, USA):

“Amnesty also suits the Commission’s philosophical approach to justice. Justice is achieved not by retribution, but by the restoration of community. Healing communities requires truth telling, forgiveness, acceptance and trust.”

4. Interactionist

The interactionist view on conflict has many similarities with the human relations view. Both rely on social interaction and relationships between groups and between individuals to perceive conflict. The core of the interactionist view is that the processes of social interaction have a powerfully influential effect on the behaviour of the members of an interacting group. Where a group interacts over a period of time, this may be very influential in deciding members' long-term characteristics, such as the intelligence and skill of their interactive behaviour, their self-beliefs and so on. In managing groups, interactionists can very usefully encourage creative conflict on the basis that an over-friendly, cosy set of group relationships can be prone to stand still, becoming dull and unresponsive to the need for change. The interactionist approach encourages group leaders to preserve an ongoing undercurrent of conflict to ensure the group remains innovative, self-critical and self-developing so that individuals can increase their opened potential in a given situation.

Skilled teachers make use of the natural conflicts of views and opinions in groups in order to stimulate new thinking and to get their students searching underneath their opinions for evidence and logical argument. This can even be done in science classes, where students can be stimulated to explore and challenge each other over the reasons for the phenomena they are investigating. Knowing that people can build up their insights and skills themselves by these processes enables the teacher to teach in greater depth.

1.3 Nature of Conflict²

- **Culture, race, and ethnicity:**² Our varying cultural backgrounds influence us to hold certain beliefs about the social structure of our world, as well as the role of conflict in that experience. We may have learned to value substantive, procedural and psychological needs differently as a result, thus influencing our willingness to engage in various modes of negotiation and efforts to manage the conflict
- **Gender and sexuality:**³ Men and women often perceive situations somewhat differently, based on both their experiences in the world (which relates to power and privilege, as do race and ethnicity) and socialization patterns that reinforce the importance of relationships vs. task, substance vs. process, immediacy vs. long-term outcomes. As a result, men and women will often approach conflictive situations with differing mindsets about the desired outcomes from the situation, as well as the set of possible solutions that may exist.
- **Knowledge (general and situational):** Parties respond to given conflicts on the basis of the knowledge they may have about the issue at hand. This includes situation-specific knowledge (i.e., "Do I understand what is going on here?") and general knowledge (i.e., "Have I experienced this type of situation before?" or "Have I studied about similar situations before?"). Such information can influence the person's willingness to engage in efforts to manage the conflict, either

² <https://www.ohrd.wisc.edu/onlinetraining/resolution/aboutwhatisit.htm>

reinforcing confidence to deal with the dilemma or undermining one's willingness to flexibly consider alternatives.

- **Impressions of the Messenger:** If the person sharing the message - the messenger - is perceived to be a threat (powerful, scary, unknown, etc.), this can influence our responses to the overall situation being experienced. For example, if a big scary-looking guy is approaching me rapidly, yelling "Get out of the way!" I may respond differently than if a diminutive, calm person would express the same message to me. As well, if I knew either one of them previously, I might respond differently based upon that prior sense of their credibility: I am more inclined to listen with respect to someone I view as credible than if the message comes from someone who lacks credibility and integrity in my mind.
- **Previous experiences:** Some of us have had profound, significant life experiences that continue to influence our perceptions of current situations. These experiences may have left us fearful, lacking trust, and reluctant to take risks. On the other hand, previous experiences may have left us confident, willing to take chances and experience the unknown. Either way, we must acknowledge the role of previous experiences as elements of our perceptual filter in the current dilemma.

1.4 Functions of Conflict

Here are some of the positive aspects noted by Coser (1956):

- Conflict helps establish our identity and independence. Conflicts, especially at earlier stages of your life, help you assert your personal identity as separate from the aspirations, beliefs and behaviours of those around you.
- Intensity of conflict demonstrates the closeness and importance of relationships. Intimate relationships require us to express opposing feelings such as love and anger. The coexistence of these emotions in a relationship create a sharpness when conflicts arise. While the intensity of emotions can threaten the relationship, if they are dealt with constructively, they also help us measure the depth and importance of the relationship.
- Conflict can build new relationships. At times, conflict brings together people who did not have a previous relationship. During the process of conflict and its resolution, these parties may find out that they have common interests and then work to maintain an ongoing relationship.
- Conflict can create coalitions. Similar to building relationships, sometimes adversaries come together to build coalitions to achieve common goals or fend off a common threat. During the conflict, previous antagonism is suppressed to work towards these greater goals.
- Conflict serves as a safety-valve mechanism which helps to sustain relationships. Relationships which repress disagreement or conflict grow rigid over time, making them brittle. Exchanges of conflict, at times through the assistance of a third-party, allows people to vent pent-up hostility and reduce tension in a relationship.
- Conflict helps parties assess each other's power and can work to redistribute power in a system of conflict. Because there are few ways to truly measure the power of the other party, conflicts sometimes arise to allow parties to assess one another's strength. In cases where there is an imbalance of power, a party may seek ways to

increase its internal power. This process can often change the nature of power within the conflict system.

- Conflict establishes and maintains group identities. Groups in conflict tend to create clearer boundaries which help members determine who is part of the “in-group” and who is part of the “out-group”. In this way, conflict can help individuals understand how they are part of a certain group and mobilise them to take action to defend the group’s interests.
- Conflicts enhance group cohesion through issue and belief clarification. When a group is threatened, its members pull together in solidarity. As they clarify issues and beliefs, renegades and dissenters are weeded out of the group, creating a more sharply defined ideology on which all members agree.
- Conflict creates or modifies rules, norms, laws and institutions. It is through the raising of issues that rules, norms, laws and institutions are changed or created. Problems or frustrations left unexpressed result in the maintaining of the status quo.

1.5 Self-assessment Questions

Q. 1 Define Conflict and also elaborate the origin of conflict.

Q.2 Discuss in detail the functions of conflict.

Q.3 Write a detail note on nature of conflict.

Suggested Books

1. Conflict Resolution for the Helping Professions: Negotiation, Mediation, Advocacy, Facilitation, and Restorative Justice. By: Allan Edward Barsky, Professor Social Work Allan Barsky Oxford University Press, 24-Jan-2017.
2. Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action, by: Simon Fisher, Zed Books, 04-Nov-2000 – Political Science
3. Teaching the Skills of Conflict Resolution: Activities and Strategies for Counselors and Teachers, By: David Cowan, Susanna Palomares, Dianne Schilling Innerchoice Publishing, 1992 – Conflict Management.
4. The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice by: Morton Deutsch, Peter T. Coleman, Eric C. Marcus John Wiley & Sons, 04-Mar-2011 – Business & Economics.
5. Mediation Skills and Strategies: A Practical Guide by: Tony Whatling, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 15-Apr-2012 - Law

Unit 2

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, student will be able to:

1. define the relevant term and definitions.
2. discuss the causes of disputes and conflict.
3. define the circle of conflict.
4. describe the sources and causes of conflict.

MAJOR TOPICS

- Terms and Definitions
- Causes of Dispute and Conflict
- Circle of Conflict
- Sources and Causes of Conflict

2.1 Terms and Definitions

The management of conflict¹ has three main dimensions;

1. The repertoire of formal and informal, autonomous and intervention based, procedures available for confronting and handling the conflict
2. The understandings and skills for recognizing and making sense of conflict, for imagining alternatives and for communicating to pursue resolution
3. The individual and community relationships context within which conflicts may emerge, feel, and be understood as problems by participants, and evolve, escalate, or de-escalate.

The new field of conflict resolution in the 1950s² defined itself in relation to the challenge of understanding and transforming destructive human conflicts of this kind. In contrast to older established fields, such as international relations, conflict resolution was to be:

- multilevel: analysis and resolution had to embrace all levels of conflict: intra- personal (inner conflict), interpersonal, intergroup (families, neighbourhoods, affiliations), international, regional, global, and the complex interplays between them;
- multidisciplinary: in order to learn how to address complex conflict systems adequately, the new field had to draw on many disciplines, including politics, international relations, strategic studies, development studies, individual and social psychology, etc.;
- multicultural: since human conflict is a worldwide phenomenon within an increasingly intricate and interconnected local/global cultural web, this had to be a truly cooperative international enterprise, in terms of both the geographical locations where conflict is encountered and the conflict resolution initiatives deployed to address them;
- both analytic and normative: the foundation of the study of conflict was to be systematic analysis and interpretation of the ‘statistics of deadly quarrels’ (polymology), but this was to be combined from the outset with the normative aim of learning how better thereby to transform actually or potentially violent conflict into non- violent processes of social, political and other forms of change;
- both theoretical and practical: the conflict resolution field was to be constituted by a constant mutual interplay between theory and practice: only when theoretical understanding and practical experience of what works and what does not work are connected can properly informed experience develop.

2.2 What Causes Disputes and Conflict?

Economic conflict is brought about by a limited amount of resources. The groups or individuals involved then comes into conflict to attain the most of these resources, thus bringing forth hostile behaviors among those involved. Aggravating conditions worsen a conflict, make outbreak, escalation and intense conflict more likely.

¹ **Handbook of Conflict Management** - edited by William J. Pammer, Jerri Killian

² <http://www.polity.co.uk/ccr/contents/chapters/1.pdf>

Three such conditions affect international Conflict Behavior generally, regardless of phase or sub-phase. One is sociocultural dissimilarity, which makes opposing interest more likely and aggravates communications between parties. The second is cognitive imbalance, or the imbalance in relationships or status between parties. Such can create a pressure towards misperception and miscommunication, and necessitate a conflict aggravating readjustment.

A third aggravator is the overall status difference (distance vector), or rank between parties. Relative status is a basic force between states, as between individuals, and differences in wealth (e.g., a rich-poor gap), in power, and in prestige can interject status considerations into a conflict. And make it far more difficult to resolve.

Value conflict is concerned with the varied preferences and ideologies that people have as their principles. Conflicts driven by this factor are demonstrated in wars wherein separate parties have sets of beliefs that they assert (in an aggressive manner at that).

Value conflicts are caused by perceived or actual incompatible belief systems. Values are beliefs that people use to give meaning to their lives. Values explain what is "good" or "bad," "right" or "wrong," "just" or "unjust" Differing values need not cause conflict. People can live together in harmony with different value systems. Value disputes arise only when people attempt to force one set of values on others or lay claim to exclusive value systems that do not allow for divergent beliefs. It is of no use to try to change value and belief systems during relatively short and strategic mediation interventions. It can, however, be helpful to support each participant's expression of their values and beliefs for acknowledgment by the other party.

The conflict between values is the source of many conflicts and problems today. In contrast to the traditional conflict of values, the following features distinguish the contemporary conflict: (1) extensiveness; (2) complicatedness; (3) profoundness; and (4) continuousness. The plurality and relativity of values is the primary cause of contemporary conflicts. The origin of pluralism lies in an interrelated trio of aspects: commodity economy, democratic politics, and individualism.

Power conflict occurs when the parties involved intends to maximize what influence it has in the social setting. Such a situation can happen among individuals, groups or even nations. In other types of conflict, power is also evident as it involves an asserting of influence to another. A sufficient cause of conflict is one whose occurrence produces conflict. There is only one such cause, and it is of a conflict situation, not formal or official conflict behavior. This is a significant change in the balance of powers, that is in the interests, capabilities, and/or wills of one or both parties

Such change therefore has a dual effect. It produces a conflict situation, perhaps manifested in tension, hostility, friction, coolness, and anti-foreign demonstrations. Interstate relations remain "correct," but beneath the pot is boiling. And this change is a

necessary cause for the subsequent Conflict Behavior (as shown in the phase map), once expectations have been disrupted.

Note that there is a logical relationship between incongruent expectations as a necessary and sufficient cause of hostility and tension, and a significant change in the balance of powers as a sufficient cause. "Significant" is defined in terms of those changes in the interests, capabilities, and wills comprising a balance of powers that creates a gap with regard to expectations. That is, what states want, can get, or are resolved to get are no longer consistent with their understandings or agreements.

The more relative power a state has the more global its contacts and interests and the more concern over its reputation for power. Great power is not necessary or sufficient for conflict behavior. Weak states do conflict; do go to war. But power does stimulate and aggravate issues, giving them a more global significance. And centralized state power means also that resources can be controlled and directed towards a conflict and domestic restraints manipulated. The more power the parties have in a conflict, the more conflict behavior there is likely to be.

Part of developing an effective intervention strategy is knowing the general categories of causes of conflict. One model (see Moore, 1996) identifies five sources of conflict:

1. Data or information conflict, which involves lack of information and misinformation, as well as differing views on what data are relevant, the interpretation of that data and how the assessment is performed.
2. Relationship conflict, which results from strong emotions, stereotypes, miscommunication and repetitive negative behaviour. It is this type of conflict which often provides fuel for disputes and can promote destructive conflict even when the conditions to resolve the other sources of conflict can be met.
3. Value conflict, which arises over ideological differences or differing standards on evaluation of ideas or behaviours. The actual or perceived differences in values do not necessarily lead to conflict. It is only when values are imposed on groups or groups are prevented from upholding their value systems that conflict arises.
4. Structural conflict, which is caused by unequal or unfair distributions of power and resources. Time constraints, destructive patterns of interaction and un-conducive geographical or environmental factors contribute to structural conflict.
5. Interest conflict, which involves actual or perceived competition over interests, such as resources, the way a dispute is to be resolved, or perceptions of trust and fairness.

2.3 The Circle of Conflict

The Circle of Conflict Model, adapted by Gary Furlong³ in *The Conflict Resolution Toolbox*, provides a means for diagnosing and addressing conflict through examining the five primary causes of conflict: Data, Values, Relationships, Externals/Moods, and

Furlong, Gary. *The Conflict Resolution Toolbox*. Ontario: John Wiley & Sons, 2005.

Structure. Furlong's model also includes a placeholder for Interests, which are the key to resolving conflict. The model can be used as a tool for diagnosing the components of the conflict and as a process-directing tool for facilitating resolution of the dispute.

It is important to fully analyze the conflict using all five conflict components and interests. However, when facilitating resolution, it is important to focus on the conflict's Data, Structure, and Interests, opposed to Values, Relationship, and External/Moods, which are more difficult to resolve. This approach is recommended because there is a greater chance of reaching resolution through reconciling the parties' less intractable Data, Structure, and Interests. It is common for conflicts that involve all five components to be resolved when the Data, Structure, and Interest needs are satisfied.

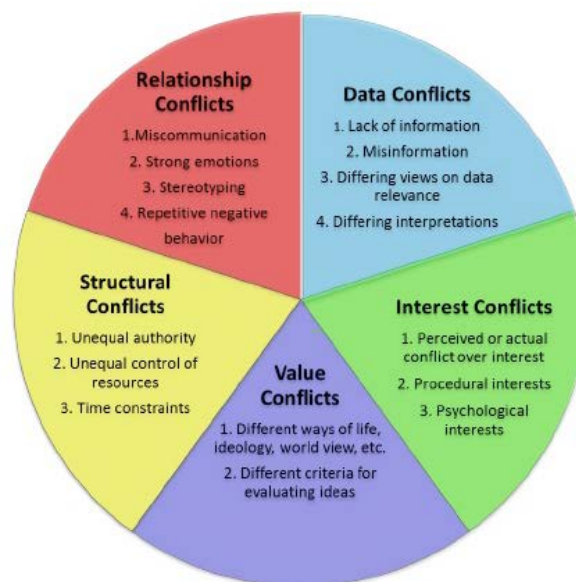
Applying the Circle of Conflict;

1. Observe what people are saying and doing
2. Identify and name one or more sources of conflict
3. Take action where you can to address and resolve conflict.

Conflict Orientation

Everyone has an orientation towards conflict. Take time to reflect on yours conflict and that of others. The orientation that supports movement from talk to action has two elements:

1. Conflict is normal and necessary to the work of achieving results
2. It is possible to address and resolve conflicts.



Adapted from:
Christopher Moore, *The Mediation Process*, Third Edition (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass), 2003.

The *Values* section of the Circle of Conflict model “includes all the values and beliefs held by the parties that are contributing to the conflict.” The values can be what Furlong calls “terminal or life defining values” or “day-to-day values.” Terminal values include religious beliefs, morals, ethical views, and beliefs arising from cultural norms. Day-to-day values include basic values like wearing seat belts, workplace values, politeness; etc. When values of two or more individuals or groups lead to the perception of incompatible aspirations, conflict ensues or is escalated.

The *Relationship* section of the model represents conflicts driven by “specific negative experiences in the past.” The parties’ negative experiences with one another can lead to “poor or failed communication” and “stereotypes.” Relationship issues can ignite or further fuel and existing conflict between parties.

The *Externals/Moods* section of the model “covers external factors not directly a part of the situation, but that are still contributing to the conflict.” The list of potential Externals is limitless. Any factor not directly involved in the parties’ dispute which leads to or drives the conflict is an External.

The *Data* section of the model identifies incorrect, incomplete, and differential information as a cause of conflict. The section also encompasses differing interpretations of shared information, too much information, and issues with efficient collection of information, as issues that can create and escalate conflicts.

The *Structure* section of the model represents three distinct drivers of conflict. Conflict occurring due to competition for limited resources, lack of authority to solve a problem, and divergent priorities within working groups are types of structural conflict.

Interests are party’s needs, wants, fears, and hopes in relation to the conflict. Interests are often why a party wants what they are stating as their position? Understanding each party’s interests and facilitating the development of options to solve the parties’ underlying problems are key steps to resolving conflict. Christopher Moore identified three types of interests: procedural, emotional, and substantive, which he included in his Triangle of Satisfaction model.

<i>If you see or hear....</i>	<i>You might...</i>
VALUES CONFLICTS	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People leaving the room (flight) • Strong disagreements about what is right or wrong (fight) • Avoidance of specific topics • Reacting to specific topics as if discussing the topic will challenge identity or assumptions the way the world is 	Name the type of <i>values disagreements</i> and choose an appropriate approach. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adopt a group norm, such as respectful listening to address habits. • Explore underlying assumptions and experience to develop options to address differences in principles. • Use appreciative inquiry to explore similarities and differences in worldviews and belief systems and illuminate the benefits of working together.
RELATIONSHIP CONFLICTS	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People choosing where to sit to avoid someone • Awkward silences and meaningful glances in response to who is speaking • Tension seemingly unrelated to the substantive topic. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore <i>relationships barriers</i> by noticing here and how the tension shows up - between which people or groups? • Find ways for the people holding the tension to experience each other in new ways. As mutual understanding develops begin to address the history of their relationship through redress, acceptance, or forgiveness.
DATA CONFLICTS	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Differences about data relevance • Different interpretations of the same data • Different ways of collecting data. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bring the <i>data challenges</i> explicitly into the conversation and focus on the use of different data, different definitions, and different interpretations. • Encourage the use of the "best available data" and work together to develop "better data".
LANGUAGE CONFLICTS	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same words mean different things. • People "cross-talking", e.g., not being in the same conversation • People "listening for" different things. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify the language differences and focus on meaning underlying the words, rather than the words themselves. • Encourage the use of common language with common definitions. • Explore MBTI3 communication preferences.
INTEREST CONFLICTS	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zero sum mentality • People holding a position • People not exploring each other's interests or articulating their own. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illuminate the competing interests underlying people's positions and use Interest Based Negotiation⁴ to achieve a "win-win" solution by separating the "people" from the "problem", building relationships, and adopting criteria to choose options BEFORE making decisions
STRUCTURAL CONFLICTS	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People looking to others for "permission" to speak • Fear, anger about the "way things are" • Use of hierarchical authority in collaborative settings. • An "inner circle" with more influence • Speech and/or behavior inferring that one gender, race, class or culture is "subordinate" to another. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Name the structural factors influencing behavior. • Find opportunities for people to create conversations about those factors and how they affect their roles and authority. • Develop strategies to either: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Move to action on the structural factors that are within the individual or collective spheres of influence ○ Identify structural elements that others can influence and enroll them

[http://www.alaeditions.org/files/Stoltz Inspired WE/Stoltz WebExtraA.pdf](http://www.alaeditions.org/files/Stoltz%20Inspired%20WE/Stoltz%20WebExtraA.pdf)

1. Furlong, Gary. *The Conflict Resolution Toolbox*. Ontario: John Wiley & Sons, 2005.

2.4 Sources and Causes of Conflict

Early reviews in the field of conflict resolution identified a large number of schemes for describing sources or types of conflict (Fink, 1968; Mack & Snyder, 1958). One of the early theorists on conflict, Daniel Katz (1965), created a typology that distinguishes three main sources of conflict: economic, value, and power.

1. Economic conflict involves competing motives to attain scarce resources. Each party wants to get the most that it can, and the behavior and emotions of each party are directed toward maximizing its gain. Union and management conflict often has as one of its sources the incompatible goals of how to slice up the “economic pie”.
2. Value conflict involves incompatibility in ways of life, ideologies – the preferences, principles and practices that people believe in. International conflict (e.g., the Cold War) often has a strong value component, wherein each side asserts the rightness and superiority of its way of life and its political-economic system.
3. Power conflict occurs when each party wishes to maintain or maximize the amount of influence that it exerts in the relationship and the social setting. It is impossible for one party to be stronger without the other being weaker, at least in terms of direct influence over each other. Thus, a power struggle ensues which usually ends in a victory and defeat, or in a “stand-off” with a continuing state of tension. Power conflicts can occur between individuals, between groups or between nations, whenever one or both parties choose to take a power approach to the relationship. Power also enters into all conflict since the parties are attempting to control each other.

2.5 Self-assessment Questions

- Q. 1 Define the terms conflict management and conflict resolution with examples.
- Q.2 Discuss in detail, the causes of disputes and conflict.
- Q.3 Describe the circle of conflict.
- Q.4 Write down a comprehensive write on sources and causes of conflict.

Suggested Books

1. Conflict Resolution for the Helping Professions: Negotiation, Mediation, Advocacy, Facilitation, and Restorative Justice. By: Allan Edward Barsky, Professor Social Work Allan Barsky Oxford University Press, 24-Jan-2017.
2. Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action, by: Simon Fisher, Zed Books, 04-Nov-2000 – Political Science
3. Teaching the Skills of Conflict Resolution: Activities and Strategies for Counselors and Teachers, By: David Cowan, Susanna Palomares, Dianne Schilling Innerchoice Publishing, 1992 – Conflict Management.
4. The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice by: Morton Deutsch, Peter T. Coleman, Eric C. Marcus John Wiley & Sons, 04-Mar-2011 – Business & Economics.
5. Mediation Skills and Strategies: A Practical Guide by: Tony Whatling, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 15-Apr-2012 - Law

Unit 3 & 4

TYPES AND LEVELS OF CONFLICT

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Reviewed By: Farhana Khattak

OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, student will be able to:

1. define the types of conflict.
2. describe the conflict process model

MAJOR TOPICS

- Types of conflict
 - Disputes
 - Deeprooted conflict
 - Intrapersonal conflict
 - Interpersonal conflict
 - Intra group conflict
 - Inter group conflict
 - Intra – national conflict
 - International conflict
- Conflict process model
 - Potential for conflict
 - Recognition of conflict
 - Conflict handling styles
 - Conflict behaviour
 - Conflict outcomes

3.1 Types of Conflict

Conflict occurs in many different spheres (ranging from the personal to the broad social and environmental) and at different levels. We can identify four levels of conflict:

- Intra-personal: conflicts that occur within the consciousness of an individual
- Interpersonal: conflicts that occur between two or more individuals (including family and friends)
- Intra-group: conflicts that occur within a particular group
- Inter-group: conflicts that occur between two or more groups (e.g. ethnic or religious groups).

Sometimes inter-group and intra-group conflicts can be manifested at the organisational, national and international levels due to political, social, economic and even environmental factors. For example, tribal conflicts can surface among government agencies over supposedly non-tribal issues when governments are formulating social policy in the national context rather than the local, tribal context.

3.1.1 Disputes

Disputes are short-term disagreements that are relatively easy to resolve. Disputes involve interests that are negotiable. That means it is possible to find a solution that at least partially meets the interests and needs of both sides. For example, it generally is possible to find an agreeable price for a piece of merchandise. The seller may want more, the buyer may want to pay less, but eventually they can agree on a price that is acceptable to both. Likewise, co-workers may disagree about who is to do what task in an office. After negotiating, each may have to do something they did not want to do, but in exchange they will get enough of what they did want to settle the dispute

3.1.2 Deep-rooted Conflict

Long-term, deep-rooted problems that involve seemingly non-negotiable issues and are resistant to resolution are referred to as conflicts. Long-term conflicts, on the other hand, usually involve non-negotiable issues. They may involve deep-rooted moral or value differences, high-stakes distributional questions, or conflicts about who dominates whom. Fundamental human psychological needs for identity, security, and recognition are often at issue as well. None of these issues are negotiable. People will not compromise fundamental values. They will not give up their chance for a better life by submitting to continued injustice or domination, nor will they change or give up their self-identity. Deep-rooted conflicts over these types of issues tend to be drawn out and highly resistant to resolution, often escalating or evolving into intractable conflicts.

3.1.3 Intrapersonal Conflict

Intrapersonal conflict occurs within an individual. The experience takes place in the person's mind. Hence, it is a type of conflict that is psychological involving the individual's thoughts, values, principles and emotions. Interpersonal conflict may come in different scales, from the simpler mundane ones like deciding whether or not to go organic for lunch to ones that can affect major decisions such as choosing a career path.

Furthermore, this type of conflict can be quite difficult to handle if you find it hard to decipher your inner struggles. It leads to restlessness and uneasiness, or can even cause depression. In such occasions, it would be best to seek a way to let go of the anxiety through communicating with other people. Eventually, when you find yourself out of the situation, you can become more empowered as a person. Thus, the experience evoked a positive change which will help you in your own personal growth.

This refers to a state of implosion in an individual shaped by the state of mind. It is however important to know that such human state is largely dictated by circumstances around him. Such situations are anger, depression, confusion, frustration, which could lead to aggression, erratic behavior, addiction and in extreme cases, suicide (Ross, 1993). This is the kind of conflict that has been described as “man against self” (Lamb, 2008), in which man continues to contend or battle with his mind and habits. Smoking, drug use, alcoholism, as well as lying are some addictive habits that man may continually contend with; even when he desires to stop, he may find himself continuing it. This is intra-personal conflict or “man against self”.

3.1.4 Interpersonal Conflict

Interpersonal conflict refers to a conflict between two individuals. This occurs typically due to how people are different from one another. We have varied personalities which usually results to incompatible choices and opinions. Apparently, it is a natural occurrence which can eventually help in personal growth or developing your relationships with others. In addition, coming up with adjustments is necessary for managing this type of conflict. However, when interpersonal conflict gets too destructive, calling in a mediator would help so as to have it resolved.

This is what has been described as “man against man” in the micro sense. This type of conflict may be direct opposition, as in exchange of blows, a gunfight or a robbery, or it may be a more subtle conflict between the desires of two or more persons (Nikolajeva, 2005). A boxing or wrestling match is a kind of game, but the act on the mat depicts conflict. Conflict in this sense is a fight between people. However, conflict does not always translate to physical exchange of blows. Malice or ‘cold attitude’ to each other already underscores conflict. Conflict thus also means implicit hostility. It may not be obvious to the third party, but the disagreeing or unfriendly parties already understand that there is a state of discontent between them.

3.1.5 Intragroup Conflict

Intragroup conflict is a type of conflict that happens among individuals within a team. The incompatibilities and misunderstandings among these individuals lead to an intragroup conflict. It arises from interpersonal disagreements (e.g. team members have different personalities which may lead to tension) or differences in views and ideas (e.g. in a presentation, members of the team might find the notions presented by the one presiding to be erroneous due to their differences in opinion). Within a team, conflict can be helpful in coming up with decisions which will eventually allow them to reach their objectives as a team. However, if the degree of conflict disrupts harmony among the

members, then some serious guidance from a different party will be needed for it to be settled.

3.1.6 Intergroup Conflict

Intergroup conflict takes place when a misunderstanding arises among different teams within an organization. For instance, the sales department of an organization can come in conflict with the customer support department. This is due to the varied sets of goals and interests of these different groups. In addition, competition also contributes for intergroup conflict to arise. There are other factors which fuel this type of conflict. Some of these factors may include a rivalry in resources or the boundaries set by a group to others which establishes their own identity as a team.

Indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, rich and poor, governing political parties and their oppositions, women and men, young people and the police are all examples of interacting sets of groups that have a potential for conflict, as they may have very divergent goals.

Considering inter-group behaviour as characterised by Hogg and Abrams in citing Summary above, the relationship between these groups may often be oppositional. This influences the quality of life and behavioural characteristics of the people involved in these groups.

Conflict among groups can come from many sources and take many different guises. As the young are usually the ones who suffer most during violent conflicts, it is important that you are aware of the bases for such conflicts. There are several overarching factors that, in various combinations, give rise to conflicts at various levels. The factors that can originate inter-group conflict can be broadly categorised as:

1. political
2. social and cultural
3. economic
4. geopolitical

The impact of conflict on group dynamics, both intra-group and inter-group, is dramatic. Inter-group conflict that is not addressed tends to reappear, and each time it does the situation becomes susceptible to rapid escalation. Within a group, conflict with another group tends to increase solidarity and compliance with group norms, following the group's policy line. A good example of this type of group behaviour is seen in political parties just before elections.

More often than not, power and status inequalities are the most critical problems of inter-group relations. The low-power group is more vulnerable, so it censors communication that might invoke retribution from a high-power group, such as on dissatisfaction with working conditions. As a result, the high-power group remains ignorant of information considered sensitive by the low-power group, which in turn experiences frustration and relative deprivation as a result of their own group discipline. Such a situation is

particularly true in cases where there is intense competition over scarce resources, and can be best described as a self-reproducing cycle of fear and ignorance. This is the sort of case you might meet in a non-unionised factory, where workers lack the formal structure and legitimacy of a trade union to enable them to voice their grievances without hostility. The long-term outcomes of this cycle of fear and ignorance are either a heightened feeling of being oppressed (a very destructive form of too little conflict) or scattered outbreaks of violence and guerrilla tactics, as individuals lose any feeling of social and personal commitment to the workplace.

<http://www.typesofconflict.org/>

3.1.7 Intra-national Conflict

Intra-State Conflicts: This type of conflict is confined within the borders of a sovereign state. Such economic factors as land, uneven development, resource control and revenue-sharing formula could cause a conflict within a state. These include civil conflicts precipitated by deepening political cleavages, economic distress, and growing inequalities, which in worst case scenarios can lead to the erosion of government legitimacy, a breakdown of law and order, and escalating ungovernability. State weakness can spawn the creation of armed criminal gangs and armed vigilante groups, provoke inter-ethnic conflicts, anti-immigrant pogroms, separatist movements, and significant refugee outflows. Such developments will also stimulate the growth of organized crime and smuggling operations transcending national borders.

3.1.8 International Conflict

Inter-State Conflicts: This type of conflict is also known as international conflict. This is a conflict between two or more states. In some cases, this type of conflict degenerates to a state of war. We must remember that all wars are described as conflict. As such, all inter-state wars are same as international conflict. Inter-state conflict can be caused by territorial encroachment by another state, breakdown of diplomatic ties, exportation of toxic or contrabands to another country, et cetera.

These may include conflicts over the status of disputed territories and the treatment of ethnic kindred in which intra-state conflicts can pull neighboring powers into the fray. They can also involve energy conflicts and other resource disputes stemming from the short and long-term impact of climate change. For example, the melting of the northern polar ice enables greater access to the region's abundant oil and gas reserves, whose location could be a source of territorial disputes between Arctic littoral states leading to the region's militarization.

Leaders and citizens with inherited and learned patterns of human aggression who live in oppressive, weak, or overly aggressive states, interacting with each other in the absence of an overarching restraining global authority, should inevitably be drawn into violent international conflict

Those who examine conflict as the product of individual cognitive processes, as well as intergroup dysfunction, also have contributed greatly to our understanding of

international conflict, and thus to its resolution. From psychology and sociology, we have come to understand how symbols are used to mobilize followers, how easy it is to create out-groups by fomenting exclusive identities (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), and how social exclusion social exclusion and moral exclusivity (Opatow, 1990) ultimately pave the way for violence against out-groups and, thus, war.

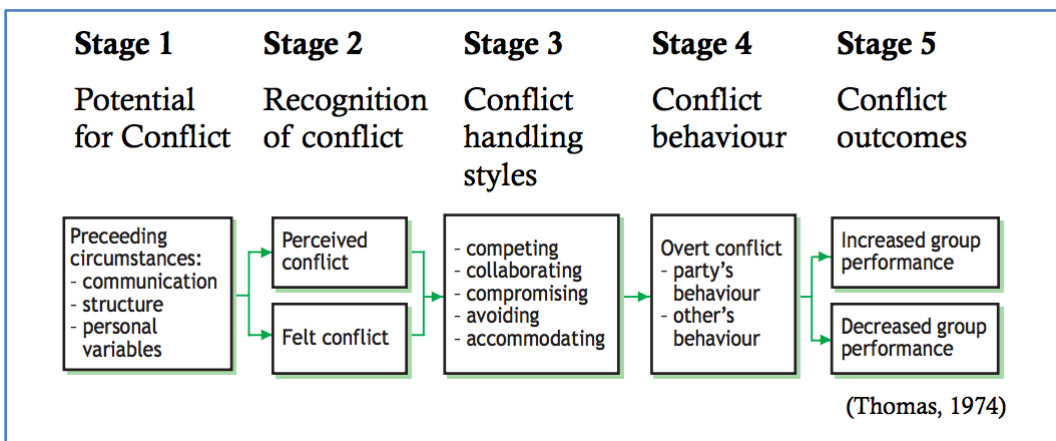
Real wars persist and contemporary explanations have delved into the structures of states, as well as the dynamics of intergroup processes and the persistence of grievances real or constructed. Since the middle of the twentieth century, according to data from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, the number of active civil wars has increased, and the number of interstate wars has decreased. Civil wars spiked in the early 1990s, then declined precipitously over the following ten years, but they remain at about double the number now as in 1950. Meanwhile, purely interstate war seems to be almost—but not quite—extinct (Themnéer and Wallensteen, 2012).

4. The Conflict Process Model

The conflict process can be modelled around five stages:

1. Potential for conflict
2. Recognition of conflict
3. Conflict handling styles
4. Conflict behaviour
5. Conflict outcomes.

The following flowchart offers a representation of how these five stages relate to each other as well as what happens at each stage.



The Five Stages

Stage 1: Potential for Conflict

The first stage in the conflict process is the presence of circumstances that have the potential for conflict – that is, a pre-conflict situation. The circumstances do not necessarily result in conflict, but at least one of these circumstances needs to be present if conflict is to occur.

The sources of conflict can be categorised into three groups of issues where problems can arise:

- Communication
- Structure
- Personal variables

Communication

While communication problems are clearly not the cause of all conflicts, they are the most frequently cited source of interpersonal conflict. Barriers to effective communication can include:

- the use of language that is incomprehensible to the receiver of the message
- the emotional states of the sender and receiver
- filtered or inadequate information from the sender
- selective hearing and perception by the receiver.

Good communication can make the effective resolution of conflict possible; poor communication can block people from collaborating and can perpetuate misunderstandings.

Research has established that conflict can occur not only when there is too little communication taking place, but also when too much communication takes place. An increase in communication is functional up to a certain point. After that point an increase in communication becomes increasingly dysfunctional, with more potential for conflict. Both information overload and lack of information can cause conflict.

Communication Channels

The communication channel chosen by the sender can also cause friction when it is not the channel to which the receiver is accustomed. Many of the countries in the Commonwealth have an oral tradition, where history and culture are communicated to the next generation by word of mouth, sometimes in the form of myths or stories with a deeper moral or practical meaning. Unless you are accustomed to the style of oral transmission being used, there is always the possibility of not really hearing what is being said. The same is also true of writing. Many cultures have a written tradition, where information is passed on through books and newspapers. But where this writing is taking

place, and the traditions that have been built up in the writing medium, will determine how well you can decide what is being said. When you first look at social science writing, for example, you will probably be puzzled by what is being said. Then, when you get used to it, it becomes part of your thinking and no longer baffles you.

Preferred communication channels should, as far as possible, be employed to avoid causing friction. This issue was taken into consideration when developing the Diploma in Youth Development, as people's preferred communication channel affects their favoured learning style.

A major part of development worker role is communicating with a wide range of people in a variety of different circumstances, including young people, co-workers, government officials, parents, other members of the community, volunteers, journalists and teachers. Different groups will have somewhat different preferred modes of communication – ranging, for example, from informal and intimate when dealing with young people in group to socially distant and formal when reporting to funding or management committees.

One of the skills youth workers need is to be clever at working out what is the best way to communicate with the different groups and individuals they meet. It is important to be able to adapt your communication style to each situation, particularly when there is a potential conflict situation. In your workplace, try listening to and observing groups and individuals at work, and see what you can learn from those who are good at communication. It takes time to develop real skill.

Structure the word 'structure', as one of the groups of issues where conflict can arise, is used in the context of interpersonal relationships to describe, for example:

- an asymmetrical relationship between individuals (e.g., teacher and student, parent and child)
- important differences in power (e.g., the differences in social power between oneself and one's peers, the youth development worker and a young person)
- the roles and role-related activities that are assigned to people.

In a group context, the term is used to include:

- the size and organisation of the group, including definitions of roles and the authority allocated to each group member in a specific situation
- style of leadership
- range and compatibility of group members' goals (e.g., there is a potential for conflict if members of a netball team have vastly different goals in being part of the team, such as some wanting just to socialise and others to compete and win, particularly when the team is failing to perform in the league).

Groups within organisations, associations or communities have diverse goals. Within a youth organisation, some groups may be primarily interested in sporting activities – and would like, for example, to see the acquisition of volleyball net. Other groups may be interested in conducting a fund-raising event to send a representative to a United Nations Youth Forum, and others may want to run training workshops on environmental issues.

This sort of diversity of goals between different groups in an organisation is potentially a major source of conflict. Due to limited resources, when one group achieves its goals it is likely to frustrate the other groups who have lost out in gaining the available resources. In addition, reward systems have been found to create conflict when one group member gains something at the expense of others. For example, the selection of one particular representative to the United Nations Youth Forum could cause friction in the group that has achieved that goal. Also, if one group is dependent on other groups to gain resources (the sports group needs everybody to participate in the fund-raising to get their equipment), the potential for conflict is increased.

Research shows that an authoritarian style of leadership, where the group leader has a great deal of control over other group members' behaviour and makes most of the decisions without consultation, increases latent conflict. However, other research shows that encouraging participation by group members in decision-making can also stimulate conflict.

Geert Hofstede is a Dutch researcher who has contributed a great deal to our understanding of the role of socio-cultural factors in the management of groups. Hofstede administered a survey to 116,000 employees with similar occupations in over fifty different national subsidiaries of the same multinational corporation. The questionnaire contained value statements that reflected four indices or dimensions along which the cultures of various countries differed. One of those dimensions was large/ small power distance (Hofstede 2001).

Power Distance

Large power distance describes a situation in which people accept that power is distributed unequally in organisations. Small power distance describes a situation in which people want power to be equally shared and will always require justification for any differences in power distribution. The former condition entails greater acceptance of hierarchy than the latter.

The following table shows the value of the index for thirteen Commonwealth countries in which Hofstede conducted research. The higher the number, the greater the tendency to large power distance.

Country	Power Distance Index
Australia	36
Britain	35
Canada	39
India	77
Jamaica	45
Malaysia	104
New Zealand	22
Pakistan	55
South Africa	49
Singapore	74
West Africa (Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone)	77

Strategies of group leadership that emphasise democratic consultation and decision-making are more congruent with small power distance cultures than cultures with large power distance.

Personal variables

Obviously, within a particular cultural norm, each individual has a unique value system and personality characteristics that are an aspect of individual differences. Differences in both value systems and personality characteristics are significant potential sources of conflict within any group.

Stage 2: Recognition of Conflict

The kind of situations described in Stage 1 can generate feelings of disappointment, frustration or anger. But the circumstances described only lead to conflict when one (or more) of the parties identifies the grounds for conflict and is affected by it. The latent conflict in a situation must be perceived by the parties involved for conflict to develop. However, just because they perceive the source of conflict does not mean that this will affect them enough emotionally to cause them anxiety and provoke pre-conflict behaviour.

Overt conflict incorporates a wide range of antagonistic behaviours, both on micro and macro levels. For example:

- co-workers arguing about having a desk in their office, then coming to blows
- national strikes turning into riots
- disputes leading to wars between neighbouring countries.

Stage 3: Conflict Handling Techniques

How do people deal with conflict? Which conflict handling techniques or strategies are successful at defusing conflict? Which are inappropriate and unsuccessful? These techniques or strategies are the bridge between people's perceptions and feelings, and their actual behaviour. Such strategies may result from conscious decisions that people make to handle a particular conflict in a certain way, and may result from their training in conflict resolution. But they could also be intuitive strategies that may or may not be appropriate.

It is important to recognise that there is no one correct way to handle conflict: it depends on the specific conditions of the situation. Nevertheless, depending on the situation, a particular type of conflict management style is likely to be the most appropriate.

It is important to recognise that making a deliberate choice of conflict handling style is a distinct and necessary stage in successfully managing conflict. Before responding to the behaviour of the other protagonist/s in a conflict situation, you need first to hypothesize quickly about what their intentions are likely to be and to base your strategy on that analysis. Careful analysis is necessary because one party inferring the wrong intentions from the other party's actions intensifies many conflicts. You need to remind yourself also that a person's behaviour does not always accurately reflect their intentions, particularly when emotions are running hot.

Dimensions of Conflict Handling Techniques

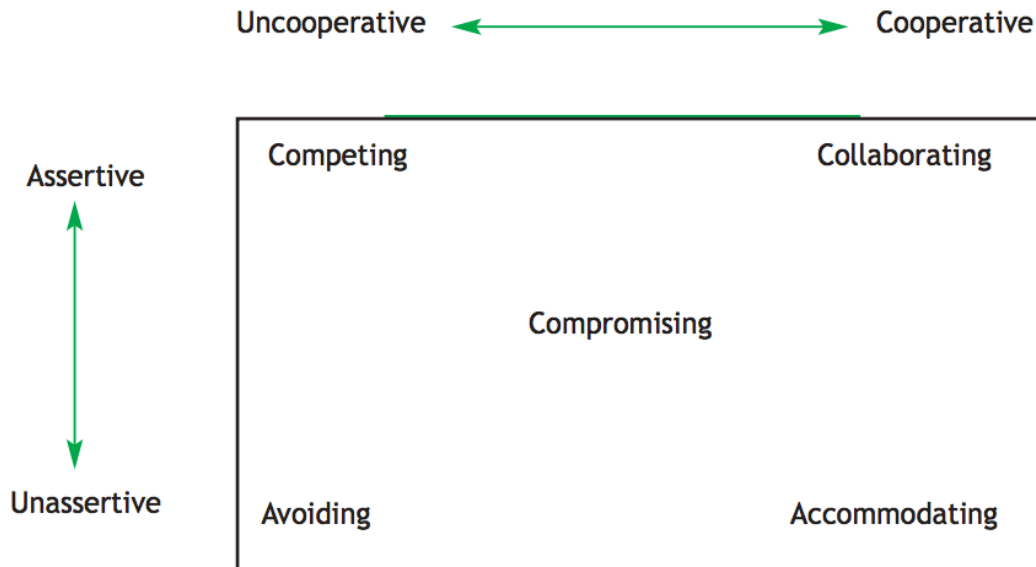
Kenneth Thomas, in his book *Conflict and Negotiation Processes in Organisations*, developed a model with five conflict handling techniques using two dimensions. These dimensions are:

1. Cooperativeness – the degree to which one party will attempt to satisfy the needs or wants of the other party involved in the conflict
2. Assertiveness – the degree to which one party attempts to satisfy his or her own needs or wants.

The five conflict handling styles that can be used to resolve conflict include:

- competing
- collaborating
- compromising
- avoiding
- accommodating.

The following diagram represents how the conflict handling techniques are situated in the spectrum of the cooperativeness and assertiveness dimensions. Analyse it carefully and note, for example, that an accommodating conflict handling techniques functions in the realms of the cooperative dimension.



Competing

Competing is a techniques in which one's own needs are advocated over the needs of others. It relies on an aggressive style of communication, low regard for future relationships, and the exercise of coercive power. Those using a competitive style tend to seek control over a discussion, in both substance and ground rules. They fear that loss of such control will result in solutions that fail to meet their needs. Competing tends to result in responses that increase the level of threat.

The aim is to win the conflict at all costs. When one party strives strongly to satisfy their needs and shows a corresponding unwillingness to consider the needs of the other party, regardless of the consequences, it means they are competing. In these win-lose contests, a party will use all their resources to gain a victory in their favour.

For example, consider a situation in a workplace where there are frequent minor disputes among staff members about things like the layout of the office. In an attempt to resolve this conflict, the office manager requires that each staff member put forward a proposed office layout. In this situation, each member involved in the conflict will invest all their resources into producing a layout that will ‘win’ the conflict.

This type of competition is an appropriate way to handle the conflict situation over the office layout. This is an example where a competing approach to handling conflict is appropriate, without any arbitration. There is a conflict – a competition for something that will put involved people in a conflict situation. Each goes at it with all they have to solve this conflict and win. This is seen as appropriate and acceptable in some situations.

Collaborating

Win/win – both parties strive for a solution that fully satisfies the needs and concerns of both.

When the parties to the conflict seek to explore their different perspectives and clarify differences, with a view to satisfying the concerns and needs of both parties, this is known as collaboration or confluence. In the process of clarifying differences, attention is devoted to developing and considering a full range of alternative solutions that may not have been canvassed initially by either party. This approach is considered by many behavioural scientists to be the best conflict handling style, and is certainly an important foundation to the conflict resolution process.

Collaborating is the pooling of individual needs and goals toward a common goal. Often called "win-win problem-solving," collaboration requires assertive communication and cooperation in order to achieve a better solution than either individual could have achieved alone. It offers the chance for consensus, the integration of needs, and the potential to exceed the "budget of possibilities" that previously limited our views of the conflict. It brings new time, energy, and ideas to resolve the dispute meaningfully.

Compromising

Both parties settle for a partial satisfaction of their needs, and give up something of value. In compromising, no one party is the clear winner. Both parties intend to give something up and accept a solution that provides incomplete satisfaction of their needs. Negotiations between employer bodies and workers' unions are an example of situations where a compromise may be required to reach a settlement on workers' conditions.

Compromising is an approach to conflict in which people gain and give in a series of tradeoffs. While satisfactory, compromise is generally not satisfying. We each remain shaped by our individual perceptions of our needs and don't necessarily understand the other side very well. We often retain a lack of trust and avoid risk-taking involved in more collaborative behaviors.

Avoiding

The desire of one of the parties to withdraw from the conflict is stronger than the desire to engage and resolve it, or to meet the needs of either oneself or the other party.

One or both parties recognise that a conflict exists but want to withdraw from the situation or to conceal their feelings about it. For example, you may have two young women in your youth group who has fought over the same young man, and who now avoid each other, because he has chosen one of them. They have different sets of friends and rarely come at the same time. If withdrawal is not possible – for example, they may be in the same class for maths at school – the conflict may have to be recognised but suppressed in that environment.

Avoiding is a common response to the negative perception of conflict. "Perhaps if we don't bring it up, it will blow over," we say to ourselves. But, generally, all that happens is that feelings get pent up, views go unexpressed, and the conflict festers until it becomes too big to ignore. Like a cancer that may well have been cured if treated early, the conflict grows and spreads until it kills the relationship. Because needs and concerns go unexpressed, people are often confused, wondering what went wrong in a relationship.

Accommodating

One party is willing to place the needs of the other party to the conflict above their own needs.

When one party to a conflict puts the needs of the other party above their own, and seeks to help their opponent meet their needs, this is known as accommodating. In this particular conflict situation, maintaining the relationship is more important to the self-sacrificing party than continuing the conflict to achieve a personal or group goal.

For example, there may be somebody in your group who is very worried about speaking out in a public forum. When one day they do, you may support them by not speaking out against them – even though you don't agree with their opinion – because you want to help them in overcoming their fear of public speaking. Note that any of these styles may be appropriate to use in a given scenario. It depends, to a large extent, on the specific situation.

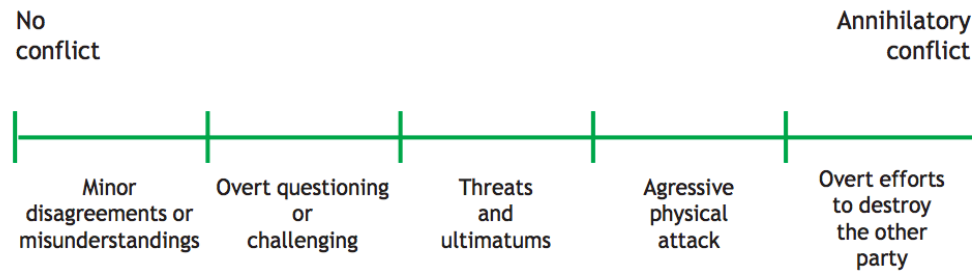
Accommodating, also known as smoothing, is the opposite of competing. Persons using this style yield their needs to those of others, trying to be diplomatic. They tend to allow the needs of the group to overwhelm their own, which may not ever be stated, as preserving the relationship is seen as most important.

Stage 4: Conflict Behavior

When most people think and talk about conflict situations, they tend to focus on this fourth stage, because it is where conflict becomes visible. It is the first time that there is interaction between the parties after the conflict has been recognised.

Minor disagreements, challenging another person's perspective or position, verbal attacks, threats, fighting and bloodshed are all types of conflict management style. They are overt manifestations of peoples' attempts to implement their conflict management goals. But once embarked upon, these behaviours have a life of their own. They can heighten the conflict – as a result, for example, of inadequate communication of intentions – and may press the other party's anger and hostility buttons.

Steven P. Robbins (1974) has developed a 'Conflict Intensity Continuum', which provides a way of visualizing the development of conflict behaviour.



All conflicts exist somewhere along this scale. To the left of the scale, we have conflicts where the parties are self-possessed and controlled: for example, when a student questions his/her teacher.

Conflict intensifies as it moves to the right of the scale until it becomes highly destructive: for example, when students riot because their voices are not heard in their academic institutions; governments may use police or soldiers to curb the demonstration, property is damaged and peoples' lives may even be lost. The closer the conflict gets to the far right of the scale, the more likely it is that the conflict has become dysfunctional.

Stage 5: Conflict Outcomes

The consequences and end results of interaction between conflicting parties are many and varied. Sometimes these outcomes are functional: for example, the conflict has resulted in the group being more effective than it was before the conflict, or there may be an improved relationship between countries that are in conflict. Sometimes the results are dysfunctional, as is the case when conflict results in armed struggle and subsequent civil terrorism, as in Iraq.

Functional Outcomes

Conflict is functional when it enriches the quality of decisions, when it stimulates people to look for new, more creative strategies, when it encourages an environment of self-evaluation and when it stimulates change. Conflict is positive when the views of the minority groups are encouraged and their opinions included in important decisions.

Conflict can stop stagnation and ensure that all aspects of an issue are covered in the decision-making process of a group, which makes for better decisions. On a macro level, conflict challenges the status quo and causes countries and political parties to reassess their policies and programmes in response to the needs of their people.

Conflict Analysis

Conflict analysis is the systematic study of the profile, causes, actors, and dynamics of conflict. It helps development, humanitarian and peace building organisations to gain a better understanding of the context in which they work and their role in that context. Conflict analysis can be carried out at various levels (eg local, regional, national, etc) and seeks to establish the linkages between these levels (see Fig 1). Identifying the appropriate focus for the conflict analysis is crucial: the issues and dynamics at the national level may be different from those at the grassroots. But while linking the level of conflict analysis (eg community, district, region or national) with the level of intervention (e-g project, sector, policy), it is also important to establish systematic linkages with other interrelated levels of conflict dynamics. These linkages are important, as all of these different levels impact on each other.

Self-assessment Questions

- Q. 1 Elaborate the types of conflict in detail.
- Q.2 Write a detail note on the conflict process model.
- Q.3 Write short note on:
- a) Power distance
 - b) Conflict handling techniques
 - c) Conflict behavior

Suggested Books

1. Conflict Resolution for the Helping Professions: Negotiation, Mediation, Advocacy, Facilitation, and Restorative Justice. By: Allan Edward Barsky, Professor Social Work Allan Barsky Oxford University Press, 24-Jan-2017.
2. Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action, by: Simon Fisher, Zed Books, 04-Nov-2000 – Political Science
3. Teaching the Skills of Conflict Resolution: Activities and Strategies for Counselors and Teachers, By: David Cowan, Susanna Palomares, Dianne Schilling Innerchoice Publishing, 1992 – Conflict Management.
4. The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice by: Morton Deutsch, Peter T. Coleman, Eric C. Marcus John Wiley & Sons, 04-Mar-2011 – Business & Economics.
5. Mediation Skills and Strategies: A Practical Guide by: Tony Whatling, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 15-Apr-2012 - Law

Unit 5 & 6

**TECHNIQUES OF CONFLICT
PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT**

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OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, student will be able to:

- discuss about conflict prevention.
- define the conflict resolution.
- define distributive bargaining
- talk about use of force.
- highlight the practices of negotiation.
- know the communication.
- describe the mediation.
- discuss the cultural aspects influencing conflict resolution.
- know about convening multi-party stakeholder negotiation.
- describe arbitration.
- define reconciliation.

MAJOR TOPICS

- Conflict prevention
- Conflict resolution
- Distributive bargaining
- Use of force
- Negotiation
- Communication
- Mediation
 - Fundamental elements of mediation
 - Stages of the mediation process
- Cultural aspects influencing conflict resolution
- Convening Multi-party stakeholder negotiation
- Arbitration
- Reconciliation
 - Factors of successful negotiation
 - Experiences
 - Demands and concessions
 - Precedents
 - Personality traits

There are basically three approaches to dealing with the conflicts we face in any social situation:

1. Conflict prevention: this is a process by which individuals and groups select from a wide range of actions, interventions, programmes, activities, mechanisms and procedures that can be used to prevent destructive and potentially violent conflict. These may be used at any stage prior to conflict taking place.
2. Conflict transformation: this is a process by which a conflict is changed in a creative way to become a constructive and functional process.
3. Conflict resolution: this is a process of finding a long-lasting solution to a conflict, by using the situation to address each party's interests to the extent where both sides are satisfied with the outcome.

Very often conflict transformation and conflict resolution work in harmony with conflict prevention. As the United Nations notes, while prevention entails maintaining peace before a possible incident of violence by correctly interpreting and acting on early warning signs, conflict transformation involves managing an existing situation of violence so that it turns into constructive dialogue. Sometimes, you may find the terms 'conflict transformation' and 'conflict resolution' used interchangeably in peace literature: they are, after all, both based on similar elements of trust building and reconstruction in their modes of application (United Nations, 2002).

5.1 Conflict Prevention

Conflict prevention refers to a variety of activities aimed at anticipating and averting the outbreak of conflict. According to Michael Lund conflict prevention consist in 'any structural or intercessory means to keep intrastate or interstate tension and disputes from escalating into significant violence and use of armed forces, to strengthen the capabilities of potential parties to violent conflict for resolving such disputes peacefully, and to progressively reduce the underlying problems that produce these issues and disputes.' This broad definition of conflict prevention takes into consideration any measures that prevent violent conflicts and strengthen the capacity of concerned actors to act structurally to reduce the possibility of conflict.

Conflict prevention is traditionally divided into two categories: structural prevention and direct prevention. Structural conflict prevention focuses on long-term measures that address the underlying causes -be they political, economic, social, cultural or personal- of a potential conflict along with potentially escalating and triggering factors. Economic conflict-sensitive development assistance, increased political participation and dialogue, legal and constitutional reform, security sector reform and resource-sharing agreements are examples of structural long-term prevention. Direct conflict prevention refers to measures that are aimed at preventing short-term, often imminent, escalation of a potential conflict. Economic sanctions, preventive diplomacy and deployments, and -in extreme cases- the threat of military force are examples of direct prevention.

In the past, national and local actors did development while the international community and nongovernmental organizations did conflict prevention or resolution, or the

mediation of conflicts, particular in developing countries. However, this approach toward conflict prevention is progressively being replaced by one that privileges the assistance to national and local actors in order to strengthen their capabilities to resolve conflicts, prevent violence, and build consensus over contentious issues in an inclusive and credible manner.

The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) in Conflict Management, Negotiation and Mediation Skills (1998), argues that there are only three basic approaches to ending conflicts:

1. The use of power – the ‘might is right’ approach, which is so familiar to us all that it ends up widely regarded as legitimate, is an approach that rarely produces outcomes that are satisfactory to all parties.
2. The application of rights or standards – the use of legislation and the law courts to moderate the force of power-based decision-making is grounded in the moral principle that a decision should always be made on the merits of a particular situation rather than on the relative power of the participants. This is the main reason why, in democratic systems, there is supposed to be a separation of powers between the law givers and the state, since the state may come under the control of a particularly powerful group at any one time. Any parties involved in conflict should always have a guarantee that the law, not the people in charge, should decide what happens to them. In practice of course, the state often attempts to manipulate the boundaries of the law to give itself more power. This appears to be happening in the case of the USA and its actions in imprisoning without trial in Guantánamo Bay people that the Government claims may be terrorists. This position has been attacked powerfully within the USA itself as well as world wide. Of course, the authority of the court is usually backed up by the power of the state. The law courts have been the major forum for this kind of decision-making, but many social groups and communities have well-defined standards that moderate the behaviour of both the powerful and the not so powerful in the community. Examples include the Catholic Church and Islamic groups, both of which have shown that they have the power to control tyrannical and lawless elements within their areas of influence: the Catholic Church in Central America and an Islamic group in Somalia that beat the corrupt and powerful local war lords in 2006 and brought relative calm to the capital city.
3. Agreement – conflicting parties get together to work something out by finding an option that is mutually agreeable. These outcomes tend to be functional, because the parties themselves have contributed their perspectives to the process and can see the benefits of carrying out the decision. It is only recently that these types of decisions have become a formal option for conflict resolution. Over the last twenty years or so, we have seen the growth in negotiation and mediation programmes (facilitated by a third party) to support the joint decision-making process. One example is that of Bosnia, where extremely serious ethnic conflict, of several centuries’ standing, broke out into war following the breakup of Yugoslavia. The war was ended by armed NATO intervention, but peace was negotiated with the support of a number of UN mediators. Joint decisions are not the only outcome of

conflict resolution. Unfortunately, they are not even the most common outcome of conflicts. However, such decisions yield the most valuable outcomes in resolving conflict in a functional manner.

5.2 Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution is a way for two or more parties to find a peaceful solution to a disagreement among them. The disagreement may be personal, financial, political, or emotional. When a dispute arises, often the best course of action is negotiation to resolve the disagreement. The goals of negotiation are:

- To produce a solution that all parties can agree to
- To work as quickly as possible to find this solution
- To improve, not hurt, the relationship between the groups in conflict

The main goal of negotiation with your opposition is to come to an agreement that benefits all parties.

Some other good reasons to negotiate are:

- To understand more about those whose ideas, beliefs, and backgrounds may be different from your own. In order to resolve a conflict, you'll need to look at the conflict from your opponent's point of view and learn more about this person or group's perspective and motivations.
- To ensure that your relationships with opponents continue and grow. If you make peace with your opponents, you increase your own allies in the community. Successful negotiations pave the way for smooth relationships in the future.
- To find peaceful solutions to difficult situations. Full-blown battles use up resources -- time, energy, good reputation, motivation. By negotiating, you avoid wasting these resources, and you may actually make new allies and find new resources!

5.3 Distributive Bargaining

Whether it is an individual bargaining for the use of his/her time in a personal relationship or for a fair price in business where both the buyer and seller will be content, or a union of workers fighting for a wage increase for clothes-makers in a poor country, distributive bargaining is a part of our daily lives.

Essentially, distributive bargaining is negotiating over who gets what proportion of a fixed resource, such as an amount of money. The two parties assume that there is not enough to be shared around equally, therefore each party has to bargain aggressively, and has to treat the other party as an opponent from whom you must gain as much as you can. Your bargaining power is dependent on the information you have about the other party, the clarity of your own goals, the limits within which you can safely bargain and the possibility of any alternatives.

Within a distributive bargaining strategy, unions often present an 'ambit claim' in negotiations with management about wages and working conditions. This means that the union delegates present a high claim for wages, not anticipating that they will be successful in achieving that level of benefits, but hoping that a high target starting point will ensure that they make some gains above their bottom line

5.4 Use of Force

The field of conflict resolution has its roots in the peace movements that dotted the 20th century, most of whose members found the use of force abhorrent. Militaries have intervened in the domestic affairs of other countries time and time again, but rarely have they done so in an attempt to end a complex emergency or intractable conflict -- until recently.

<http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/military-intervention>

Wars may occur between warring parties who contest an incompatibility. The nature of an incompatibility can be territorial or governmental, but a warring party must be a "government of a state or any opposition organisation or alliance of organisations that uses armed force to promote its position in the incompatibility in an intrastate or an interstate-armed conflict". Wars can conclude with a peace agreement, which is a "formal agreement... which addresses the disputed incompatibility, either by settling all or part of it, or by clearly outlining a process for how... to regulate the incompatibility. "A ceasefire is another form of agreement made by warring parties; unlike a peace agreement, it only "regulates the conflict behaviour of warring parties", and does not resolve the issue that brought the parties to war in the first place.

5.5 Negotiation

Negotiation is a method by which people settle differences. It is a process by which compromise or agreement is reached while avoiding argument and dispute. In any disagreement, individuals understandably aim at to achieve the best possible outcome for their position (or perhaps an organization they represent). However, the principles of fairness, seeking mutual benefit and maintaining a relationship are the keys to a successful outcome.

We tend to think on a macro level when we consider conflict – unions negotiating with management, or student unions in conflict with university administration and teachers. In reality, negotiation pervades our daily interactions with friends, family, at the market, and in our dealings with institutions in our communities. Negotiation involves managing a conflict of interests. It refers to that process of bargaining between two or more parties to reach a solution that is mutually acceptable.

6.1 Communication

One of the deepest needs of all human beings is to feel understood and be accepted by others. Offering understanding to another person is a potent form of empowerment. We need not agree with others to empower them in this way; we need only to make it clear through our eyes, body posture and tone of voice that we want to see the world from their perspective. Our interactions with others must come from a point of deep, non-judgmental interest. The key is to grasp the why behind what is being said or done in order to gain insight into the deeper interests and needs of the person with whom we are communicating. From the moment that people feel you are truly seeking to understand, they begin dealing with problems and other people more constructively. Good listening skills are used throughout any process designed to constructively resolve conflict. Good listening is, perhaps, the most significant skill a mediator or facilitator brings to assist parties in conflict.

Active Listening:

Active listening¹ is a communication skill used by mediators and facilitators to aid communication by helping parties deliver clear messages and know that their messages were heard correctly. It is also an indispensable skill for interest-based negotiators.

Objectives of active listening:

- To show the speaker that his/her message has been heard.
- To help the listener gain clarity on both the content and emotion of the message.
- To help speakers express themselves and to encourage them to explain, in greater detail, their understanding of the situation and what they are feeling.
- To encourage the understanding that expression of emotion is acceptable and that it is useful in understanding the depth of feelings.
- To create an environment in which the speaker feels free and safe to talk about a situation.

The Four levels of Listening:

Active listening takes place on the following four levels

1. 'The head': listening for facts and other forms of information.
2. 'The heart': listening for feelings. Conflict is often associated with strong feelings such as anger, fear, frustration, disappointment, etc. Strong feelings often block the way to rational discussions and therefore have to be identified and dealt with before proceeding to substantive matters.
3. 'The stomach': listening for basic human needs. Identify what basic needs are driving the conflict and distinguish between needs and satisfiers.
4. 'The feet': listening for intention or will. Identify in which direction the person/group is moving and how strong their commitment is.

¹ <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan001363.pdf>

Procedures for active listening:

- Acknowledge that you are listening, through verbal and non-verbal cues.
- Listen at all four levels and reflect your impressions through using the various active listening skills.
- Let the speaker acknowledge whether or not you have reflected their communication and its intensity correctly. If it is not correct, ask questions to clarify and reflect a modified statement to the speaker.

Principles underpinning effective listening:

- That the environment created for the speaker to express herself or himself is safe, especially in terms of reducing the risk of future negative consequences for messages delivered.
- That the listener is very focused on what the speaker is trying to communicate to her/him.
- That the listener is patient and does not jump to conclusions about the message.
- That the listener can show genuine empathy for the speaker.
- That the listener uses techniques which permit the speaker to verify or correct the emotion and content of the message.
- That the listener does not judge or make value statements about what the speaker is feeling.

6.2 Mediation

Mediation refers to a process through which a third party provides procedural assistance to help individuals or groups in conflict to resolve their differences. Mediation processes vary throughout the world in form and underlying philosophy. In many Western countries, the mediator is usually an independent, impartial person who has no decision-making authority. In other societies, it may be more important that the mediator is known and trusted by the parties to the conflict rather than being seen as impartial.

Mediation is a voluntary process and its success is linked to the vesting of decision making authority in the parties involved in the dispute. The mediator structures the process in a way which creates a safe environment for parties to discuss the conflict and find solutions which will meet their interests. Mediation typically starts with an introduction which includes, among other things, a description of the process and ground-rules which provide behavioral guidelines for the participants. Parties are then, in turn, given an opportunity to present their understanding of the conflict. After this, a list of issues is created and an agenda is devised to guide parties through the resolution process. The mediator then helps parties negotiate solutions to the issues they have identified. As specific solutions are reached, parties are asked to confirm their acceptance.

6.2.1 Fundamental Elements of Mediation

The following elements distinguish mediation from other forms of conflict resolution:

1. The process is voluntary. Parties cannot be coerced into mediation and they may opt out of the process at any time.

2. The mediator must be acceptable to all parties involved in the process.
3. The mediator offers procedural assistance rather than substantive assistance. That is, the mediator controls the process of resolving the conflict while the content is the domain of the parties.
4. The mediator must remain impartial. That is, the mediator must be able to set aside his/her opinions on what the solution to the conflict should be. In addition, the mediator should be seen as neutral, in terms that he/she should not be in a position to benefit from continued conflict or benefit directly (in the form of some sort of compensation) from one of the parties.
5. The parties to the conflict, not by the mediator, determine potential solutions and decisions on agreements. While the mediator may suggest possible solutions, the parties decide what outcomes will best meet their interests. The mediator does not serve as judge or arbiter.
6. Mediation is an interest-based method, that is, it seeks to reconcile the substantive, psychological and procedural interests of the parties rather than to determine who is right or more powerful.

6.2.2 Stages of the Mediation Process

There are 6 steps to a formal mediation; 1) introductory remarks, 2) statement of the problem by the parties, 3) information gathering time, 4) identification of the problems, 5) bargaining and generating options, and 6) reaching an agreement.

1. The opening statement during the introductory remarks will set out the ground rules for the mediation. These ground rules are what help the mediation move along smoothly. The mediator will usually ask that if attorneys are present, they can confer, but the clients should speak for themselves. Parties should not interrupt each other; the mediator will give each party the opportunity to fully share their side of the story.
2. The statement is not necessarily a recital of the facts, but it is to give the parties an opportunity to frame issues in their own mind, and to give the mediator more information on the emotional state of each party. If there are lawyers present who make the initial statement, the mediator will then ask the client to also make a statement. The rationale behind the statement of the problem is not a search for the truth; it is just a way to help solve the problem.
3. The mediator will ask the parties open-ended questions to get to the emotional undercurrents. The mediator may repeat back key ideas to the parties, and will summarize often. This helps the mediator build rapport between the parties, especially when a facilitative style is used.
4. The mediator will ask the parties open-ended questions to get to the emotional undercurrents. The mediator may repeat back key ideas to the parties, and will summarize often. This helps the mediator build rapport between the parties, especially when a facilitative style is used.
5. This might also be part of other segments. The mediator tries to find common goals between the parties. The mediator will figure out which issues are going to be able to settle or those that will settle first.

6. The mediator may decide to hold private sessions with both parties in order to move the negotiations along. This caucus session will be confidential. The caucus provides a safe environment in which to brainstorm and surface underlying fears. The goal of the session is to find some common ground by exploring lots of options, and to bring about possible solutions for the parties to think about. Parties can also entertain alternative solutions to their problems without committing themselves to offer the solutions as concessions.

6.3 Cultural Aspects Influencing Conflict Resolution

Culture is an essential part of conflict and conflict resolution. Cultures are like underground rivers that run through our lives and relationships, giving us messages that shape our perceptions, attributions, judgments, and ideas of self and other. Though cultures are powerful, they are often unconscious, influencing conflict and attempts to resolve conflict in imperceptible ways.

Two things are essential to remember about cultures: they are always changing, and they relate to the symbolic dimension of life. The symbolic dimension is the place where we are constantly making meaning and enacting our identities. Cultural messages from the groups we belong to give us information about what is meaningful or important, and who we are in the world and in relation to others -- our identities.

Here are some of the ways that culture influences the conflict resolution process (CDR, 1997):

1. Approach to conflict. What does your culture tell you about how to deal with conflict? Is the message to avoid conflict, accommodate the other party or attempt to 'win' the conflict? What are the messages you receive about compromising your position or collaborating with the other party?
2. Approach to problem-solving and agreements. How do people conceptualise problems? How does this influence the problem-solving process? Are differing values attached to verbal and written agreements?
3. Relationships. How are relationships built in your culture? Are relationships in a social setting built differently than in a business or political setting? How do people attain status in your culture, through age, race/ethnicity, gender, knowledge, experience, wealth, etc.?
4. Time. What is the cultural impact on time as it relates to conflict? Do you deal with conflict straight away or do you let tensions dissipate before attempting to resolve it? When parties are describing their understanding of the conflict, do you control the amount of time they have or let them speak until they are finished? Do you use time to put constraints on the resolution process?
5. Space. What are the cultural views on space? Do disputants like to be far apart or close together? Are there other people around them? If so, how close are they? Where do the disputants come together to discuss their problems? Do they meet on neutral ground or on one party's 'turf'? Do they prefer the setting to be formal or informal? Is the conflict resolution setting open or closed to people not directly involved in the conflict?

6. Impact of social structures. What are the larger social structures and institutions which influence conflict? Are there religious, ideological or familial structures which are important? How do they tell the disputants to act in a conflict situation?
7. Communication. Is communication direct or indirect? Are disputants using a common language? What effect does an interpreter have on communication? Do disputants speak directly to one another or through a third person? Which non-verbal cues or gestures are used and to what effect?
8. Intervenors. What are the cultural views on intervening in conflict? Are there structures in place for people to use to resolve conflict? Who are the intervenors and what qualities do they possess (e.g. age, gender, expertise, status, etc.)? What is the role of the intervenor?

6.4 Convening Multi-party Stakeholder Negotiations

When conditions in a conflict ripen to a point where parties are willing to consider opening lines of communication, intermediaries perform a number of tasks in preparing to bring parties together. They usually start with an analysis of the conflict, which is used to help identify stakeholders, issues, process options and a timetable for the negotiating process.

The dynamic nature of conflict systems means that, especially at the beginning, these activities may need to be repeated. Intermediaries should allow time for the process to move forward in a way, which permits them to uncover additional stakeholders, and issues that will become part of the ensuing stages of negotiation.

For intermediaries, understanding the conflict and identifying stakeholders are the first steps in the process. Conflict analysis is used to uncover these additional parties so that the reconciliation process does not unravel at a later stage due to an incomplete understanding of the extent and nature of the conflict. In the conflict analysis phase, intermediaries research information on the conflict through the media, reports, documents and by interviewing stakeholders.

6.5 Arbitration

Arbitration² is a dispute resolution process in which the disputing parties present their case to a third party intermediary (or a panel of arbitrators) who examine all the evidence and then make a decision for the parties. This decision is usually binding. Like court-based adjudication, arbitration is adversarial. The presentations are made to prove one side right, the other wrong. Thus the parties assume they are working against each other, not cooperatively. Arbitration is generally not as formal as court adjudication, however, and the rules can be altered to some extent to meet the parties' needs.

² <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/arbitrat.htm>

As in court-based adjudication, arbitration outcomes are typically win-lose, not win-win. Thus, the arbitrator usually decides that one side was right and the other wrong. They do not often go out of their way to develop new approaches for meeting the interests of both sides simultaneously, as a mediator would do, though if a win-win solution is apparent, the arbitrator would probably recommend it.

6.6 Reconciliation

In common parlance, reconciliation means some kind of agreement between disputants or adversaries. The conflict resolution meaning of the term, however, goes deeper than that. It can be argued that reconciliation, at its core, is about restoring the right relationship between people who have been enemies. Reconciliation, as De Gruchy observes, 'implies a fundamental shift in personal, and power relations.

Reconciliation may become a desired goal in its own merit in divided societies. It may also represent a pragmatic way to deal with profound changes involving past injustices in order to achieve some other desired purposes such as building peace, nurturing democracy, promoting human rights, and delivering justice, among others. Thanks to the great currency that reconciliation has gained recently, there is already a very rich literature on different efforts for reconciliation. They mainly involve truth acknowledgment, reparations, retributive justice, apology, and forgiveness. No single form of reconciliation effort is perfect or satisfactory to all circumstances and parties involved. Sometimes hard choices have to be made in deciding whether one form is preferable to another, depending on the specific and temporal circumstance of each conflict and society.

Reconciliation becomes necessary when negative conflict has occurred and relationships have been damaged. Reconciliation is especially important in situations of high interdependence where a complete physical or emotional barrier between parties in a conflict cannot be maintained. Reconciliation therefore refers to the restoration of relationships to a level where co-operation and trust become possible again. Lederach (1995) stated that reconciliation deals with three specific paradoxes:

- Reconciliation promotes an encounter between the open expression of the painful past and the search for the articulation of a long-term, interdependent future;
- Reconciliation provides a place for truth and mercy to meet; where concern for exposing what happened and letting go in favour of a renewed relationship are validated and embraced;
- Reconciliation recognises the need to give time and place to justice and peace, where redressing the wrong is held together with the vision of a common, connected future.

Factors of Successful Negotiations

There are several factors that contribute to successful negotiations.

These are:

- experience

- demands and concessions
- precedents
- personality traits.

Experience

As negotiators gain more experience, research shows that they:

- are better listeners and ask more questions
- focus their arguments more directly
- are less defensive
- have learnt to avoid emotive words and phrases that can irritate other negotiators.

Demands and Concessions

Research suggests that consistently high demands and low concessions by one party will lead to the same behaviour by the opposing party. Therefore, we can expect competitive bargaining from one party to generate competitive bargaining in the other party.

Research has not, however, shown that low demands and high concessions (accommodating behaviour) necessarily generate the same in an opposing party, although it is likely to soften the competitive stance. Based on the research, Robbins et al (1994) suggests that negotiators should commence by bargaining with a small concession and then reciprocate their opponents' concessions.

Precedents

You are rarely in a position of conducting a negotiation with someone that you do not know, and therefore have usually witnessed a history of past interactions and practices that they bring to the bargaining table.

Previously at the most appropriate conflict handling style for a given situation have been looked , but people often resort to their preferred style to manage their conflicts, even though it may not be the most appropriate for that particular issue. So, before entering into a negotiation, they will probably use the same style again, and that will probably reflect their bargaining standards. If you know them, this gives you an advantage in that you can work for a cooperative solution knowing the limits likely to be present.

Personality Traits

Although one might be tempted to think that personality traits are a good indicator of preferred bargaining technique – for example, that high risk takers are more likely to be aggressive bargainers – there is no evidence to suggest that this is the case. This finding indicates that the focus should be on the issues in each bargaining episode, not on the opponent's psychology and her/his personal characteristics.

Self-assessment Questions

- Q.1 Elaborate your understanding regarding conflict prevention.
- Q.2 Write down a detailed note on conflict resolution.
- Q.3 “Active listening is a communication skill”, elaborate the statement.
- Q.4 Write short notes on following:
 - a) Negotiation
 - b) Communication
 - c) Mediation
- Q.5 Describe the cultural aspects influencing conflict resolution.

Suggested Books

1. Conflict Resolution for the Helping Professions: Negotiation, Mediation, Advocacy, Facilitation, and Restorative Justice. By: Allan Edward Barsky, Professor Social Work Allan Barsky Oxford University Press, 24-Jan-2017.
2. Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action, by: Simon Fisher, Zed Books, 04-Nov-2000 – Political Science
3. Teaching the Skills of Conflict Resolution: Activities and Strategies for Counselors and Teachers, By: David Cowan, Susanna Palomares, Dianne Schilling Innerchoice Publishing, 1992 – Conflict Management.
4. The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice by: Morton Deutsch, Peter T. Coleman, Eric C. Marcus John Wiley & Sons, 04-Mar-2011 – Business & Economics.
5. Mediation Skills and Strategies: A Practical Guide by: Tony Whatling, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 15-Apr-2012 - Law

Unit 7

**MAJOR CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD
(CASE STUDIES IN CONFLICT)**

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OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, student will be able to:

- discuss the Palestine conflict
- highlight the issues with Kashmir conflict
- discuss the Iraq conflict
- highlight the issues regarding Afghan conflicts
- discuss the role of United Nations and International Conflict Resolution

MAJOR TOPICS

- Palestine conflict
- Kashmir conflict
- Iraq Conflict
 - The path to invasion
 - Insurgency
 - Reconstruction
- Afghan Conflict
 - Implementation of an Islamic State
 - September 11th and the US War on Terror
 - Destruction of War
- United Nations and International Conflict Resolution

7.1 Palestine Conflict

For centuries there was no such conflict. In the 19th century the land of Palestine was inhabited by a multicultural population – approximately 86 percent Muslim, 10 percent Christian, and 4 percent Jewish – living in peace.

In the late 1800s a group in Europe decided to colonize this land. Known as Zionists, they represented an extremist minority of the Jewish population. Their goal was to create a Jewish homeland, and they considered locations in Africa and the Americas, before settling on Palestine.

At first, this immigration created no problems. However, as more and more Zionists immigrated to Palestine – many with the express wish of taking over the land for a Jewish state – the indigenous population became increasingly alarmed. Eventually, fighting broke out, with escalating waves of violence. Hitler's rise to power, combined with Zionist activities to sabotage efforts to place Jewish refugees in western countries, led to increase Jewish immigration to Palestine, and conflict grew.

Finally, in 1947 the United Nations decided to intervene. However, rather than adhering to the principle of “self-determination of peoples,” in which the people themselves create their own state and system of government, the UN chose to revert to the medieval strategy whereby an outside power divides up other people’s land. Under considerable Zionist pressure, the UN recommended giving away 55% of Palestine to a Jewish state – despite the fact that this group represented only about 30% of the total population, and owned under 7% of the land.

While it is widely reported that the resulting war eventually included five Arab armies, less well known is the fact that throughout this war Zionist forces outnumbered all Arab and Palestinian combatants combined – often by a factor of two to three. Moreover, Arab armies did not invade Israel – virtually all battles were fought on land that was to have been the Palestinian state.

Finally, it is significant to note that Arab armies entered the conflict only after Zionist forces had committed 16 massacres, including the grisly massacre of over 100 men, women, and children at Deir Yassin. Future Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, head of one of the Jewish terrorist groups, described this as “splendid,” and stated: “As in Deir Yassin, so everywhere, we will attack and smite the enemy. God, God, Thou has chosen us for conquest.” Zionist forces committed 33 massacres altogether.

By the end of the war, Israel had conquered 78 percent of Palestine; three-quarters of a million Palestinians had been made refugees; over 500 towns and villages had been obliterated; and a new map was drawn up, in which every city, river and hillock received a new, Hebrew name, as all vestiges of the Palestinian culture were to be erased. For decades Israel denied the existence of this population, former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir once saying: “There is no such thing as a Palestinian.”

In 1967, Israel conquered still more land. Following the Six Day War, in which Israeli forces launched a highly successful surprise attack on Egypt, Israel occupied the final 22% of Palestine that had eluded it in 1948 – the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Since, according to international law it is inadmissible to acquire territory by war, these are occupied territories and do not belong to Israel. It also occupied parts of Egypt (since returned) and Syria (which remain under occupation).

Also during the Six Day War, Israel attacked a US Navy ship, the USS Liberty, killing and injuring over 200 American servicemen. President Lyndon Johnson recalled rescue flights, saying that he did not want to "embarrass an ally." (In 2004 a high-level commission chaired by Admiral Thomas Moorer, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, found this attack to be "an act of war against the United States," a fact few news media have reported.)

There are two primary issues at the core of this continuing conflict. First, there is the inevitably destabilizing effect of trying to maintain an ethnically preferential state, particularly when it is largely of foreign origin. The original population of what is now Israel was 96 percent Muslim and Christian, yet, these refugees are prohibited from returning to their homes in the self-described Jewish state (and those within Israel are subjected to systematic discrimination).

Second, Israel's continued military occupation and confiscation of privately owned land in the West Bank, and control over Gaza, are extremely oppressive, with Palestinians having minimal control over their lives. Over 10,000 Palestinian men, women, and children are held in Israeli prisons. Few of them have had a legitimate trial; Physical abuse and torture are frequent. Palestinian borders (even internal ones) are controlled by Israeli forces. Periodically men, women, and children are strip searched; people are beaten; women in labor are prevented from reaching hospitals (at times resulting in death); food and medicine are blocked from entering Gaza, producing an escalating humanitarian crisis. Israeli forces invade almost daily, injuring, kidnapping, and sometimes killing inhabitants.

According to the Oslo peace accords of 1993, these territories were supposed to finally become a Palestinian state. However, after years of Israel continuing to confiscate land and conditions steadily worsening, the Palestinian population rebelled. (The Barak offer, widely reputed to be generous, was anything but.) This uprising, called the "Intifada" (Arabic for "shaking off") began at the end of September 2000.

Largely due to special-interest lobbying, U.S. taxpayers give Israel an average of \$8 million per day, and since its creation have given more U.S. funds to Israel than to any other nation. As Americans learn about how Israel is using our tax dollars, many are calling for an end to this expenditure.

All US presidents, hostage to a very powerful Jewish lobby, and European leaders have ensured that Israel becomes an invincible state. They have helped turn that country into a

nuclear armed state equipped with the latest aircraft and missile technologies. The rare favourable statements issued are for public consumption only and to deceive the Palestinians. The Arabs are now reaping what they sowed. They had betrayed their Turkish Muslim brethren when they were fighting against the Europeans. They also ignored and rejected Divine Edicts, resulting in ignominy and destruction in Spain and Central Asia and now in the Middle East and North Africa

7.2 Kashmir Conflict

The Jammu and Kashmir Dispute (referred to as the Kashmir Dispute) is the core issue between Pakistan and India that has bedevilled relations between the two countries since August 1947. It is also a known fact that the perceptions of India and Pakistan about what constitutes the dispute are totally different. Pakistan regards it as an unfinished agenda of the Partition of the sub-continent in 1947 and as an issue of granting the right of self-determination to the Kashmiris, a principle also upheld by the UN Security Council resolutions. India, on the other hand, regards it as its territorial issue. It asserts that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and that Pakistan is occupying Indian territory. The impasse has resulted with India occupying two thirds of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir, and Pakistan administering one-third, with an UN-recognised ceasefire line separating them.

In this connection it may be noted that the Indian government adopted a dual policy on the Kashmir dispute. For example, following the landing of Indian troops in Jammu and Kashmir on August 26, 1947, at the declaratory level, the Indian government expressed its commitment to resolve the dispute according to the wishes of the Kashmiris through a plebiscite, but in practice the Indian leaders, particularly, Prime Minister Nehru, were interested in incorporating the State of Jammu and Kashmir into the Indian Union. In the words of Pandit Nehru, 'Kashmir, because of her geographical position, with her frontiers marching with three countries, namely, the Soviet Union, China and Afghanistan, is intimately connected with the security and international contacts of India. Gandhi is reported to have said that Kashmir 'had the greatest strategic value, perhaps, in all India.' Sheikh Abdullah, while talking to reporters in New Delhi on October 21, 1947, said: 'Due to the strategic position that the State (Kashmir) holds, if this State joins the Indian Dominion, Pakistan would be completely encircled. Also, when the partition of the sub-continent was accepted by the then Indian leaders, it was done with mental reservations, and the hope that Pakistan would not survive for long. The All-India Congress Committee (AICC), in its resolution of June 1947, said: 'the picture of India we have learned to cherish will remain in our minds and our hearts. The AICC earnestly trusts that when the present passions have subsided, India's problems will be reviewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two-nations will be discredited and discarded by all.

Through Kashmir, India hoped to be in a better position to strangle Pakistan by securing a strategic edge and by having control over the rivers flowing into Pakistan. India managed to obtain a land-link with Kashmir through the manipulated Radcliffe Award. While partitioning the Punjab, the Award divided the Muslim majority district of

Gurdaspur in such a way that, besides Pathankot tehsil, even the Muslim majority tehsils of Gurdaspur and Batala to the south were awarded to India. India thus got access to Kashmir. There are strong indications that Mountbatten had earlier reached an understanding with the Congress in respect of Gurdaspur district. As mentioned by V. P. Menon, Mountbatten, during his visit to Kashmir in June 1947, well before the Radcliffe Award, 'assured the Maharaja that so long as he made up his mind to accede to one Dominion or the other before August 15 no trouble will ensue, for which ever Dominion he acceded to would take the State firmly under its protection as part of its territory. Also, during his press conference on June 4, 1947, Mountbatten did mention that the Boundary Commission 'would be unlikely to throw the whole of the Gurdaspur district into the Muslim majority areas.

The Kashmir dispute dominates Indo-Pakistan relations, and has also become central for peace and stability in the South Asian region. Since 1998 it has been described as a nuclear flashpoint. It is unfortunate that while in the beginning the international community supported the Security Council Resolutions, over the decades there has been a lessening of governmental interests in that commitment, of those very countries such as Australia, UK and US, which had earlier played an active leading role in the Security Council debates and resolutions with a view to solving the dispute. However, the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan in May 1998 renewed the interest of the world community in the unresolved Kashmir dispute in South Asia. Though the international concern is palpable over Kashmir becoming a potential nuclear flashpoint, the world community at the present juncture has yet to give more teeth to the Security Council resolutions that it has neglected for so many years. It also necessitates that the international community comes to grips with all the inter-related aspects and the dimensions of the dispute.

The dire need for an urgent solution to the Kashmir dispute came to the fore recently, as India and Pakistan faced each other with their armies deployed at their borders, since December 19, 2001, when India announced its decision to deploy its troops to forward positions along the India-Pakistan international border. This Indian position in itself follows recent precedents.

A dangerous trend that has surfaced in the post-September 11, 2001, international scenario is the unspecified nature of America's 'anti-terrorism' campaign, in which there is a blurring of distinctions between terrorist activities and genuine struggles by oppressed people for self-determination. Taking advantage of the unspecified nature of the 'anti-terrorism' campaign, the BJP government in India has seized the opportunity to attempt to clinch the Kashmir dispute according to its own thinking, by recasting the indigenous Kashmir struggle as a terrorist one. It is imperative for the international community to act with responsibility and commitment, if it has to ensure that such vested interests do not confuse issues for their own motivated ends, and lead to further conflagrations.

7.3 Iraq Conflict

Modern Iraq was created after the First World War. Under the auspices of the League of Nations, the British Empire installed King Faisal as the head of a monarchy, the Hashemite Kingdom of Iraq. A series of coups from 1958 to 1968 overthrew the monarchy and eventually led to the Ba'ath Party's control of the country under Saddam Hussein in 1979. Long standing regional rivalry and the 1979 revolution led Saddam Hussein to invade Iraq's eastern neighbour Iran in 1980. The ensuing Iran-Iraq War lasted for eight years, left a million people dead and Iraq's economy in tatters. The United States supported Saddam Hussein's regime against Iran for much of the war, as well as secretly supplying weapons to the Iranians; now known as the Iran-Contra Scandal.

The Iraqi regime incurred significant debts to the Gulf States, including Kuwait, as a result of the war. Saddam Hussein also accused the Kuwaiti government of keeping oil prices low in order to deprive Iraq of much needed revenue. After refusing to forgive Iraq's debt, Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990. As a result, an international coalition led by the US launched an attack on Iraqi forces in Kuwait in order to force them back across the border. Coalition forces quickly expelled Iraqi forces from Kuwait but stopped short of deposing Saddam Hussein.

One of the most significant results of what became known as "the First Gulf War" was the imposition of harsh economic sanctions on Iraq. In place until the 2003 invasion, many estimate that these sanctions created a humanitarian crisis that led to the deaths of as many as 500,000 children.

The path to Invasion

Ostensibly, the administration of US President George W. Bush initiated the invasion of Iraq over the threat of Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) and Saddam Hussein's failure to cooperate with UN weapons inspectors. However, many have questioned this and the legality of the invasion. In 2004, then United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, called the US led invasion "illegal" and in contravention of the UN Charter.

The Iraqi government had used chemical weapons during the Iran-Iraq War and again against Kurdish civilians in Halabjah in 1988. In the former case, the US government was aware and even provided intelligence on Iranian targets. The UN Special Commission to Oversee the Destruction of Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction (UNSCOM) was put in place after the invasion of Kuwait in 1990. In 1998 Iraq ended cooperation with the UNSCOM inspectors. This prompted 'Operation Desert Fox'; a US and UK bombing campaign to destroy Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programme. This was followed in 1999 by a UN resolution to replace UNSCOM with UNMOVIC, which was rejected by Iraq, and further US and UK bombings in 2001 to try to disable Iraq's air defence network.

US public awareness of the issue was raised after President George W. Bush listed Iraq in his 'axis of evil'. Repeated negotiations over Iraqi cooperation with UN weapons

inspections teams followed before UNMOVIC were able to begin inspecting sites in November 2002. Then-US Secretary of State Colin Powell spoke in front of the UN Security Council in February 2003 to present the Bush administration's evidence of WMDs in Iraq. However, the intelligence upon which his testimony was based was fabricated and US and British intelligence agencies were likely aware that Hussein's government possessed no WMDs.

In March 2003 the US and Britain called on the Security Council to authorise military action against Iraq, but were met with stiff opposition from France, Russia, Germany and several Arab countries. Despite this, on 17 March President Bush gave Saddam and his sons 48 hours to leave Iraq or face war. Saddam did not comply and the invasion began on 19 March. After quickly defeating the Iraqi army and ousting the Ba'athist government, US President George W. Bush declared "Mission Accomplished" in Iraq on May 1, 2003. No chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons were ever found.

Insurgency

Despite Bush declaring an end to major combat operations on May 1, 2003, US and allied forces remained in Iraq until December 2011. The invasion set off a Sunni-led insurgency that attacked the coalition forces and their supporters. Composed of Ba'athists, ex-military, and nationalists, the insurgents resisted foreign occupation of their country. In addition to Sunni groups, the invasion precipitated a rise in Shiite militias as well, such as the Mahdi Army, led by Moqtada al-Sadr. Shiite and Sunni militias began to clash and carry out revenge attacks and many Iraqis fled their homes as neighbourhoods became increasingly segregated.

The insurgency has resulted in a polarisation of ethnic identities that is even more complex than the Sunni-Shiite-Kurd distinctions that are normally recognised. Iraqi Christians, for example, have suffered high levels of threats and violence since the 2003 invasion. As well as the numerous ethnic and tribal divisions in Iraq, Al Qaeda is believed to retain a presence in the country through the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) organisation.

By 2006, the combination of foreign occupying forces, Sunni and Shiite militias, and groups such as Al Qaeda plunged the country into civil war. The bombing of the Golden Mosque in Samarra, one of the holiest Shiite sites, in mid-2006 is linked to an escalation in violence that particularly hit civilians. US officials have claimed that the "surge" of 2007 reduced overall levels of violence, although others question the accuracy and legitimacy of such claims. Unfortunately, recent months have seen a resurgence in levels of violence not seen since 2008.

Reconstruction

The US led invasion and its ensuing chaos and violence created one of the world's largest refugee and displaced persons crises. UNHCR estimates that in mid-2013 there were still over 400,000 refugees originating from Iraq and nearly 1 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) within its borders. As many as 10,000 Iraqis who fled to Syria after the

2003 invasion have now returned as a result of the on-going Syrian civil war. No official body tracks civilian deaths, but the often cited Iraq Body Count puts deaths at over 120,000 and a recent survey put the figure at over 460,000.

The US-led forces have now left Iraq and numerous obstacles remain ahead in the country's path to reconstruction. These include the society's deep divisions, problems of corruption and oil smuggling, and unanswered questions over the division of power. On March 2013, a report prepared by the Special Inspector General Iraqi Reconstruction contains sharp criticism from many Iraqi government officials, including the Prime Minister, on the use and misuse of \$60 billion in reconstruction funds spent by the US government.

Further hampering reconstruction efforts was the failure to produce a workable government after parliamentary elections in March 2010. Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki's party won 27.4 per cent of the seats in the Iraqi Parliament but no party won an overall majority. It took nine months of negotiations for the parliament to approve a new government again headed by Nuri al-Maliki in December 2010. Al-Maliki will run for a third term in the April 30th elections.

Continued violence and discontent with Al-Maliki's government amongst segments of the country raise concern that the country is headed toward civil war once again. In December 2013, Al-Maliki ordered government forces to confront Sunni militia forces affiliated with the ISIS in Anbar Province so far leaving hundreds dead as fighting continues.

7.4 Afghan Conflict

Afghanistan has long been used as a battleground for strategic wars by larger external powers. This is in part due to its geographic position between the Middle East, Central Asia and South Asia. In addition, the fragmented and polarised nature of Afghan society, which is made up of many different ethnic groups, has led to its multiple internal struggles which have gained support from the different external powers. The almost continuous devastation caused to the country for over three decades is testament to the strength and endurance of its people and the groups who work towards rebuilding their country.

In 1978 the Saur Revolution overthrew the existing government and implemented a Socialist agenda. Led by Hafizullah Amin and the military of the Khalq party, the agenda included a move to state atheism, introduced land reforms, and declared the equality of the sexes. Reigning President Mohammad Daoud Khan, along with 17 other members of his family, was overthrown and killed just hours after the start of the coup, while many members of the traditional elite, the religious establishment and the intelligentsia were also imprisoned, tortured or killed. The revolutionaries went on to free prominent figures of the Khalq party, and Noor Mohammad Taraki was chosen as leader and President.

Following this, the Mujahedeen, loosely-aligned opposition forces made up of groups of mostly Pashtun tribesmen, began attacks aimed at overthrowing the Marxist-Leninist government, which was also under attack from other left-wing groups who opposed President Taraki. The ruling party in turn requested the support of the Soviet Union in fighting the Mujahedeen resistance, removing the other left-wing opposition, and supporting the failing Afghan army. There was a massive initial deployment of 100,000 Red Army troops into Afghanistan. The US saw this as a prime opportunity to weaken the Soviet Union as part of its Cold War strategy, and they began to provide training and arms to the Mujahedeen resistance groups, along with extra support from other countries such as Saudi Arabia and the UK.

Estimates of the financial and military assistance from these external powers ranged from \$10 to \$40 billion over the nine-year conflict. It officially ended in 1989 with the withdrawal of the Soviet forces. The devastation caused by the conflict left an estimated 2 million people dead and 1.5 million people disabled, in part due to the massive urban carpet-bombing campaigns and the large areas of land mines that still exist today. Two million people were internally displaced, and one third of the country's pre-war population fled into neighbouring Pakistan, Iran and further afield.

By 1992, the Communist government had collapsed and the Peshawar Accord declared Afghanistan to be the Islamic State of Afghanistan. However, many groups refused to acknowledge the new government and the country soon fell into a civil war that lasted throughout the 1990s. Working government departments, the police, justice systems and education systems did not have time to reform after the Soviet War and much of the country descended into lawlessness. This led to areas being controlled by different armed factions, who in turn were supported by governments and groups in Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan and the US.

In the early 1990s in Kandahar, a militia group called the Taliban began to emerge as a political and religious force, which supposedly opposed the tyrannical rule of the local governor, and began to instill greater order in the area. Led by Mullah Mohammed Omar, it had the support of many Afghan refugees from Pakistan. The group gained increasing recognition, power, and support as it began to take control of much of southern and central Afghanistan.

Implementation of an Islamic State

The Taliban was able to oust the weakened incumbent government and take over Kabul in September 1996, establishing the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. Many of the Taliban's leaders followed a fundamentalist version of Deobandi and Wahhabi Islam and a strict interpretation of Afghan social and cultural norms. They enforced the most extreme version of Sharia law ever encountered in the modern Islamic world. The Taliban became notorious internationally for its policies for women, which included requiring women to wear a burqa (a full face and body covering) and banning them from leaving the home without an accompanying male relative. Women were not permitted to work, or to be schooled, after the age of eight. In some areas of Afghanistan, many forms

of entertainment, including dance and music, were banned. Those who disobeyed the laws enforced by the police, or those seen as political dissidents, were subjected to public beatings and executions. Many Pakistani nationals joined the Taliban to fight against the United Front's forces while Osama bin Laden channeled more money in support, citing it as the only true Islamic state. Bin Laden had been involved in the Soviet War, providing money to different militia groups to fight the Soviet forces. He returned to Afghanistan in 1996 after having to flee Sudan and Saudi Arabia, and allegedly used the country as a base to plan and finance attacks internationally.

At the same time the United Front, also known as the Northern Alliance, led by Ahmad Massoud, fought back against the Taliban. Western support and financial assistance in the 1990s had dramatically decreased after the end of the Cold War; however, with the increase in the number of attacks on US embassies internationally from Islamist terrorist groups, attention began to increase once again with the US attacking suspected bases belonging to bin Laden in Afghanistan in 1998, and the UN ordering increasing sanctions on the Taliban. In early 2001, Massoud appealed to the European Parliament for help and warned that there was information about a large-scale attack on US soil. However, he was killed by a suicide bomb attack on 9 September 2001, two days before the attacks on the Twin Towers that shook the world.

September 11th and the US War on Terror

In the aftermath of the World Trade Center attacks, the US government quickly identified Osama bin Laden as responsible and claimed that the Taliban was harbouring him and refusing to hand him over. They launched a series of aerial attacks on alleged al-Qaida bases under Taliban control and began militarily and financially supporting the Northern Alliance to bring down the Taliban. The Taliban government in Kabul collapsed in December 2001, with many of the Taliban forces moving to the south and along the contested border with Pakistan.

Hamid Karzai was installed as President of the interim government in 2001, whilst other coalition forces joined the US and UK to fight against insurgency attacks in Afghanistan; with namely France, Germany and Italy supplying the most troops. In 2004, the first Presidential elections were held, with Karzai winning 53 per cent of the vote, albeit with an extremely low turnout amid fears of electoral violence. However, since 2006, there has been an increase in the levels of insurgency led by the Taliban who used mainly improvised explosives and suicide bomb attacks leading a UN report to suggest that most of the civilian casualties in Afghanistan are the result of Taliban attacks. With approximately 154,000 troops currently stationed there, the coalition military occupation is now in its tenth year. In 2010 alone, an estimated 10,000 people were killed.

At the end of 2010, the Obama administration pushed towards a final troop surge with an extra 30,000 US troops. The US has given a date of July 2011 for when they want to start withdrawing troops from Afghanistan, with the aim of shifting control to Afghan security forces by 2014. However, training of the forces and police has proved extremely difficult

due to a large number of suicide bomb attacks at recruitment centres, a drop-out rate of 25 percent and a high level of drug addiction amongst troops.

Destruction of War

Afghanistan is struggling to rebuild itself amidst the ongoing war despite the billions of dollars of aid that have been pumped into the country. Life expectancy is 44 years, compared to an average of 53 years for other low-income countries worldwide. The government is failing to extend its control or enter into negotiations with the Taliban, while the Taliban in turn refuse to enter into any negotiations until all foreign troops leave the country. Many of the Taliban and their leaders are based across the border in Pakistan where British and US troops cannot be seen to be overtly attacking nor occupying, although they have made frequent use of 'drone' attacks which are carried out by unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs). The opium trade has increased massively since 2001 and the occupying forces are unable to prevent it, with some of the proceeds allegedly going to members of the Karzai government. Other forms of corruption remain rife in all sectors of society and some areas remain outside of government control.

In July 2010, Wikileaks released a huge cache of 90,000 secret military files related to Afghanistan. Revealing how the coalition forces had killed hundreds of civilians in unreported incidents, it also recorded the surge in Taliban attacks and the fear of support to the Taliban from neighbouring Iran and Pakistan.

Throughout spring 2011, the Taliban launched a major offense, targeting government officials and buildings. The attacks took place in Kandahar with the Taliban claiming control over the city.

There is no immediate end in sight to the Afghanistan conflict, and its complex issues and lack of stable governance mean that new conflicts will continue to rise. However, there is a small but steady increase in the number of groups working towards building civil society on a local level and mediating conflicts. The stance on development in Afghanistan is shifting slightly, with more awareness being given to locally-led projects as opposed to donor-led projects. After more than three decades of conflict, the fatigue of war felt by its people is strong, along with a yearning for a chance of a more tolerable situation in a country where several generations have only known war.

7.5 United Nations and International Conflict Resolution

Contemporary UN system was designed to promote international peace while preserving existing states, balancing the major powers and containing nascent nationalisms within postcolonial borders. It by no means eliminated war entirely, although it may indeed have helped mitigate the onset of interstate wars. The UN's collective security mechanisms were idled at the time of the body's creation through the mutual vetoes of the United States and the Soviet Union on the Security Council, which was empowered by the UN Charter to "determine the existence of any threat to peace . . . and to maintain or restore international peace and security" through the use of force. Once freed from this deadlock, the Security Council could deploy bold new multilateral missions of peacemaking

(mediation) and peacekeeping (interposition of neutral UN-commanded armed forces between belligerents) as well as peace enforcement (combat) in order to resolve international conflicts. Over time, the Security Council has determined with increasing frequency that sovereignty cannot excuse governments that either gravely violate the human rights of their own citizens or wage unjustified war on other countries (Pearson, 1957; Durch, 1993, 1996; Goulding, 1993; AbiSaab,1978; Higgins, 1980; Boutros-Ghali, 1992; Ratner, 1995).

When governments willfully violate the security of their own civilians, the international community reserves some right of multilateral intervention. While new norms such as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) are still in formation and lack coherent prescriptive implications, sovereignty can no longer be considered a shield behind which rights can be abused systematically. The line between domestic jurisdiction and international intervention has blurred over time. Secession, regime change, and peace enforcement are no longer taboo topics (although these are by no means panaceas for weak states or violent conflicts). For better or worse, the UN Security Council 's five permanent members are largely immune from the controls of the UN system, and as the recent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq show, they can and do make war unilaterally on other states. As the two wars in Chechnya demonstrated, they can wage war internally without fear of concerted multilateral intervention.

The causes of war and of peace, which we discuss next, are many and widely debated. War making is no longer the unique provenance of states. It was once safe to assume that armed movements ' goals were almost entirely nationalistic (even when their rhetoric was global). Non-state armed movements now have various degrees of independence from sponsoring states and presence in multiple geopolitical regions. By the same token, however, peacemaking is also no longer a task left entirely to sovereign states and multilateral organizations. Civil society groups within countries and transnational movements can and do play roles in the resolution of international conflicts. While many of the tools of international conflict resolution are still among the tools of statecraft such as mediation, problem solving, and negotiation are practiced by experts without diplomatic credentials. States are no longer the only cause of conflict, and the systems we have created to preserve stable global order can no longer be the sole means of creating peace.

Self-assessment Questions

- Q.1 How you will define the term major conflicts, elaborate your answer with examples?
- Q.2 Write down a detailed note on Kashmir Conflict.
- Q.3 Discuss the Afghan conflict in detail.
- Q.4 Write short notes on following:
- a) Destruction of Law
 - b) United Nations and International Conflict Resolution.

Suggested Books

1. Conflict Resolution for the Helping Professions: Negotiation, Mediation, Advocacy, Facilitation, and Restorative Justice. By: Allan Edward Barsky, Professor Social Work Allan Barsky Oxford University Press, 24-Jan-2017.
2. Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action, by: Simon Fisher, Zed Books, 04-Nov-2000 – Political Science
3. Teaching the Skills of Conflict Resolution: Activities and Strategies for Counselors and Teachers, By: David Cowan, Susanna Palomares, Dianne Schilling Innerchoice Publishing, 1992 – Conflict Management.
4. The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice by: Morton Deutsch, Peter T. Coleman, Eric C. Marcus John Wiley & Sons, 04-Mar-2011 – Business & Economics.
5. Mediation Skills and Strategies: A Practical Guide by: Tony Whatling, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 15-Apr-2012 - Law

Unit 8

SITUATION OF CONFLICTS IN PAKISTAN

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OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, student will be able to:

- define background of the situation of conflict in Pakistan
- describe the Ethnic Conflicts
- discuss the Regional Conflicts
- discuss the Religious Conflicts
- describe the Sectarian Conflicts

MAJOR TOPICS

- Background of the situation of conflict in Pakistan
- Ethnic Conflicts
- Regional Conflicts
- Religious Conflicts
- Sectarian Conflicts

8.1 Background

Since its birth in 1947 the state of Pakistani has been repeatedly challenged by various groups on the basis of nationalism, regional separatism, religious doctrine and political ideology. This instability has been mirrored in domestic politics, where democracy has been regularly undermined by corruption or interrupted by periods of authoritarian military rule (Auyb Khan 1958-69, Yahya Khan 1969-70, Zia ul-Haq 1977-88, Pervez Musharraf 1999-2007). In recent years, democratic rule has returned after Pervez Musharraf was first persuaded to legitimise his rule by running for election, and then forced into resignation by the threat of impeachment. The recent transfer of power from President Ali Asif Zardari (Pakistan People's Party) to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif (Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz Party) marks the first time an elected government has successfully completed its term in office and handed power to an elected successor. Despite this success, Pakistan is currently facing several distinct but inter-related conflicts, both international and domestic.

8.2 Ethnic Conflicts

One can define that ethnicity is a group of individuals living side by side but not intermingling with each other. These people grouped together on the basis of territory, professions, languages, geography without conflicting with each other until and unless they are triggered to do so. Ethnicity itself is not harmful for the existence of any state. The intensity of different variables creates contradictory point of view and hostile environment within the territory of any state.

Pakistan has faced the process of disintegration in form of separation of East Pakistan in 1971 in very short period of its independence. There were certain reasons of this separation such as Bengalis were major portion of population of Pakistan but their language was not given due status soon after creation of Pakistan. Bengalis resisted violently when Urdu was declared as national language of Pakistan. Punjabi ruling elite dominated political scenario of Pakistan after 1947 and Bengalis felt they are just a colony of West Pakistan.

The politics of Pakistan is basically the politics of linguistic groups. Pakistan is a multilingual state, where the Pakhtuns, Sindhi, Balochi, Punjabi, Mohajir and Siraiki identities are expressed through Pashto, Sindhi, Balochi, Punjabi, Urdu and Siraiki Languages. It is pertinent to mention here that ethnic identities of Pakistan adopted language factor as powerful tool for asserting their power and launched language movements for determining their identity.

Language issue created serious threat for the integrity of state particularly the Bengali language issue. Language can be unifying force, it can also awaken and sustain a community sense of its separate existence as with other symbols of identities. The single issue, which caused the most bitterness and the major factor for the alienation of Bengalis, was the language question. They insisted on the recognition of Bengali as the national language along with Urdu. Bengalis were in majority but their demand to give their language the status of national language was ignored. This attitude of ruling elite

created sense of Bengali nationalism. Later on status of national language was given to Bengali but existing gulf cannot be bridged and this gulf led towards the separation of East Pakistan in 1971.

Sindhi language is an important aspect of Sindhi identity in the presence of Urdu-speaking Mohajirs. Sindhi is considered as an essential part of cultural heritage by Sindhi ethno-nationalist. Ethnic problem is highly important in Sindh where Sindhi, Mohajirs, Punjabis, Pathans, Baloch, and Gujrati are interacting with each other. These linguistic groups have been involved in conflicting situation with each other on various occasions. Language riots broke out in Sindh in 1972 as a result of challenging the dominance of Urdu. Sindhi nationalists became active in the politics of Sindh. During Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Regime Sindh Assembly passed a bill declaring Sindhi as the official language of Sindh. Mohajirs demonstrated against the bill in Karachi and Hyderabad and serious riots erupted between Sindhi and Urdu speaking ethnic groups.

Government through issuing an ordinance in favour of Urdu diffused tension between two groups. Balochi, Brahvi, Pashto are spoken by major ethnic groups in Balochistan. Baloch have been facing different problems since 1947. They perceive the central ruling authority to preserve their specific identity has deprived them. In 1972, Baloch felt a sigh of relief after having their own government in the province of Balochistan. Baloch were hopeful that their language would get due status. But in 1972, the Governor of Balochistan, the well known Baloch nationalist, Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo declared Urdu as the language of official correspondence and routine office work. The Baloch government to avoid any conflicting situation between Baloch, Pathans and Brahvis did it. Language issue was exploited by the Baloch politicians for securing maximum power but Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan they gave air to the hidden flames of distrust among major ethnic groups and sub groups.

In Khyber Pakhtun Khawa majority of population speak Pashto. Pakhtun nationalists always supported their language. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan always used Pashto as an identity marker even in the days of pre-partition. NAP (National Awami Party) supported Pashto throughout the period of One Unit and during Yahya Khan Regime. But surprisingly, when NAP came into power in 1972, it declared Urdu as official language of Khyber Pakhtun Khawa. Pathans did not create so much trouble for the integrity of Pakistan due to language issue because Pakhtuns have become more prosperous and better integrated in the economic and power structure of Pakistan.

Southern Punjab is known as the Siraiki area. The area is, on the whole, underdeveloped and the Siraiki language movement started in the 1960s. Sense of ethnic nationalism emerged among Siraiki speaking people due to injustice, lack of development, less access to power, goods and services. Siraiki-speaking people dislike or oppose distribution of Siraiki areas to non Siraikies. The sense of deprivation among Siraiki speaking in southern Punjab has led to the assertion of a separate identity of which language is the most powerful symbol. Punjabis dominate political structure of Pakistan and being rulers give less importance to Punjabi than other ethnic identities.

8.3 Regional Conflicts

Territoriality has been another dominant cause for sowing seeds of conflicting situation among different ethnic groups of different regions of Pakistan. Issues like distribution of economic resources through NFC (National Finance Commission), water-sharing problem between provinces and dominant position of one ethnic group at the power structure created a sense of alienation among deprived ethnic identities.

The basic structure of Pakistan is that of a federation comprising federating units (called provinces). After 9 years the constitution of 1956 was framed. The 1956 constitution had 3 lists of powers such as federal, provincial and concurrent. This constitution remained unable to resolve the problem of provincial autonomy because people of East Pakistan and deprived provinces of west Pakistan were not happy with Punjabi domination. The 1962 constitution provided for a presidential form of government. The provincial governors performed their functions according to the expectations of central ruling authority and created a sense of alienation among the people of both wings. Ill planned economic and political strategies followed by the central ruling elite kept under developed to different ethnic identities.

Particularly Bengalis were not happy with the policies of central ruling authority. The constitution of 1973 had a federal and concurrent list leaving the residuary powers to provinces. Concurrent list has been abolished by the Pakistan Peoples Party government. The main intention of government is to create a strong sense of responsibilities on the part of provinces that they have authority to manage their affairs themselves. Federal government should try to take into confidence the government of different provinces regarding formulation process of various domestic and external policies. It has been observed that whenever central government finds that the policies of any province not compliance with the center, it dismisses the government of that province as it was done in case the government of NAP in Balochistan by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

Political stability, peace, harmony and unity can be achieved through removal of sense of deprivation among various ethnic groups and it is only possible if there is economic equilibrium at national as well as at regional level and all the economic fruits of growth are equitably distributed among all the ethnic groups without making any kind of discrimination. Ethnic groups come into conflict when they are deprived from basic necessities of life. It happens when a particular group becomes successful to have authority at the helm of the affairs and formulates policies in the best interests of their own specific group by ignoring other ethnic groups. Ultimately deprived group resists against such policies and this resistance can be in form of violent conflicting situation. For instance, during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto era Sindhis became successful to have more facilities than Urdu speaking Mohajirs in the province of Sindh. These moves created tussle between Sindhis and Mohajirs.

Economic resources should be allocated according to the pressing needs of ethnic groups of different regions. National Finance Commission is the constitutional organ for the allocation of state revenues among the federation and units. Smaller provinces were not

happy regarding allocation of resources based on the percentage of population of each unit. Small provinces used to feel a sense of deprivation, when Punjab having large population achieved more resources than Sindh , Khyber Pakhtun Khawa and Balochistan. Pakistan Peoples Party government altered the formula to allocate resources among province on the basis of population.

Another irritant, which becomes cause of conflict among different groups, is domination of one province or one specific ethnic group at the power structure. Ruling elite always followed the policy of centralization of power instead of decentralization. Pakistan had to face disintegration process due to this policy.

8.4 Religious Conflicts

The rise of Islamic parties and groups, and the increase in militancy have affected the internal power struggle in Pakistan. The first generation of Islamic intellectuals in the country seriously took up the task of defining, conceptualizing, and operationalizing Islamic agency, seeking to crystallize the classic notions of statehood as operative in the early days of Islam. Led by the celebrated Islamic scholar Syed Abul A'ala Maudoodi, Islamic models of public life increasingly shaped an alternative discourse from the 1950s onward. The religious lobby sought influence through the ballot in the 1970s and the bullet in the 1980s against the backdrop of the Afghanistan jihad. While Maudoodi and his party Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) did not succeed at the ballot box, his ideas acquired widespread currency. Education became a major vehicle of the new Islamism, much as in Egypt under the influence of Syed Qutb, Maudoodi's Arab counterpart. Both called for jihad and initiated a cultural civil war through modern educational institutions.

The proliferation of Madrassas, or Islamic seminaries, was most common in the Pakhtun areas, representing "a massive experiment in social engineering in northern Pakistan," and spread to Punjab and Karachi. The estimated sixteen thousand Madrassas (with approximately 1.5 million students) provide, for many, an alternative to the perceived Western-dominated educational system of Pakistan. Analysts have speculated about the potential of Madrassas to radicalize politics in Pakistan. A recent study has argued that no strong link exists between Madrassas education and increased militancy. It posits that the number of Madrassas students is too small to have a major impact on militancy at a larger scale and that Madrassas students come from a higher economic stratum than public school students and join Madrassas not out of necessity (poverty) but out of preference for religious education, which has been in increasing demand. However, the reality is that a large number of Madrassas students come from the lowest stratum of society, religious philanthropists open Madrassas and provide free food and accommodation, and Madrassas indoctrinate a dichotomous worldview, stoke sectarian conflict and attempt to govern gender relations, producing a combative mind among students.

8.5 Sectarian Conflicts

In Pakistan's peculiar circumstances, the differences between Shia and Sunni (Shia and Sunni have differences over the performance of different rituals of Islam) preclude any possibility of the acceptance by the entire nation of a truly religious state with a single

religious ideology. Infact more the state regulates the lives of the people in religious matter to suit its own requirement; the more are the Muslims religious minorities likely to resent and resist this move (Zia's Islamic reforms created conflicting situation among Shia and Sunni sects).

Even among the Sunni Blocs, sharp differences exist in religious beliefs and practices. Sub-blocs the most prominent of these being the Brelavi and Deobandi. These religious groups do not want to perform their religious practices at same place under same Imam. Whenever the efforts have been made to bring them close to each other by the state or by religious Zealots, serious trouble has resulted.

For preserving their own specific personal interests rulers pushed different religious groups into war of sectarianism. Latent differences among different religious groups became explicit by the policies of General Zia-ul-Haq in 1977. General Zia's era was an era of politico-religious indoctrination, which widened gulf between Sunni and Shia groups. Sectarianism emerged more forcefully in the era of General Zia. The organized gangs of sectarian thug by Sunni and Shia sects were involved in sectarian violence and serial killings. This attitude created an atmosphere of unrest and polarization in the country in 1980s and 1990s. In a society like Pakistan, which is heterogeneous in nature and homogeneous on the name of Islam, obviously Islam has significant role to play for creating balance among different ethnic groups. But religion could not prove a binding force among different ethnic groups.

Conflicts between Shia and Sunni sects became order of the day during Zia regime. The role of Ulemas was very crucial because the people of both these sects have great affiliation with religion but with weak knowledge about the basic principles of Islam they follow ulemas of their specific sect. Ulemas propagated very narrow-minded creeds by which religious bigotry and fanaticism acquired militate overtones. Sunni sect started to attack Imam barghas and Shia sect for settling score attack on the mosques of Sunni sect. Minor differences were there among Sunni and Shia sect and remained dormant most of the times but the policies of the government of General Zia to give preference to Sunni than Shia converted minor implicit conflicts into major explicit conflicts which not only polluted the political environment of country but also widened the already existing gulf between Sunni and Shia. Religious leaders of Sunni and Shia group received economic assistance in form of funds and Zakat from foreign countries and they opened Madrassa and enrolled thousands of students within the country as well as from other countries.

These Madrassas also trained these students militarily. These trained students played an important role during Afghan war in 1979. These militant groups of society started to pose serious threat to the integrity of state. After 9/11 incident the government of Pakistan started to play a significant role against war on terror. Musharraf regime formulated various policies to tackle extremist elements of society. Religious forces became active for achieving their specific objectives. Suicide bombing created terror in the society of Pakistan. Law enforcement agencies have been initiating different steps to control extremist elements of society.

Self-assessment Questions

- Q.1 How you will describe the situation of conflict in Pakistan?
- Q.2 Describe the regional conflicts, keeping in view the situation of Pakistan.
- Q.3 How in what ways, the populations of Pakistan suffer from religious conflicts?
- Q.4 Write down a detailed note on sectarian conflict in Pakistan.

Suggested Books

1. Conflict Resolution for the Helping Professions: Negotiation, Mediation, Advocacy, Facilitation, and Restorative Justice. By: Allan Edward Barsky, Professor Social Work Allan Barsky Oxford University Press, 24-Jan-2017.
2. Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action, by: Simon Fisher, Zed Books, 04-Nov-2000 – Political Science
3. Teaching the Skills of Conflict Resolution: Activities and Strategies for Counselors and Teachers, By: David Cowan, Susanna Palomares, Dianne Schilling Innerchoice Publishing, 1992 – Conflict Management.
4. The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice by: Morton Deutsch, Peter T. Coleman, Eric C. Marcus John Wiley & Sons, 04-Mar-2011 – Business & Economics.
5. Mediation Skills and Strategies: A Practical Guide by: Tony Whatling, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 15-Apr-2012 - Law

Unit 9

TERRORISM

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OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, student will be able to:

- define Terrorism
- describe Terrorism Networks
- describe the History of Terrorism
- define Sociology of Terrorism
- sociological theories
- define types of Terrorism
- discuss the cause of Terrorism
- understand and define Terrorism in Pakistan

MAJOR TOPICS

- Definition of Terrorism
- Terrorism Networks
- History of Terrorism
- Sociology of Terrorism
- Sociological Theories
- Types of Terrorism
- Cause of Terrorism
- Terrorism in Pakistan
 - Talibanization
 - Political Modernization
 - Regional Diplomacy
 - Education and Media
 - Civil Society

9.1 Terrorism – What is it?

The task of defining terrorism is complicated, but absolutely necessary in order to develop a sufficient understanding of this phenomenon and to deal with it effectively. The complexity of defining terrorism has many aspects. It arises from the variety of parties who have used violence to instil terror. There have also been many different justifications given for the use of this violence (that we may intuitively define as ‘terrorism’), and there have been many different interested parties defining terrorism, each having their own views and in many cases vested interests in a particular way of defining ‘terrorism’.

Therefore, it is not that surprising that there are well over 100 various definitions of ‘terrorism’ in existence. The use of violence with the aim of creating fear in a wider audience in order to prevent various parties from doing something, or, on the contrary, to coerce them into a certain behaviour, is as old as mankind. Such use of violence has served states and various regimes over a long period of time.

The term ‘terrorism’ originates from Latin word ‘terrere’ that means ‘to frighten’. It obtained its modern form ‘terrorism’ during the Reign of Terror in France from 1793–1794. In Maximilien Robespierre’s words:

‘...terror is nothing other than justice, prompt, severe, inflexible; it is therefore an emanation of virtue; it is not so much a special principle as it is a consequence of the general principle of democracy applied to our country's most urgent needs’.

Controversy in Defining Terrorism

The difficulty in defining “terrorism” is in agreeing on a basis for determining when the use of violence (directed at whom, by whom, for what ends) is legitimate; therefore, the modern definition of terrorism is inherently controversial. The use of violence for the achievement of political ends is common to state and non-state groups. The majority of definitions in use has been written by agencies directly associated with government, and is systematically biased to exclude governments from the definition. The contemporary label of "terrorist" is highly pejorative-- it denotes a lack of legitimacy and morality. As a practical matter, so-called acts of “terrorism” or terrorism are often a tactic committed by the actors as part of a larger military or geo-political agenda.

United Nations

The UN General Assembly Resolution 49/60 (adopted on December 9, 1994), titled "Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism," contains a provision describing terrorism:

Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.

The UN Member States still have no agreed-upon definition of terrorism, and this fact has been a major obstacle to meaningful international countermeasures. Terminology consensus would be necessary for a single comprehensive convention on terrorism, which

some countries favor in place of the present 12 piecemeal conventions and protocols. Cynics have often commented that one state's "terrorist" is another state's "freedom fighter".

The Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism was adopted by the Council of Arab Ministers of the Interior and the Council of Arab Ministers of Justice in Cairo, Egypt in 1998. Terrorism was defined in the convention as:

Any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupying or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize national resources.

UN Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004) gives a definition: criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.

A UN panel, on March 17, 2005, described terrorism as any act "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act."

European Union

The European Union defines terrorism for legal/official purposes in Art.1 of the Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism (2002). This provides that terrorist offences are certain criminal offences set out in a list comprised largely of serious offences against persons and property which: given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organization where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization.

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom's Terrorism Act 2000 defines terrorism to include an act "designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system". An act of violence is not even necessary under this definition.

United States

The United States has defined terrorism under the Federal Criminal Code. Title 18 of the United States Code defines terrorism and lists the crimes associated with terrorism. In Section 2331 of Chapter 113(B), defines terrorism as: "...activities that involve violent... or life-threatening acts... that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State and... appear to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population;

(ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and...(C) occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States..."

US Patriot Act of 2001: terrorist activities include

- threatening, conspiring or attempting to hijack airplanes, boats, buses or other vehicles.
- threatening, conspiring or attempting to commit acts of violence on any "protected" persons, such as government officials.
- any crime committed with "the use of any weapon or dangerous device," when the intent of the crime is determined to be the endangerment of public safety or substantial property damage rather than for "mere personal monetary gain."

FBI definition of terrorism: The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a Government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.

U.S. Army Manual definition terrorism is the "calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear. It is intended to coerce or intimidate governments or societies ... [to attain] political, religious, or ideological goals." U.S. Army Field Manual No. FM 3-0, Chapter 9, 37 (14 June 2001).

Department of Defense Dictionary of Military Terms defines terrorism as: The calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.

State Terrorism

State terrorism has been defined as acts of terrorism conducted by governments or terrorism carried out directly by, or encouraged and funded by, an established government of a state (country) or terrorism practiced by a government against its own people or in support of international terrorism. "State terrorism" is as controversial a concept as that of terrorism itself. Terrorism is often, though not always, defined in terms of four characteristics: (1) the threat or use of violence; (2) a political objective; the desire to change the status quo; (3) the intention to spread fear by committing spectacular public acts; (4) the intentional targeting of civilians. This last element--targeting innocent civilians—is problematic when one tries to distinguish state terrorism from other forms of state violence.

Democratic regimes may foster state terrorism of populations outside their borders or perceived as alien; but they do not terrorize their own populations because a regime that is truly based on the violent suppression of most citizens (not simply some) would cease to be democratic. Dictatorships terrorize their own populations; democracies do not; but they can engage in state sponsored terrorism in other countries.

Declaring war and sending the military to fight other militaries is not terrorism, nor is the use of violence to punish criminals who have been convicted of violent crimes, but many

would argue that democracies are also capable of terrorism. Israel has for many years been characterized by critics, especially in the Arab world, United Nations Resolutions, and human rights organizations, as perpetrating terrorism against the population of the territories it has occupied since 1967.

Critics also accuse the United States of terrorism for backing not only the Israeli occupation, but other repressive regimes willing to terrorize their own citizens to maintain power. Palestinian militants call Israel terrorist, Kurdish militants call Turkey terrorist, Tamil militants call Indonesia terrorist; and, of course, the nation-states call the militants who oppose their regimes “terrorists”. Like “beauty”, “terrorism” is in the eye of the beholder. One man’s freedom fighter is another man’s terrorist. Hence, there is difficulty in defining terrorism.

9.2 Terrorism Networks

The groups that carry out the terrorist attack arise within the world of expatriate Islam, which forms a ghetto in a cultural, if not a geographic sense, drawing in converts, who sometimes turn out to be the most committed to the militant cause. Not only does the small group encourage each of its members in the process of radicalization, but the small group draws support from the networks of religious groups and brotherhoods that operate within the Islamic world. Finally, as the group comes closer and closer to a willingness to use violence, it may find operational support in the network of militants that can transport people from Europe to South Asia and back again.¹

The array of pre-existing social networks involved in this process includes family (or kin and tribe), ethnic group, religious organization, occupation, education and residence. These threads, knitted together through daily life, create a dense fabric that at each step supports the mobilization process. With regard to small groups, by and large there are two types of explanations for how this support works, one psychological, the other sociological. Psychologists have documented what they call group extremity shift or the tendency of a group of people to move toward a more extreme expression of the group’s dominant view. Typically, no one in a group wants to be left behind or left out. Even reluctantly, people tend to move with the group. If the group is clandestine and at danger from the authorities, appearing to be the laggard might even suggest disloyalty. Thus members of a group, particularly members of a clandestine group, have an incentive not to lag far behind and even to prove themselves the most fervent members of the group.

A sociologist examining how networks support social movements has identified three ways in which they do this. First, networks perform a socialization function, helping members sort out who they are as they interact with the trusted members of the network. Second, network connections help create opportunities to participate, from the first study group that someone attends, to train in bomb making. Third, network relationships affect

¹ Tucker, David. “Terrorism, Networks, and Strategy: Why the Conventional Wisdom is Wrong.” *Homeland Security Affairs* 4, Article 5 (June 2008). <https://www.hsaj.org/articles/122>

calculations of costs and benefits. What another study has called the “social and behavioural dynamics of small groups” make the decision for terrorism – to benefit the group even at one’s own expense – more plausible than it might be if one was calculating costs and benefits by oneself and only with regard to oneself. Beyond these small groups, which arise out of pre-existing social networks, other large transnational networks assist in mobilization, if only by providing information through the internet.

What is true of social movements generally is true even more so of the violent clandestine groups that emerge from these movements. Pre-existing social networks make possible violent clandestine organizations because these organizations cannot recruit openly.

One thing that characterizes these movements is an organizational style in which “lines of authority and responsibility tend to be fluid and blurred.” The leader and his relationships are paramount but authority is not exercised through clearly established organizational lines. “Even when institutions such as formal bureaucracies have developed, the real business of ruling and political decision making has resided in personal networks.”

Network forms of organization are particularly useful for mobilizing, then. Yet, if we consider networks from the perspective of those who recruit or build organizations and try to manage violent politics, we can see that these networks are problematic.

Not only will decentralized organizations have trouble with strategy, security is likely to be a problem for them as well. Pre-existing social networks are important for violent clandestine groups or those who want to start one because these groups are at risk. If an organizer wants to recruit someone, he must think about whether the person he approaches will turn him in. To minimize risk, organizers turn to those they trust and those they trust are in the social networks to which they belong.

9.3 History of Terrorism

States as well as non-state bodies have used fear as their weapon of choice for a very long time, and as a historical process the use of fear may have its own dynamic and regularities. Thus, one can ask whether such regularities or cycles have been observed. Have changes in social order, beliefs or some major events brought along specific increases and decreases in the occurrence of non-state terrorism?²

David Rapoport has outlined four major waves of international terrorism in his seminal work on the history of international terrorism. The first (‘anarchist’) wave of modern terrorism began in Russia in the 1880s and lasted until the 1920s, the second (‘anticolonial’) wave began in the 1920s and ended in the 1960s, the third (‘new left’) wave began in the 1960s and continued through to the 1980s, and the fourth (‘religious’) wave emerged in 1979 and continues until today.

² TERRORISM: ITS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE PROSPECTS by ERIK MÄNNIK
http://www.ksk.edu.ee/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/KVUOA_Toimetised_12-M%C3%A4nnik.pdf

The ‘anarchist’ wave of terrorism grew out of the deep dissatisfaction of anarchists with the slow reforms of societies and a realisation that the attempts of revolutionaries to ignite uprisings (and thereby launch changes of the social order) through various writings were inefficient. Anarchists viewed societies as being chained by various conventions and sought acts of terror to destroy these conventions. Their goal was to force those defending governments to respond to terror in ways that would undermine the rules, which governments claimed to respect. In order to achieve the disproportional response of governments, terrorists targeted various high-ranking officials and even heads of state. In this way, excessive force used by authorities would polarise societies and uprising would follow. The weapon of choice of these first terrorists became dynamite and it usually killed the attacking terrorist in the process.

The high point of the first wave of terrorism arrived in 1890s and it continued even beyond the first wave – until 1940. This period could be called the ‘Golden Age of Assassinations’ and during that period one major European minister or head of state was assassinated every 18 months. The first period of international terrorism also witnessed the first attempt by states to tackle terrorism globally after the assassination of the US President William McKinley in 1901. It failed as states were unable to forge consensus for joint action.

The ‘anticolonial’ wave of terrorism began with signing the Treaty of Versailles ending the First World War. The principle of self-determination used to break-up defeated empires provided a foundation for aspirations of a new kind of terrorist organisations, for example, The Irish Republican Army and various Jewish organisations that operated against British forces in the Palestine. The terror campaigns of the second wave were fought mainly in territories where special political problems made the withdrawal of forces by the colonial power a less attractive option. It was in Palestine where Menachem Begin, the leader of Jewish organization Irgun from 1943–1948, described its members for the first time as freedom fighters fighting against government terror.

The second wave of terrorism received extensive support from various diasporas abroad and resorted much less to assassinations. The strategy of the second wave of terror was more complicated: the primary goal of terrorists was the elimination of the local police force and achieving its substitution by occupying military forces that were expected to be too clumsy in dealing with terrorists, but powerful enough to cause grievance among the population through their disproportionate responses to the actions of terrorists. During the ‘anticolonial’ wave of terrorism it became a common practice to call terrorists fighting against colonial powers ‘freedom fighters’.

The target selection of the third wave of terrorists was remarkably similar to those of the first wave of international terrorism: prominent targets became very popular again. The ‘new left’ wave of terrorism produced some 700 hijackings, there were 409 international kidnapping incidents involving 951 hostages from 1968–1982, assassinated high-ranking officials included the prime ministers of Spain and Jordan, the former prime minister of

Italy Aldo Moro and others. However, while anarchists assassinated officials with the aim of provoking disproportionate response, the 'new left' terrorists rather 'punished' their targets for various reasons. It is significant that 1/3 of all targets of the third wave of terrorism were US targets.

The third wave of terrorism witnessed much more international cooperation in counterterrorism activities. The UN adopted major conventions that outlawed hijacking, hostage taking, and financing terrorists. 'Freedom fighter' was no longer a popular term in the UN. Paradoxically, the Palestine Liberation Organization that had used terrorism to promote its policies received official UN status and was recognised by more than 100 states.

The 'religious' wave of terrorism has Islam at its heart. It began in 1979 when three events occurred: The Iranian Revolution, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and a new Islamic century began. Iran called the US the 'Great Satan' and the war in Afghanistan helped to create a training and Islamic indoctrination system for volunteers from all over the Arab world.

The 'religious' wave of terrorism has given prominence to suicide terrorism and witnessed an attempt to cause mass casualties by the use of chemical weapons by the Aum Shinrikyo sect in Tokyo in 1995. In 1983 the Shia organization Hezbollah supported by Iran carried out massive suicide terrorist attacks on the positions of the US Marines and French paratroopers in Lebanon. These attacks resulted in serious casualties and strongly influenced the respective governments to withdraw their troops from Lebanon. These suicide attacks influenced the Tamil Tigers so much so that from 1980–2001 they carried out 75 out of the 186 (more than 40%) of suicide terrorist attacks in the world.

The end of Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the Gulf War brought about a change in the main enemy of Islamic terrorists. Osama bin Laden has found it unacceptable that since the 1991 Gulf War there were large numbers of US troops in Saudi Arabia whom he feared were there to stay indefinitely. Soon after the Gulf War bin Laden moved from Saudi Arabia to Sudan and Al-Qaeda (the successor organisation of the Afghan Services Bureau) became an increasingly decentralised organisation defending Islam.

It must be mentioned that a specific feature of Islamic terrorists has been their desire to destroy their American targets – a pattern unknown in the third wave of terrorism. The single most disastrous act of terror that was committed on 11 September 2001 illustrates their methods of operation.

The response of the international community to the attack of 11 September 2001 has been as astounding as the attack itself. Over 100 states participated directly or indirectly in the attack against Taliban-ruled Afghanistan. Despite such a massive international support for deposing the Taliban and capturing the al-Qaeda leadership, success has been only partial and the man who challenged the sole superpower – Osama bin Laden – has yet to be apprehended at the time of writing this paper.

Rapoport's periodisation of the history of international terrorism has been challenged and discussed by several authors. Mark Sedgewick, for instance, has generally agreed with the four-wave periodisation of terrorism, but noted that the first wave could have started in Italy as early as in 1820s. He also stated that there have been more terrorist organisations between the 1920s and the 1960s than was usually thought and that the spread of terrorism has been influenced more by the successful cases of the adoption of terrorist strategies rather than by any other causes.

Thomas Mockaitis has pointed out that whereas Rapoport has revealed significant general cycles of terrorism, there are considerable numbers of exceptions to his scheme. Thus, some terrorists of the 'new left' have identified themselves as anarchists, 'anticolonial' organisations were predominantly active after 1945 and not after 1920, and most acts of terror of the fourth wave have been committed by followers of one religion (Islam) warranting a more specific focus on the subject. In addition, instability ought to be considered as one of the main causes of terrorism.

Summing up, one can say that all critical views certainly must be taken into account in discussing the history of terrorism (and they again illustrate how complicated a subject it is), but so far Rapoport's periodisation of terrorism remains the most comprehensive analysis of the subject to date. Having shown that, now in 2007, we live in the world washed by the wave of religious terrorism, it is time to take a look at the statistical data on terrorism in order to get a sense of how frequently terrorism occurs in our daily life.

Figures show that from 1 January 1968–1 July 2007, 33,817 acts of terror have been committed killing 51,128 and injuring 118,158 people. Of these, 21,855 acts were committed from 1 January 2001–1 April 2007, killing 38,304 people and injuring 73,834. The number of terrorist acts committed in the world in one year has grown from 1,740 in 2001 to 6,664 in 2006 with the number of deaths rising respectively from 4,579 to 12,073 (the majority of these atrocities were committed in the Middle East and South Asia).

Suicide terrorism has been shown to be the most lethal form of terrorism as from 1980–2001 suicide attacks constituted 3% of all terrorist attacks, but accounted for 48% of lives lost.²³ The presented figures are high, but they must be considered in the context of other risks to life in the world. Jessica Wolfendale has presented an argument that 1,000–7,000 yearly deaths from terrorism in the world constitute only a fraction of the 40,000 daily deaths caused by starvation, the 500,000 people shot dead by light weapons annually, and the millions who die from various diseases.

9.4 Sociology of Terrorism

Those researchers who subscribe to a macrosociological approach view terrorism as a reflection of various social dysfunctions or conflictive trends in the social system. In general, terrorism has been associated with several so-called "root causes" that have promoted other kinds of political violence such as riots and street protests, revolutions, civil wars, and international armed conflicts. Some of the possible root causes are poverty, authoritarian and repressive regimes, or cultural and religious practices.

However, most of the studies that have analyzed the relationship among those sociological variables and terrorist campaigns are inconclusive (Crenshaw, 1995; Laqueur, 2003; Reinares, 2003; De la Corte, 2006; Newman, 2006). Classifying these sources is difficult because terrorism is usually promoted by minorities and the perspective of terrorists often involves a severe distortion of social reality.

The most popular psychological explanations of terrorism involve disruptive or psychopathological personalities. While research is speculative, some researchers have tried to analyze terrorists by their propensity for violence or an inability to control their aggressive impulses. However, impulsive aggressiveness is not a common trait of terrorists. According to biographical studies, people joining the same terrorist organisation have different motivations and personalities. Some common psychological attributes among terrorists are a lack of empathy with their victims, dogmatic or ideological mentality, or a simplistic or utopian worldview, (see Beck, 2003; De la Corte, 2006). However, one must consider that psychological profiles are based on information about the more fanatical and higher ranking members of terrorist organisations. While terrorist activity involves spreading one's ideology or carrying out attacks, it also requires strategic planning, logistical support, raising funds, and recruiting. Each of these activities usually requires people with different capabilities and varying psychological traits. Finally, it is not clear if the psychological attributes of the terrorists are fixed traits or attitudes induced by the experiences of the terrorist's life.

In sum, neither the individual psychology of terrorists, nor the social environments provide a complete explanation of why individuals become involved in terrorism? For this reason, more and more researchers are turning toward a psychosocial perspective in their studies.

First psychosocial principle: terrorism must not be seen as a syndrome but as a method of social and political influence

Social psychologists describe one's environment as the place where a person's behaviour is influenced by the social settings in which they live and their psychological predispositions. But first and foremost, it is a sphere of social influence, an area where people attempt to influence the behaviour and beliefs of other people. Therefore, the psychosocial perspective is not congruent with the widespread interpretation of terrorist attacks as a direct effect of any social or psychological determination, but viewed as several social interactive processes that take place both in inter and intergroup environs. Moreover, many of these influential processes develop in a deliberate and strategic way. Often, terrorist organisations utilize an advertising technique similar to propaganda campaigns when promoting their cause. The idea is best describe by a well-known anarchist saying which defines terrorism as "propaganda by the fact".

Many minority groups conduct terrorist activities as a way to bring about social change. (Kruglanski, 2003). Usually, these groups represent beliefs and positions on political and religious issues which are not readily accepted by the majority. These terrorists are what some social psychologists define as "active minorities" (Moscovici, Mugny and Perez, 1991; Moscovici, 1996). According to research conducted by experimental social

psychologists, minorities attempt to gain influence by persuading majority members to consider their point of view. Effective persuasion depends on the minority member's ability to clearly communicate their positions over several different occasions. Through such persistence, a minority may be able to change or influence the majority position. Terrorism is not much different from this process because the spreading of fear or terror through violence has a communicative dimension. Remember the relationship between terrorism and propaganda: after all, terrorist violence is a means to direct people's attention to certain problems (real, exaggerated or fictitious) and publicize the terrorist's political or religious demands.

Second principle: the attributes of terrorists are shaped by processes of social interaction

As a whole; social psychologists are predisposed to explain the psychological characteristics of individuals a result of several processes of socialization and social interaction. This ideal also applies to the mental attributes of terrorists. Previously, some researches suggested that the process of joining a terrorist group was heavily influenced by the prevailing political and social environment shared by friends and relatives. Obviously, growing up in an environment marked by radical ideas and values could lead one to a join terrorist group which embraces the same ideas and values. For example, many members of Euskadi Ta Askatasuna(ETA), Red Brigades or Irish Republican Army (IRA) were born and raised in families respectively attached to the subculture of Basque nationalist (Reinares, 2001; Romero, 2006), Irish Catholic (Lee, 1983) or Italian radical left-wing (Della Porta, 1990).

In other cases, joining a terrorist organisation is the result of making contact and relationships with people who embrace extremist political or religious ideas. Sageman (2004) states that personal paths, interactions, and choices may lead young Muslims to become radical jihadists. According to that research, the act of joining a jihadist organisation such as al-Qaeda stems from the individual making an unintentional friendship with a person who has radical jihadists' views. In the sample of 168 subjects who were investigated by Sageman, 68% said friendship was the main influencing factor contributing to joining jihadist groups. In about 14% of the cases, one joined a jihadist organisation because of familial bonds. The two other explanatory variables also dealt with socialization experiences prior to involvement in terrorist activity: 1) experiences related to education in certain madrassas or Koranic schools (8% of the members of the sample,) or 2) assiduous participation in the activities of certain radical mosques.

The psychosocial perspective also emphasizes the importance of "secondary socialization" processes in which terrorists become involved after joining a radical organisation. It should be noted that some experts have found significant similarities between the indoctrinative method of sectarian groups and those that are used inside terrorist organisations (Rodriguez, 1992; Della Porta, 1998; Sageman, 2004; De la Corte, 2006). In any case, there is no doubt that the activities and lifestyles developed inside terrorist organisation shape the mentality of its members, intensifying their commitment to such organisations, and preparing them to engage in criminal activities.

Third principle: terrorist organisations can be analyzed by analogy with other social movements

Many terrorist organisations can be closely related to cycles of political mobilization and mass protests against states that take place from time to time (Tarrow, 1989; Gonzalez Calleja, 2003). Very often, terrorist campaigns are the result of a long radicalization process of certain political or religious movement. When those movements lose their social influence, they tend to split off and form different groups. Sometimes, extremists in those groups adopt terrorism as its preferred method of social influence (Reinares, 1998; De la Corte, 2006).

One aspect that terrorist organisations share with ordinary political or religious movements is the central role played by psychological processes of collective identification. Typically, terrorist organisations present themselves as the defenders of the values and interests of an ethnic or religious community (see Javaloy, Rodriguez and Espelt, 2003). As Social Identity Theory predicts, the self-identification of terrorists as members of a much larger community will help them to fulfil their goals; see table 1 (Tajfel, 1984; Turner, 1991; Javaloy, Rodriguez and Espelt, 2003; Taylor, 2003).

Table 1: Psychosocial effects and relationship to social identity	
Effect	Explanation
<i>Depersonalization</i>	Terrorists tend to perceive themselves as interchangeable members of an organisation. This motivates terrorists to give preference to the interests and goals of the organisation
<i>Social cohesión</i>	The collective identity shared by members of terrorist organisation promote positive relationships among them, which increases intragroup cohesion and cooperation
<i>Conformity, obedience</i>	The greater identification with the terrorist organisation, the greater identification with the norms which rule the members' behaviour. Therefore, a reduction in disobedience and challenging the orders of their leaders.
<i>Bipolar worldview</i>	Identifying with their organisation and reference community motivates terrorist to develop negative prejudices about people from other communities. The world is divided between us and them. The responsibility of problems and injustices suffered by the terrorist's reference community may be attributed to another community who could play a scapegoat role.

Fourth principle: terrorism only is possible when terrorists have access to certain resources

Resource Mobilization theory (McCarthy and Zald, 1973; McAdam, 1982) states that the probability of the emergence of any social protest movement depends not only on the opportunities offered by the social situation, but also by the capability of the movement to "mobilize" certain basic resources. Specifically, a terrorist campaign requires materials (money, technology and others), people (militants, collaborators, supporters) and symbols (clearly linked to the ideologies that motivate terrorist acts) (Waldman, 1997). It is important to note that a majority of a terrorist's time and effort is dedicated to obtaining the above resources. In order obtain these primary resources, terrorist may engage in

predatory activities such as theft, extortion, kidnapping or various legal and illegal businesses (see Bovenkerk and Chakra, 2004; Ward, 2004). To obtain their human resources, terrorist organisations design unique methods of radicalization, recruitment strategies, and training programs (De la Corte, 2006).

Fifth principle: the decision to begin and sustain a terrorist campaign is always legitimized by an extreme ideology

Terrorism would not be possible without the existence of an extreme ideology that provides meaning and justification for the people who plan, execute, and support the violent actions. Ideology here refers to a system of extremist beliefs and values that are shared by a terrorist organisation and its allies. When the terrorist's ideology is rooted in the traditions and history of their reference community (for example, the Palestinian community for Hamas or the Basque people for ETA), it is possible that ideology also earns the acceptance of many individuals and other groups not involved in terrorist activity. As stated by Krunglanski (2002), the latter is important because the more people who share a similar point of view to that of the terrorists, the greater the potential for violence.

Several investigations have been undertaken regarding the nature, contents, and functions which characterized the ideologies of different terrorist organisations. One study found similarities in the ideologies of ETA (Sabucedo, Rodriguez and Fernandez, 2002; Sabucedo, Blanco y De la Corte, 2003), the Colombian guerrilla Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), the paramilitaries group called Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC) (Sabucedo et al., 2005) and the jihadist propaganda and the message of al-Qaeda's leaders (De la Corte, 2005; De la Corte and Jordan, 2007). Overall, the research has found at least five elements shared by all these ideological discourses. Table 2 lists these elements and describes their psychosocial functions.

9.5 Sociological Theories

The three major sociological perspectives offer some very different understandings of war and terrorism.³

Theoretical Perspective	Major Assumptions
Functionalism	War and terrorism serve several important functions. For example, they increase social solidarity as a society unites to defeat a perceived enemy. Some wars have also helped preserve freedom and democracy.
Conflict theory	War and militarism primarily advance the interests of the military-industrial complex and take billions of dollars from unmet social needs.
Symbolic interactionism	Symbols such as the flag play an important role in marshaling support for war. Definitions of several concepts also play an important role in public opinion regarding war and terrorism.

³ http://catalog.flatworldknowledge.com/bookhub/reader/3064?e=barkansoc_1.0-ch16_s01

Functionalism

One of functionalism's most important insights is that social problems might actually be useful in this way, however many difficulties they might otherwise cause. Crime certainly causes many problems, but it also creates hundreds of thousands of jobs in law enforcement, courts and corrections, home security, and other sectors of the economy that deal with crime.

In this spirit, functionalism similarly emphasizes the ways in which war and terrorism are useful for society, however horrible they are in so many other ways. Perhaps the first sociologist to make this point for war was Robert E. Park, the 1925 president of the American Sociological Association (which was then called the American Sociological Society—a name that was later changed because of its acronym!). In January 1941, less than a year before the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Park published an influential essay called “The Social Function of War: Observations and Notes,” in a leading sociology journal (Park, 1941).

Park's essay outlined several functions of war. First, war helps resolve international disputes over matters such as territorial boundaries and religious and other ideologies. No matter what one might think of war, historically it has resolved disputes between nations, with the winner of the war winning the dispute. Even though very few people would say that war is a preferred method for resolving a dispute, it still has performed this function.

Second, war generates a stronger sense of social bonding and solidarity within the societies that are at war. Having a common enemy, people within a society at war “come together” with a shared purpose and feel more united and patriotic than before. This dynamic is called the external conflict/internal cohesion process (Markides & Cohn, 1982).

Third, wars many centuries ago, such as those in which ancient Rome in essence formed and grew from conquering various tribes, led to the development of the nation-state as a political institution. As these tribes came under the rule of nation-states, their separate tribal identities weakened as they gradually identified themselves as one people belonging to their nation-state; Park (p. 569) referred to this process as “the coming-together and integration of races and peoples.” Moreover, the size and resources of these nation-states allowed them to generate scientific, cultural, and political advances that played an important role in world history. War, then, indirectly contributed to these advances. Although nation-states still might have eventually developed even without war, their development was accelerated by war.

Other functions of war can also be cited. Some wars, including the American colonists' war against England and the Allies' war against Hitler and Japan, have helped maintain and establish freedom and democracy. In the past and also today, war and military service have also provided important opportunities for jobs and career advancement for people of color and women. Related to this, the US military provides millions of jobs annually and is a ready form of employment for people who only have a high school education. More generally, the military and the defense industry are certainly important components of the US economy, and military spending in some eras has helped stimulate the US economy.

In perhaps the most notable example of this effect, spending for World War II is commonly credited with helping to lift the United States out of the Great Depression (Shiller, 2012).

In a final function, weapons research and other types of military research have contributed to scientific and technological development in general. For example, military research played a key role in the early development of the Internet.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory's perspective on war and the military is decidedly more negative than that of functionalism. There are actually many different views within conflict theory about war and the military, but three related views stand out. The first view echoes President Eisenhower's concern over the power and influence of the military-industrial complex. According to conflict theory, the United States spends so much on the military and even goes to war because military officials, defense contractors, and political leaders work hand-in-hand in a rather cozy relationship. Although they may profess that their actions are meant to keep the nation safe, their ultimate goal is to enhance their political power and financial well-being.

The most famous critique of the military-industrial complex from a conflict theorist is undoubtedly that of sociologist C. Wright Mills in his book *The Power Elite* (1956). [4] According to Mills, the power elite is composed of government, big business, and the military, which together constitute a ruling class that controls society and works for its own interests, not for the interests of the citizenry. Members of the power elite, Mills said, see each other socially and serve together on the boards of directors of corporations, charitable organizations, and other bodies. When cabinet members, senators, and top generals and other military officials retire, they often become corporate executives; military officials in particular join defense contractors. Conversely, corporate executives often become cabinet members and other key political appointees, and defense industry executives often end up in the Pentagon. This circulation of the elites creates a rather cozy relationship that helps ensure their dominance over American life and in particular ensures that the military-industrial complex has an untold influence over economic and foreign policy.

A more recent critique of the military-industrial complex and foreign policy by sociologist Mark C. Worrell (2011, p. 51) [5] bluntly stresses the role played by the desire for corporate profits: "War is business and it is profitable...What we learned in the aftermath of World War II is that mass destruction is great for corporate profits...War is driven by corporate profits and corporations drive politics." According to Worrell and other contemporary critics of what they call the warfare state, the United States now has a permanent war economy. In their view, the war on terrorism after 9/11 and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan "have only deepened the trend toward ever more concentrated state, corporate, and military power in a society that ostensibly embraces democratic values" (Boggs, 2011, p. ix). [6]

The second view of conflict theory concerns imperialism, or the use of military power and other means to extend a nation's influence and control over other nations. This view,

held by the more radical proponents of conflict theory, argues that war and other military ventures by the United States are done for the sake of imperialism rather than for noble goals such as the preservation and extension of democracy. In this view, the United States wages war and engages in other military actions to gain access to oil and other resources of other societies, with the ultimate aim of enriching multinational corporations and other parties. The characterization does not hold true for World War II, conflict theorists concede, but they argue it holds true for many and perhaps most other US wars and military actions, historically and today. In their view, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan in particular were fought under false pretenses to maintain adequate oil supply and more generally to extend America's military and economic influence around the world (Worrell, 2011).

A third view of conflict theory criticizes the size of the military budget and emphasizes the billions of dollars it takes from social needs such as poverty and climate change. As sociologist Carl Boggs (2011, p. 17) [8] argues, "The war economy, for its part, devours roughly one trillion dollars in material, technological, and human resources yearly..., ensuring a pattern of waste, destruction, uneven development, eroded public infrastructures, and decimated social programs. Decaying American cities have become a supreme legacy of the warfare system." We return to this issue later in this chapter.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionist writing on war features several emphases. One theme concerns the perceptions and experiences of people involved in war: soldiers, civilians, and others. There are many moving accounts, for example, both real and fictitious, of soldiers' life on the battlefield and after they come home from war.

A second emphasis concerns the use of symbols to marshal support for war or protest against war. Symbols such as the flag evoke feelings of patriotism, perhaps especially when a nation is at war. The president and other politicians typically display a flag when they give major speeches, and it would be unthinkable for a flag not to be showing when the speech is about war or the threat of war. During the Vietnam War, protesters sometimes flew the US flag upside-down (the international symbol of distress) to show their hatred of the war, and some protesters also burned the flag—an act that is almost guaranteed to provoke outrage and hostility from onlookers.

Other symbols can also be important. When the United States invaded Iraq in March 2003, millions of Americans put magnetic yellow ribbons on their cars, SUVs, and pickup trucks to show their support for the troops. The largest manufacturer of the ribbons sold more than one million monthly a year after the war began. However, sales slipped as support for the war declined, and four years after the war numbered only 4,000 monthly (Ward, 2007). [9] Another ubiquitous symbol during the Vietnam War was the so-called international peace symbol (see Figure 16.1 "International Peace Symbol"), originally designed in the late 1950s to symbolize concern over nuclear weapons. Vietnam War protesters wore this symbol on their clothing, and many put peace symbol decals on their motor vehicles, book bags, and other possessions.

A third emphasis of symbolic interactionism concerns how concepts related to war and terrorism come to be defined in ways that advance the goals of various parties. For example, a key goal of the military in basic training is to convince trainees that people they may face on the battlefield are the enemy and, as such, an appropriate target for killing. Related to this goal is the need to convince trainees that when they kill an enemy soldier, the killing is a justified killing and not murder. Similarly, the military often refers to civilian deaths or wounding as collateral damage in a conscious or unconscious attempt to minimize public horror at civilian casualties.

Another definitional issue concerns terrorism. As we shall discuss later, the definition of terrorism is very subjective, as actions that some people might regard as terrorism might be regarded by other people as freedom fighting or some other much more positive term than terrorism.

With this theoretical background in mind, we now turn to several issues and problems of war and terrorism.

9.6 Types of Terrorism

Thus, despite the definitional debate that exists surrounding the lines of categorization, there are eight terrorist typologies, which will be explained within the following contexts:⁴

1. *The New Terrorism*: The modern terrorist environment that arose during the end of the 20th century, culminating in the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York City. The New Terrorism is characterized by the threat of mass casualty attacks from dissident terrorist organizations, new and creative organizational configurations, transnational religious solidarity, and redefined moral justifications for political violence.
2. *State Terrorism*: Terrorism “committed by governments against perceived enemies. State terrorism can be directed externally against adversaries in the international domain or internally against domestic enemies” (Martin, 2016: 31).
3. *Dissident Terrorism*: Terrorism “committed by nonstate movements and groups against governments, ethno-national groups, religious groups, and other perceived enemies” (Martin, 2016: 31).
4. *Religious Terrorism*: “Terrorism motivated by an absolute belief that another worldly power has sanctioned—and commanded—the application of terrorist violence for the greater glory of the faith. Religious terrorism is usually conducted in defense of what believers consider to be the one true faith” (Martin, 2016: 32).
5. *Ideological Terrorism*: Terrorism motivated by political systems of belief (ideologies), which champion the self-perceived inherent rights of a particular group or interest in opposition to another group or interest. The system of belief incorporates theoretical and philosophical justifications for violently asserting the rights of the championed group or interest.

⁴ Developing Next-Generation Countermeasures for Homeland Security Threat Prevention by Gus Martin

6. *International Terrorism*: “Terrorism that spills over onto the world’s stage. Targets are selected because of their value as symbols of international interests, either within the home country or across state boundaries” (Martin, 2016: 32).
7. *Criminal Dissident Terrorism*: This type of terrorism is solely profit-driven, and can be some combination of profit and politics. For instance, traditional organized criminals accrue profits to fund their criminal activity and for personal interests, while criminal-political enterprises acquire profits to sustain their movement (Martin, 2016: 32).
8. *Gender-Selective Terrorism*: Terrorism directed against an enemy population’s men or women because of their gender. Systematic violence is directed against men because of the perceived threat posed by males as potential soldiers or sources of opposition. Systematic violence is directed against women to destroy an enemy group’s cultural identity or terrorize the group into submission.

9.7 Causes of Terrorism

Terrorism, however, is an extremely complex set of phenomena, covering a great diversity of groups with different origins and causes (Bjorgo, 2005). The aim should rather be to provide a more nuanced discussion on the causes of terrorism and, it is hoped, indicate some possibilities for influencing factors that may actually have an impact on the level of terrorism. Identifying these root causes is a complex task, for several reasons. There are many failed attempts to find one common definition of terrorism have been frustrated by the fact that the label ‘terrorism’ is used to cover a wide range of rather different phenomena (Bjorgo, 2005). In this context, the various factors that instigate the process of terrorist activities have been enumerated with respect to illumination of the igniting forces and supporting factors. The coming paragraphs explicitly show a categorical explanation of these forces that cause terrorism.

Socio-Economic Causes

History witnesses that economy has been a source of pride, prestige and hold over the resources. It channelizes the social life and directs the socio-political activities while on the other hand it is the source of discrimination and exploitation. Such exploitation leads to different types of conflicts and lead the society in a passive direction (Engels, 1970). In addition, globalization may be the reason of terrorism because some countries may lag far behind and this resentment may compel them to terrorist activities. Secondly due to the invention of modern means of transportation and communication, the terrorist activities can be carried out very easily (Crenshaw, 1981). Poverty cannot be the only reason of terrorism as terrorist does not belong to the poor countries alone, rather the educated and well-off persons are also involved in terrorist activities, the example is Osama Bin laden who belonged to a rich and well educated family of Saudi Arabia (Crenshaw, 1981:21).

Contrary to this, Syed Ejaz Hussain (2010) mentions that the capitalism becomes more relevant to terrorism in Pakistan because the US invasion in Afghanistan had three objectives, these were, access to the oil reserves in Central Asia, encircling China and to fight Alqaeda. The battle between Communism and Capitalism was fought in this region and due to this battle, Pakistan was filled with Mullas, Kalashnikov and drugs, which

completely eroded the Pakistani society. Contradicting to the Capitalism as a cause of Terrorism Tocqueville quoted in Brynjar and Katja (2000), mentions that social inequality is responsible for terrorism in society. The conflicts often linked do not represent any global struggle against the West and their connections to one another are spurious at best. There are real economic and political reasons for the conflicts explored in this book. Solving them would do much to take the ideological wind out of the sails of those who call for a global jihad (Pape, 2005). Looking at the alleged nexus between poverty and terrorism in statistical terms Schmid (2005) tried to combine indicators of poverty with indicators of terrorism for some 70 countries that palpably elaborates the progressive relation between the prevalence of terrorism and economic forces. On the other hand, countries with a 'youth bulge', a relatively open system of higher education and high unemployment rates among university graduates, would seem to be at a higher risk of seeing young men attracted to political violence, including terrorism (Cembrero 2003). In addition, poverty might also indirectly contribute to terrorism, in that some relatively well to-do young men and women strongly identifying with the fate of the poor begin to act as self-appointed champions of their cause, without being part of their class or ethnic group and often without asking them whether it is in their best interest. They then recruit young people on the margins of society from impoverished shanty towns, some of them petty criminals, and indoctrinate them and use them for their purposes (Cembrero 2003).

An individual is, perhaps, more likely to become a terrorist or militant in a repressive society in which exposure to violence, poverty, and political disempowerment is a regular occurrence than in a relatively free society in which legitimate outlets for rage and frustration and prospects for a better life exist. Yet majorities of people, even in the harshest of socio-political circumstances, do not become terrorists or give moral or financial support to terrorist organizations (Kenrick, 2009). In this run of the terrorist activities; the developing countries are lag far beyond the limits and are striving to win the race with the production of more militants or terrorists with regard to their economic scarcities and low income opportunities. Pakistan is among the third world countries that are persevering to develop its income oriented resources. Pakistan is a developing country and is considered to be a semi-industrialized nation comprises 170 million people, out of which almost 20 percent live below the poverty line. The Gross Domestic Product or GDP for Pakistan in 2010 stood at 167 billion dollars, constituting only 0.27% of the world economy.

Terrorism has cost Pakistan 6% of its GDP in 2009–2010. Pakistan is also considered to be the world's 27th largest economy, based on its purchasing power. The economy is deteriorating day by day, as core inflation has now reached 12%, according to the economic survey conducted by the government (Ahmad, 2009). In such a run, the fact can't be repudiated altogether; however, the potential for militancy and extremism already did exist in Pakistan due to its fragile social structure since independence in terms of poverty, unemployment, ignorance, economic stagnation, radical ideologies, bad governance, injustice and rigid culture. Pakistan ranks highly in some of the poorest countries of the world. The per capita income is drastically low and the state of some

basic human resources is extremely disappointing. The people have been deprived of modern facilities in education, health, communication and good food. Such people are worried due to the lack of income resources and they are unable to fulfill their needs to live a life parallel to their neighbors. In this age of competition, they feel deprived of their rights and inferiority complex prevails upon them (Nasir & Hyder, 1988:474).

The mentioned factual information best exemplifies that terrorism in a country like Pakistan is mainly and deeply rooted in the race of economic growth. In this context, the economic forces like poverty, unemployment, low standard of life and scarcity of income resources leads to anti social activities that further augment in the shape of socio-political crimes like terrorism and militancy.

Political Causes

Terrorism has a long history, but its systematic analysis has a short past. Within this relatively brief period of time, spanning perhaps not much longer than three decades, analytical literature on the causes of terrorism has mushroomed (Feierabend, 1969). Empirical evidence suggests (Gupta et al. 1993) that the relationship between government coercion and political violence is essentially shaped like an inverted U; lower levels of coercion only add fuel to the fire of dissent, while dissident activities can be brought down beyond a certain point of high violence and high coercion by resorting to extreme forces of brutality (Moore, 1998).

Terrorism has been an issue of concern at the global scenario where the developed countries are suffering from the ignition of militant and anti social activities. In addition, the blistering effects have been explicitly observed in the developing countries while more particularly in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In such a run, Pakistan has become the centre of emphasis in the present war on terrorism that has almost suffered excessively in the field of its social, economic and political aspects. In this regard, numerous forces are persevering behind the prevalence of such a menace that includes the social, economic and more evidently the political factors.

The empirical information along-with the factual data reveals that poor governance and weak law enforcement lead to anti-state and anti social activities. Furthermore, the unsuccessful democracy and somehow the dictatorship in the state cause such kinds of hazardous acts. Researches and factual data show a strong relationship between the political factors including poor leadership and poor governance with that of the initiation of terrorism and militancy.

9.8 Terrorism in Pakistan

Talibanization

The prevalence of this Islamic discourse points to a slow progression in the country toward living with Taliban-like militant activity. One can outline three stages of Talibanization:

1. The first stage was characterized by the Pakistan Army's support of the Taliban as a pro-Pakistan group in Afghanistan, and the army's use of the militant group to

dismantle the post-Mohammad Najibullah presidency (1987-1992) in Kabul during the mid-1990s. The rise of the Taliban—and their rule in Afghanistan from 1996 until 2001—was the product of Pakistani backing, support from Afghanistan’s Pakhtun community, and the war-induced displacement, anarchy, and militancy that became a way of life. Islamic parties, conservative sections of the middle class, and some politicians, including the Oxford educated Imran Khan, viewed the rule of the Taliban in Kabul as a symbol of Islamic justice, political stability and the realization of the vision to establish sharia.

2. In the second phase of Talibanization (2001 until 2007), fugitives from the U.S.-led NATO operations in Afghanistan entered the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the Swat Valley in Pakistan. Islamabad indirectly ruled FATA, leaving a large space of public life un-administered. FATA’s political and administrative system based on the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) is quite different from the mainstream Westminster model found in the rest of Pakistan. Whereas the latter has an elaborate court system with a built in appellate mechanism, a “rational-legal bureaucracy,” and writ and constitutional provisions for equal protection of the law, FATA’s system has a jirga (council of tribal leaders with no appellate body), a mini-ruler, and no human rights protection. The feudal administration of justice in Swat Valley was replaced in 1969 by FCR—the brutal wing of the legal edifice of British India mentioned above—but was again replaced in 1988 by the mainstream legal-institutional system of administration. However, in Swat, unlike areas formerly under direct colonial rule, this system did not have a long enough gestation period. The reaction to incomplete assimilation into the modern, constitutional system of Pakistan led to a desire in the valley to return to feudal administration. Tanzim Nifaz Shariat Mohammadi (TNSM) of Sufi Mohammad started a “Shariatization” movement in the early 1990s that continued to simmer into the 2000s.²⁷ Not surprisingly, the Pakhtuns of both FATA and Swat provided cultural, geographical, and political space to the incoming Taliban, leading to demands for implementation of the pre-colonial Nizam-e-Adl (system of justice).
3. The third phase of Talibanization began after the 2007 military action against the radical elements operating from within Jamia Hafsa, a madrassa for female students housed in the Red Mosque in Islamabad. A new wave of bomb attacks started at the hands of protoTaliban jihadi groups, who had already been active for more than a decade. These protoTaliban groups include:
 - a. Haqqani group: Based in North Waziristan, along with outfits of Mullah Maulvi Nazir and Hafiz Gul Bahadur, the Haqqani group mainly attacks NATO targets in Afghanistan.
 - b. Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Mohammad (JM), Harkatul Jihad, and Harkatul Mujahideen: These groups have focused on Indian targets since the days of the 1990 Kashmir jihad. LeT was implicated in the 2008 Mumbai attacks.
 - c. Tehrik Taliban Pakistan (TTP): Based in FATA, TTP is a string of loosely tied jihadi groups that operates all over the country and attacks Pakistani targets.
 - d. Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) and Lashkar-e-Jhangyi (LJ): Headquartered in Jhang in South Punjab, SSP is a major sectarian militant outfit. Both SSP and LJ tend to carry out attacks against Shias.

Islamic militancy was once only a Pakhtun phenomenon, but this is no longer the case. South Punjab has emerged as a new hub of militant Islam in terms of recruitment to jihadi organizations such as JM and the proliferation of madrassas and proselytizing campaigns. Similar to Swat, the legal administrative edifice of Bahawalpur—the heart of South Punjab—was underdeveloped in comparison with mainstream Punjab. This underdevelopment constrained Islamabad’s outreach and allowed for an Islamic resurgence to occur. These new developments in South Punjab—the center of gravity of the so-called Punjabi Taliban—threaten the state’s hold on power.

In Karachi, militant activity manifests itself in multiple ways. There is ethnic violence between the mohajirs and the Pakhtuns led by the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and the Awami National Party (ANP), respectively, and religio-sectarian violence between Shias and Sunnis and between the two Sunni sub-sects, Deobandis and Barelvīs. Criminal violence in the city includes the trafficking of guns, narcotics, women, and children. Further, several Taliban fugitives, as well as members of the Iranian militant group Jundullah, have been apprehended in Karachi. One study describes the presence of more than five thousand militants from various jihadi organizations in the city. Police have routinely arrested foreign residents of Afghan and Central Asian origin, with links to terrorist networks. Taliban activists have been fleeing FATA under the deadly impact of U.S. drone attacks, and Karachi is emerging as a safe haven for them.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations;

The internal conflict between the three main actors in Pakistan (the civilian wing of the state, the military, and Islamic parties and groups) has caused the country to face political instability at home and a diplomatic and strategic crisis abroad. The effects of partition, migration, military rule, Islamic militancy, and regional instability have all contributed to the country’s instability. Contending forces—whether driven by religious, sectarian, ethnic, tribal, and linguistic identities or by civilian-military and modernist-Islamist struggles—can adversely affect the authority of the state in the long term.

Despite its history of military rule and regional instability that exacerbate internal political conflict, the state in Pakistan has a long history of legal and institutional development. Pakistan is not a “generic” Muslim state, but rather a constitutional state akin to India. Its authority is based on the Westminster model, characterized by legitimacy based on popular mandate, an elaborate judicial system, the prevalence of political parties, but it also has primordial loyalties of tribe and caste, the use and abuse of religion in electoral campaigns, and discourse based on ethno-linguistic divides.

Various civil society actors in Pakistan have been vocal proponents of the rule of law and of curbing jihadi propaganda and the perceived appeasement of the Taliban and proto-Taliban groups. While civil society in the West has been more concerned about the illiberal legal constraints on people’s freedoms and their governments’ overreach in the war on terror, civil society in Pakistan has challenged the government’s insincerity in controlling the menace of Talibanization in the country. However, Pakistani civil society has also been critical of certain counterterrorist legislation in Pakistan, including the Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA). First introduced in 1993 in the National Assembly, the ATA was passed in 1997,

thereby establishing the Anti-Terrorism Courts (ATCs). The ATCs were criticized for violating human rights by shortcutting the legal and investigation process. Musharraf expanded the jurisdiction of ATCs both by increasing the scope of detention and trial and by raising the threshold of punishment. Although it can play an important role in Pakistan's political and social landscape, the civil society sector is constrained to operate on two fronts. First, it struggles to uphold the agenda of political freedoms and civic liberties in the face of the institutional stranglehold represented by the ATCs.

Second, it is on the defensive against the efforts of some who claim that the modicum of democracy in the country is un-Islamic and against sharia. These challenges underscore the importance of strengthening the civilian framework of constitutional authority, enabling the government to control policy, and stabilizing the political system in the country. All stakeholders, in the country and abroad, need a long-term perspective for producing a stable political order in the country. Economic, educational, cultural, media, and peace initiatives falter when the state and society go in different directions.

Similarly NACTA was established vide NACTA act 2013 with the view to curb the menace of terrorism from the country. NACTA is headed by National Coordinator and supported by Deputy National Coordinator and three Members along with Director Generals and joint Intelligence Directorate. It is a Federal organ having the following functions to perform.

- a) To receive and collate data or information or intelligence, and disseminate and coordinate between all relevant stakeholders to formulate threat assessments with periodical reviews to be presented to the Federal Government for making adequate and timely efforts to counter terrorism and extremism;
- b) To coordinate and prepare comprehensive National counter terrorism and counter extremism strategies, and review them on periodical basis;
- c) To develop action plans against terrorism and extremism and report to the Federal Government about implementation of these plans on periodical basis;
- d) To carry out research on topics relevant to terrorism and extremism and to prepare and circulate documents;
- e) To carry out liaison with International entities for facilitating cooperation in areas relating to terrorism and extremism;
- f) To review relevant laws and suggest amendments to the Federal Government; and
- g) To appoint committees of experts from Government and non-Government organizations for deliberations in areas related to the mandate and function of the Authority.

National Internal Security Policy 2014-18⁵

Global terrorism and armed conflict in Afghanistan changed the internal security paradigm of Pakistan. The economy suffered a loss of more than US\$ 78 billion in last ten years only. More than 50,000 Pakistanis, including civilian, Armed Forces and Law Enforcement Agencies' (LEAs) personnel, have been affected. This situation requires

⁵ National Internal Security Policy - 2014 – 18; <http://www.nacta.gov.pk/policies/NISP.pdf>

integrated efforts through an institutionalized framework under democratic leadership to elicit support and cooperation of local and international stakeholders.

1. The first National Internal Security Policy (NISP) of Pakistan is formulated to protect national interests of Pakistan and addresses critical security issues and concerns with an institutionalized response through National Counter Terrorism Authority.
2. It is based on the principle of mutual inclusiveness and integration of all national efforts and includes three elements;
 - a. Dialogue with all stakeholders,
 - b. Isolation of terrorists from their support systems,
 - c. Deterrence enhancement by capacity building of the security apparatus to neutralise threats to internal security of Pakistan.
3. First element of NISP, dialogue, includes a comprehensive approach to deal with all segments of society from citizens to adversaries. The government will take steps to address the ideological and material aspects of internal security of Pakistan.
4. It will ensure protection of basic rights of the people and will focus on reconstruction, rehabilitation, victim protection to building a national narrative on extremism and terrorism with the help of all stakeholders.
5. For isolating those who do not want to see Pakistan as a prosperous and progressive state, a robust border management framework will be put in place to secure borders of the country. It will also require concerted diplomatic efforts to build international support and cooperation for desired results.
6. Whereas peaceful resolution of all disputes is the first priority, it is also vital to develop a deterrence capacity to neutralise all threats to national internal security. Capacity building of Police and Civil Armed Forces is the corner stone of this policy.
7. NACTA to comprise of two directorates for implementing soft and hard components of NISP. Directorate of Research and Coordination will work on national narrative, rehabilitation, reconstruction, integration, mosques and madrasa mapping, legal reforms and policies related to internal security.
8. NISP also envisages filling existing gaps in coordination and intelligence sharing by establishing a Directorate of Internal Security within the existing legal framework of NACTA. Directorate of Internal Security will disseminate proactive plans for intelligence based upon operations with all components of national internal security apparatus.
9. The implementation of NISP will require an estimated cost of 32 billion rupees and it will be implemented till December 31, 2014. Provincial component of this estimated cost is Rs. 22 billion and Rs. 10 billion is estimated cost of federal components though it will be also supporting the provinces. Timely implementation of NISP will help in proactively dealing with threats to internal security.

Political modernization, therefore emerges as the most crucial variable for producing political stability and social harmony within a pluralist framework of policy and practice. Several policy recommendations are presented below, along with recommendations related to regional diplomacy, education and media, and civil society. These recommendations primarily address policymakers in Islamabad and Washington.

Political Modernization

1. Islamic militancy and the political ascendancy of proto-Taliban groups only become stronger in the absence of political modernization and good governance. In recent history, successive governments faced strident local millenarian movements that wanted to implement a traditional system of justice and administration, and the state felt helpless in its inability to control security matters. Therefore, Pakistan must:
 - Integrate unadministered areas such as FATA and other peripheral regions into the mainstream legal and political system.
 - Strengthen the rule of law, especially the court system, in order to deliver justice and handle citizens' complaints.
 - Implement a policy of zero tolerance for militant organizations, based on a one country-one-system formula such as NACTA.
2. Political modernization also requires the strengthening of democracy, which can be enhanced by:
 - Ensuring regular elections and that extra constitutional measure are not taken to invalidate those elections.
 - Providing incentives for political parties to move from identity politics characterize by religious and ethnic distinctions to issue politics relating to economic, administrative, environmental, health, educational, gender, and minority problems.
 - Shielding the parliament against pressures from the other branches of the government.
 - Strengthening political parties organizationally, beyond the donor-driven managerial approach to a political approach based on institutional links with various sectors of society.
 - Investing in the "political class," and not just the educated middle class.
3. To avoid the spread of militancy beyond FATA, Swat, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa into Punjab and Karachi, counterterrorist operations must be based on a policing, rather than a military, approach. The state should also eliminate the "no-go areas," which would consolidate the authority of the state, without compromising and overstressing the role of the armed forces. This makes sense as the threat of terrorism is increasingly in urban areas with high population density.
4. There should be a genuine effort to "federalize" the state to make the smaller provinces equal stakeholders in the political system.

Regional Diplomacy

1. Pakistan and India should establish viable, long-term diplomatic, commercial, educational, and cultural links, which could secure regional stability. Some concrete steps to improve their bilateral relationship are as follows:
 - India and Pakistan must start thinking outside of the box on Afghanistan. India's ambitious quest for a strategic role in and beyond Afghanistan has the potential to jeopardize the agenda of regional stability. Also, Pakistan should reconsider its options vis-à-vis the Taliban, whom the world community abhors as an anachronistic, anti-modern force out to destabilize the region.
 - The two South Asian nuclear states must sort out Kashmir some solution for issue as a step toward regional peace. A non-belligerent and non-expansive India is as good for Pakistan as a secure and confident Pakistan for India.

- The two countries should view each other as more than just neighbours, but as valuable assets for both economic development and political stability.
 - Indians and Pakistanis should be involved in people-to-people dialogue as part of track-three diplomacy.
2. The U.S. should move from a policy of dealing separately with India and Pakistan and an Afg-Pak-centric approach to an integrated approach toward South Asia.
 - In order to establish regional consensus, dialogue between India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan should be strengthened.
 - Diplomatic efforts must be advanced to resolve various regional conflicts and stem the tide of alienation among Muslims.
 - Washington and Islamabad should agree about the ends and means of the war on terror. Pakistan's advantage of being on the ground, and in the vicinity of the main theater of war in Afghanistan, qualifies it to certain priorities of policy and strategy that should not be considered anti-U.S. or anti-NATO.
 - Regional stakeholders should agree to a broad-based bargaining deal over the unfolding scenario of a post-withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Education and Media

1. Policymakers should increase their support for the public school system and other educational projects to counter the current militant discourse of an internal cultural civil war and a clash of civilizations abroad. Policymakers and educators should:
 - Create and implement a comprehensive curriculum reform program at the primary and secondary school, college, and university levels.
 - Teach civics and law in schools.
 - Promote intellectual discourse based on the rejection of violence as a legitimate means of conflict resolution.
2. Similarly, policymakers should encourage and support the proliferation and use of electronic media to create awareness among the so masses and to open up society, move away from an insular worldview and towards integration with the rest of the world by:
 - Encouraging electronic media outlets as well as the press to introduce unbiased reporting and objective analysis in the news coverage.
 - Ensuring the security of journalists, newspaper offices, and broadcasting stations against harassment from militants.

Civil Society

1. International civil society actors can enhance the potential of their Pakistani counterparts in defining the national agenda in liberal, democratic, and pluralist terms and monitoring the violation of law, the Constitution, and human rights.
2. International actors should partner with liberals in Pakistan, instead of seeking a role for self-styled "secular" allies who may not have enough public support.
3. Institutional links between lawyers, judges, academicians, journalists, artists, human rights activists, feminists, and other social activists should be forged between Pakistani and international civil society.
4. The donor community should move away from local developmental projects to consortium-based mega projects dealing with governance-related issues such as access to medical aid, justice, public transport, clean water, and good education.

https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/01_pakistan_waseem.pdf
 Patterns of Conflict in Pakistan: Implications for Policy

Self-assessment Questions

- Q.1 Define the term “Terrorism” in your own words.
- Q.2 What do you mean by state terrorism?
- Q.3 How do terrorism networks support social movements?
- Q.4 Write down the detailed notes on the history of terrorism.
- Q.5 Discuss in detail the term “Sociology of Terrorism”.
- Q.6 Discuss in detail the three major sociological perspectives related to terrorism.
- Q.7 Write down short notes on the following:
 - a) Types of Terrorism
 - b) Causes of Terrorism
 - c) Political Modernization
 - d) Regional Diplomacy
 - e) Education and Media

Suggested Books

1. Conflict Resolution for the Helping Professions: Negotiation, Mediation, Advocacy, Facilitation, and Restorative Justice. By: Allan Edward Barsky, Professor of Social Work, Allan Barsky, Oxford University Press, 24-Jan-2017.
2. Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action, by: Simon Fisher, Zed Books, 04-Nov-2000 – Political Science
3. Teaching the Skills of Conflict Resolution: Activities and Strategies for Counselors and Teachers, By: David Cowan, Susanna Palomares, Dianne Schilling, Innerchoice Publishing, 1992 – Conflict Management.
4. The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice by: Morton Deutsch, Peter T. Coleman, Eric C. Marcus, John Wiley & Sons, 04-Mar-2011 – Business & Economics.
5. Mediation Skills and Strategies: A Practical Guide by: Tony Whatling, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 15-Apr-2012 - Law