

A Study of International Conflict Management with an Integrative Explanatory Model: A Case Study of the Kosovo Conflict

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Research Aim

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1. After 8 years of UN administration, the human rights' situation in Kosovo is still catastrophic. Nevertheless, the West is supporting independence of Kosovo.
2. This research aims to better explain the mechanisms behind this contradicting situation.

Outline of Presentation

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1. Background & Objectives
2. Research Methodology
3. Development of Cognitive Conflict Model
4. Development of Integrative Explanatory Model
5. Conclusion & Future Research

Kosovo – Basic Data

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- Area: 10,887 km²
(岐阜県: 10,598 km²)
- Population: ca. 2 Million
- Ethnic Composition:
> 90% Albanians
< 10% Serbs
- Religion: Muslim,
Serb. Orthodox
- GDP per capita: <1000 Euro

Contested Territory between 2 groups:

Serbia's Claims: Legal and historical right

Kosovo Conflict

International Community:
Conflict Management

K-Albanians Claim:
Rights of Majority & right of first possession

- 1912 Becomes part of Serbia (London Treaty)
- 1974 Made Autonomous Province under Tito
- 1989 **Autonomy revoked** by Milosevic
- 1996- War: Serb forces v. Kosovo Liberation Army
- 1999.3 Rambouillet Peace Conference
- 1999.3- 78-day NATO Bombing of Yugoslavia
- 1999.6- UNMIK administration
- 2005- Final status negotiations
- 2007 **Conditional Independence?**

8 years of UNMIK have not brought multiethnic democracy to Kosovo.

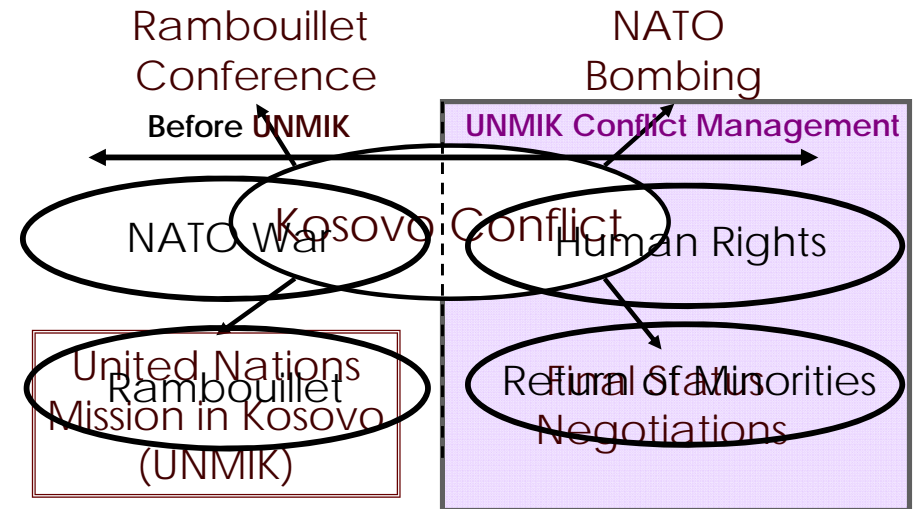
1. 200,000+ K-Serbs (and other minorities) have fled Kosovo and cannot return
2. About 90,000 remaining K-Serbs live in enclaves
3. Destruction of 120+ churches & monasteries
4. March 2004: organized riots throughout province, violence against minorities

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN KOSOVO CATASTROPHIC



1. To re-examine the current representation of the ongoing nation building mission in Kosovo by the International Community
2. To build an Integrative Explanatory Model in order to uncover the factors which have led to the current unsatisfactory situation under UNMIK

Why is the International Community supporting independence (of K-Albanians) under these conditions?



Existing Research

1. **Geopolitical Aspect** (*Imperialism*)
Significance of Kosovo, Interests structures
2. **Legal Aspect** (*International Law*)
'Humanitarian Doctrine' v. State Sovereignty
3. **Moral Aspect** (*Just War Theory*)
NATO Bombing
4. **Decision-making Aspect** (*Analogical Reasoning*)
Rambouillet Peace Conference
5. **UNMIK related research** (*Identification Theory*)
Administration process

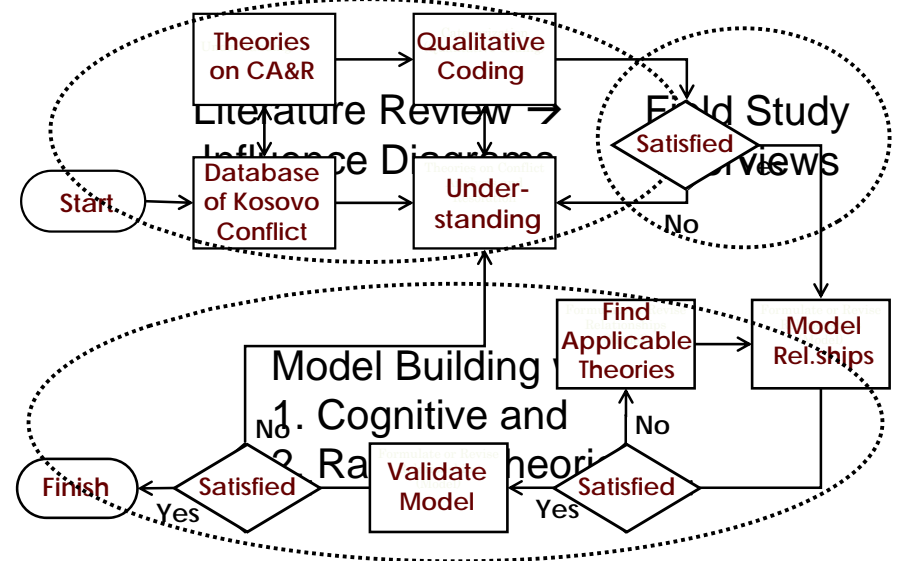
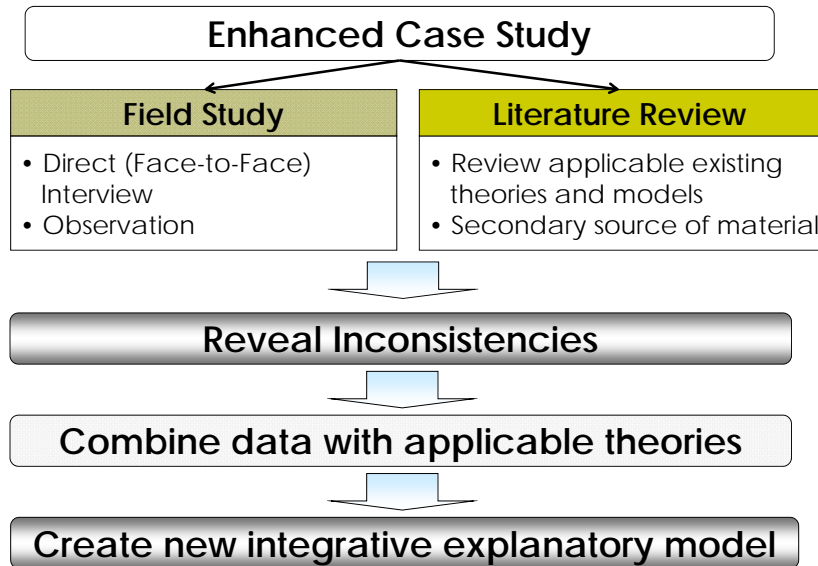
Argumentation

- ↪ **Simplified premises:** (K-Albanians are victims of ethnic cleansing by **Milosevic**)
- ↪ **Biased Moral:** K-Albanians **deserve** independence
- Criticised by Thomas, 2003; Bardos, 2005.
- **Historical facts:** Insufficient understanding (e.g. Policies of **Tito** & Kosovo in the past)
- **Perceptual factors:** Misrepresentation (e.g. Non-cooperation of Serbs under UNMIK)



NEED FOR NEW HOLISTIC APPROACH

Research Methodology



Development of Cognitive Conflict Model

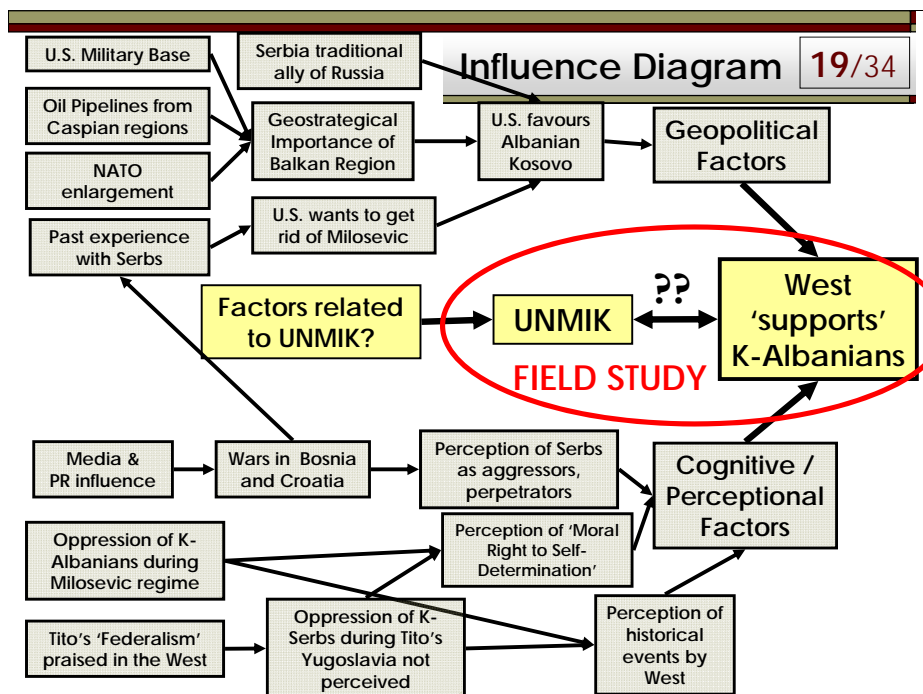
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1. Mental Model Approach

- Creation of **Influence Diagram**
- Validation of relationships through *Guided interviews*

2. Extension of individual [cognitive] models to state/organisational level

- *Applications of Prospect Theory to Political Science (Levy, 2003)*
- *The Gains Debate: Framing State Choice (Berejekian, 1997)*



Perform interviews in Kosovo and Belgrade

Divide interviewees into 3 groups:

Group 1: People with power

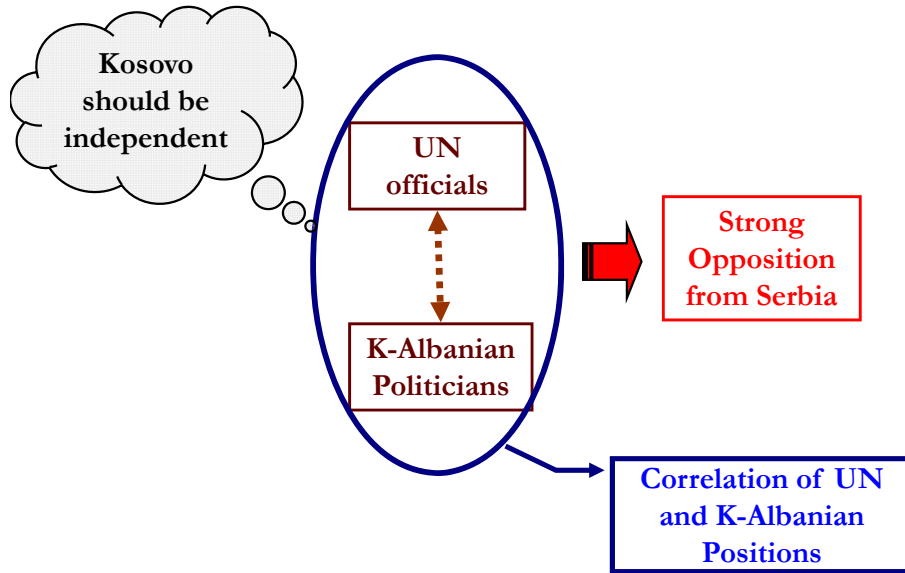
e.g. K-Serb & K-Albanian politicians, UN officials

Group 2: 'Intelligentia'

e.g. scholars, lawyers

Group 3: Affected people

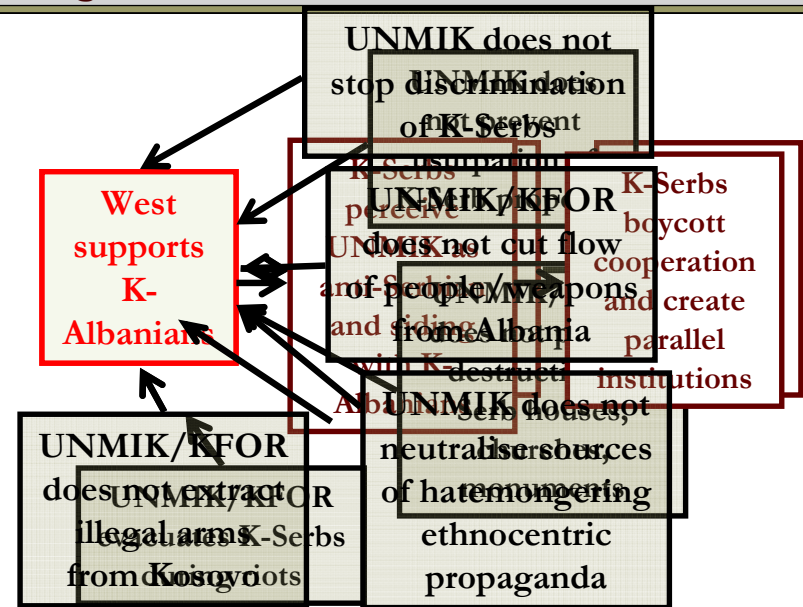
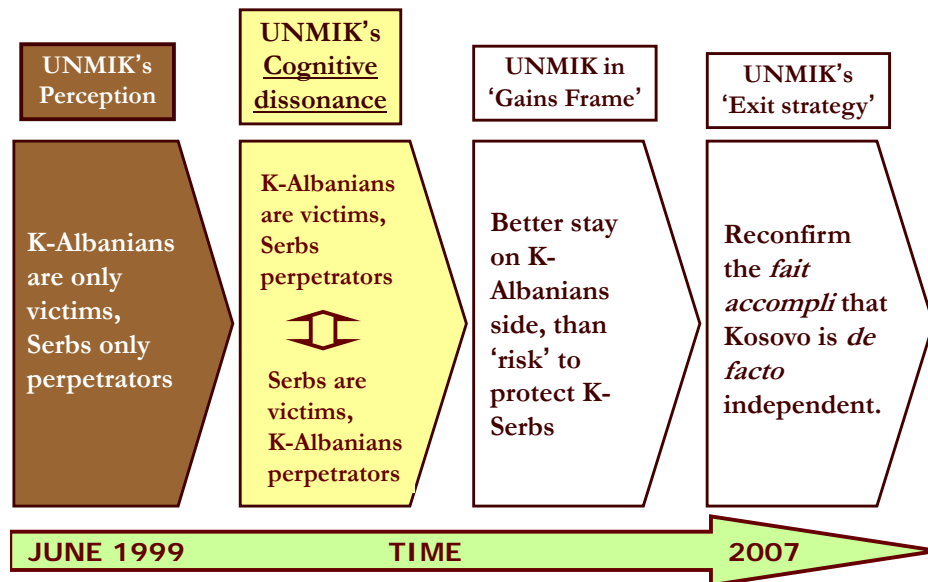
e.g. IDPs, refugees

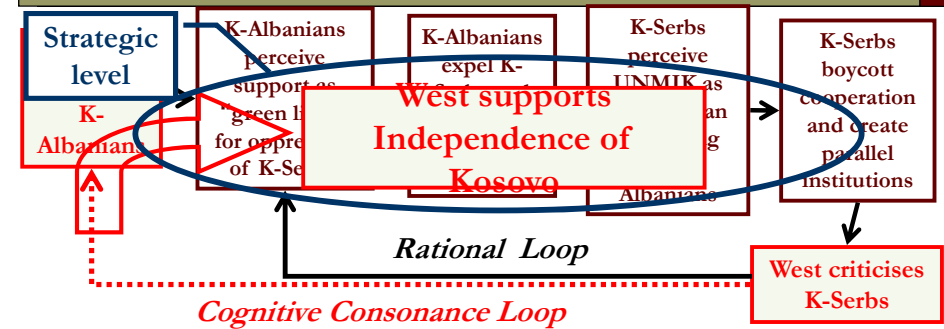
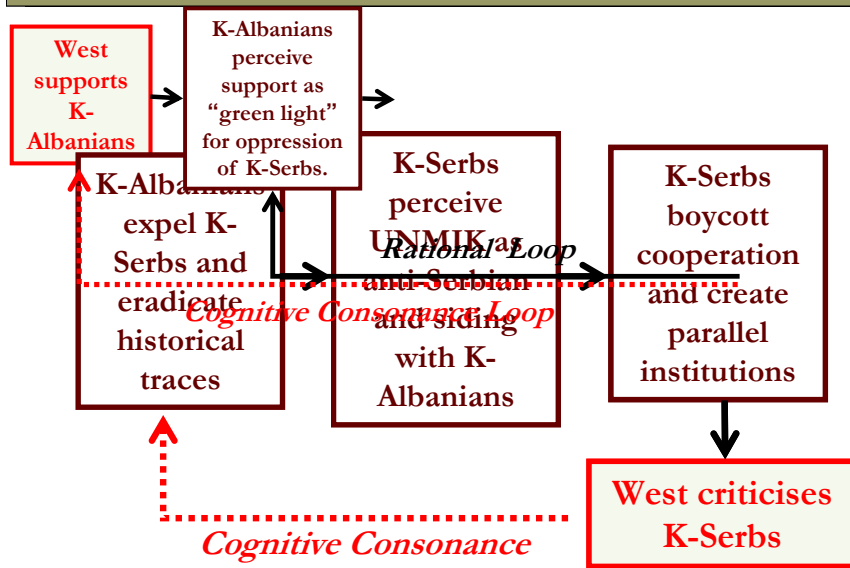


People avoid psychologically uncomfortable **dissonance** in their knowledge/behaviour

4 ways to reduce Cognitive Dissonance:

- (1) removing (existing) dissonant cognitions
- (2) adding new consonant cognitions
- (3) reducing the importance of dissonant cognitions
- (4) increasing the importance of consonant cognitions





'Human Rights situation for Serbs in Kosovo unsatisfying'

→ **dissonant** with UNMIK's own statements.

- (1) remove dissonant cognition, *i.e.* **Improve Human Rights** situation or **Change cognition** about it. (not existent, economic problem...*etc.*)
- (2) Believe that expulsion of K-Serbs is better for solution of problem. '*They deserve it, they are guilty*'.
Statements: Peterssen + Ahtisaari
'The Serbs are guilty as a nation.'
- (3) Outbreak of new hostilities/war is more catastrophic than problems of minorities.
- (4) Believe that what has been achieved by K-Albanians is more important than problems of minorities.

K-Albs + UNMIK position:

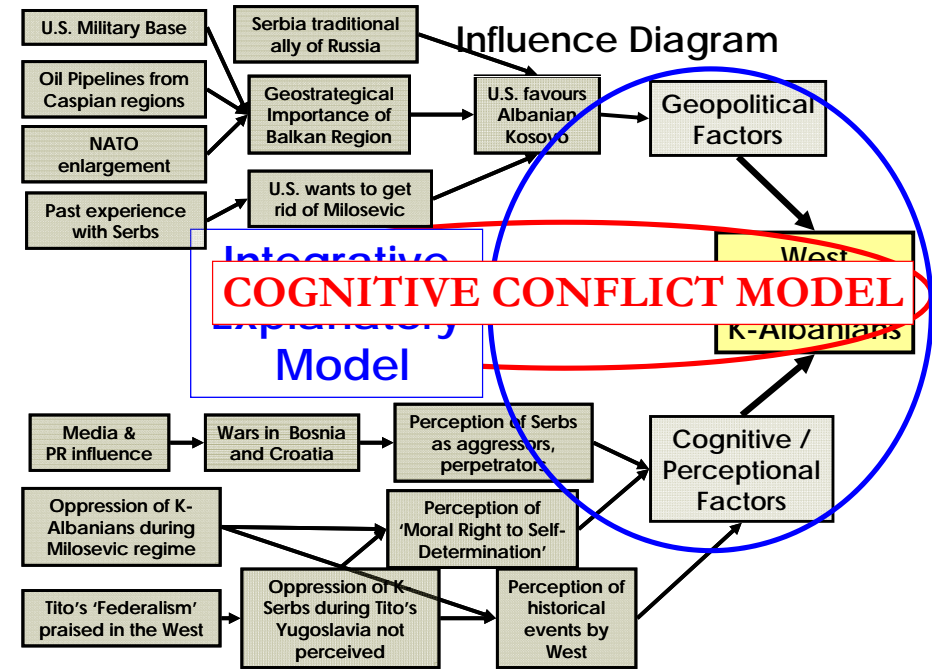
- ① Economic Situation responsible for minorities fleeing
- ② K-Serbs do not cooperate with UNMIK/K-Albs.
→ Big Problem
- ③ Independence only 'realistic' solution.

K-Serbs + Serb Gov. position:

- ① Minorities face discrimination, attacks
- ② Non-cooperation is result of ①.
- ③ Broad Autonomy under Serbian sovereignty only acceptable solution for Serbia.

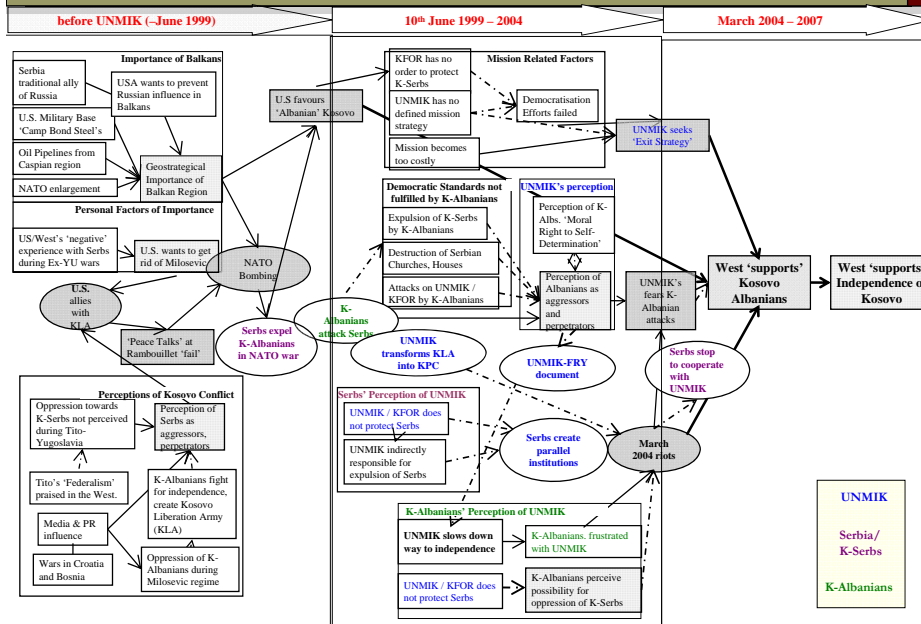
Development of Integrative Explanatory Model

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Integrative Explanatory Model

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Conclusion I

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1. This research has highlighted **problems in international conflict management** by analysing the Kosovo Case.
2. Reasons for support of independent Kosovo by the International Community have been investigated.
3. Important issues found out from this research are:
 - ❑ Simplistic characterisation of the causes of conflict
 - ❑ Insufficient consideration of historical evidence
 - ❑ Catastrophic human rights of K-Serbs not addressed

4. **Cognitive Conflict Model** has been constructed.
 - Uncovers **inherent Cognitive Consonance Loop**.
 - Shows that **West by its own actions exacerbates the conflict**.
5. **Integrative Explanatory Model** of the Kosovo Conflict has been constructed.
 - Holistic representation of the important factors which led to current outcome.
 - Integrates cognitive perceptual and rational geopolitical factors.

1. Generalisation of Cognitive Conflict Model to other conflicts
2. Analysis of Influence on UNMIK by U.S, EU etc.
3. Analysis of Decision-making process of UNMIK (e.g. Cognitive analysis on personal level)
4. Analysis of Final Negotiation Process

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION

Extra Material

Rational Choice Explanation vs.
Cognitive Choice Theory

Definition of UNMIK

Governing Body

- Rational calculation from beginning.
- UNMIK behaviour depending on US etc.
- UNMIK officials knew they were instrumentalised.

or

Administrative Body

- UNMIK officials went into mission with believe to create multiethnicity.
- There was no 'plan' to seize
- UNMIK's failure result of its actions and the pressure from K-Albanians.

When is a conflict solved? *

- Both sides decide to live in a new order voluntarily without pressure
- Both sides feel as stakeholders in process and solution
- Conflict not likely to arise again in same or other form, does not cause traumas
- Solution does not affect others (sustainability)

* *Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, Sweden*

1. perform basic civilian administrative functions;
2. promote the establishment of substantial autonomy and self-government in Kosovo;
3. facilitate a political process to determine Kosovo's future status;
4. coordinate humanitarian and disaster relief of all international agencies;
5. support the reconstruction of key infrastructure;
6. maintain civil law and order;
7. promote human rights; and
8. assure the safe and unimpeded return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes in Kosovo.

- (1) the existence of effective, representative and functioning democratic institutions;
- (2) enforcement of the rule of law;
- (3) freedom of movement;
- (4) sustainable returns of refugees and displaced persons, and respect for the rights of communities;
- (5) creation of a sound basis for a market economy;
- (6) fair enforcement of property rights;
- (7) normalized dialogue with Belgrade; and
- (8) transformation of the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC) in line with its mandate.

Interview Performance

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| Group | Posed Question | Intended Result |
|---------|--|---|
| Group 1 | How is the situation in Kosovo? What are the problems in Kosovo? How can/could they be solved? How many Serbs have fled Kosovo? What are the reasons for which the Serbs flee Kosovo? What they think about UNMIK/the internationals? What a resolution of the conflict would look like? How they evaluate their (own) work? Does Kosovo deserve independence? What is the situation of minorities? | understand perceptions and positions; on what is the Argumentation based |
| Group 2 | What are the reasons for the conflict? Why does UNMIK not protect the Serbs? Is UNMIK/KFOR not able to protect the Serbs or can't it? What would be necessary to happen for the conflict to be solved? What if Kosovo became independent? | get a knowledge about the degree and way of analysis of arguments |
| Group 3 | <i>'Tell me about'</i> questions, guided follow-up, depending on the responses 'Tell me' how they feel? 'Tell me' why you are here? 'Tell me' what has happened to your house? How are the relationships between you and the Albanians? Would you like to go back to Kosovo? (If yes) Why can't you go home? What was the relationship between you and the Albanians before the war? 'Tell me' what do you think about the Serbs? 'Tell me' why you think they (the Serbs) don't need to come back? | Open Beginning, how they feel Follow-up questions |

INTERVIEW RESULTS

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| Group | Questioned Person | Obtained Answers |
|---------|------------------------|---|
| Group 1 | Serb Politician | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Situation is an instable peace. IC, eager to implements its 'exit strategy has forgotten why it came to Kosovo. 2. Negotiations have begun, but there is no human rights basis for this. 3. Standards before Status have not been performed, but this is the last 'compartment' to democracy in Kosovo. 4. Albanians have successfully managed to delete all hope of IC to approach Standards before Status. (Message: Violence Pays) |
| Group 1 | K-Albanian Politician | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Destruction of churches is Serbian propaganda. There are only some, in the riots. 2. Kosovo is multiethnic 3. Serbs flee out of economic reasons 4. Kosovo deserves the last 'compartment' to democracy in Kosovo. |
| Group 3 | K-Serb refugees / IDPs | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Afraid to talk Serbian 2. Have no freedom of movement 3. Albanians always wanted ethnically clear Kosovo |