



The Means of Power in UN Peacekeeping

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UN Peacekeeping Today

- 100,000+ uniformed personnel in 16 different missions
- \$8 billion operating budget
- 9 multidimensional missions

UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars

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Outcomes:

No mandate implementation since 2005

but

Peacekeepers correlate with

1. fewer civilian casualties
2. lower battle deaths
3. geographic contraction of conflict

(Hultman, Kathman, Shannon, 2013; Hultman, Kathman, Shannon, 2014; Beardsley and Gleditsch, 2015)



How do peacekeepers achieve their ends?

What are the causal mechanisms in multidimensional peacekeeping?




Dominant Causal Hypothesis

Peacekeepers alleviate the security dilemma by providing security guarantees

(Walter 2001; Fortna 2008; Ruggeri, Gizelis & Dorussen 2012; Joshi 2013; Hultman, Kathman & Shannon 2013, 2014; Beardsley and Gleditsch 2015)

(Nonsense. Peacekeepers are mandated to use force, but they do not have forceful means)



Question reformulation: how do
peacekeepers exercise power?



Power

“A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do.”

Robert Dahl, 1957



Three means of power in peacekeeping

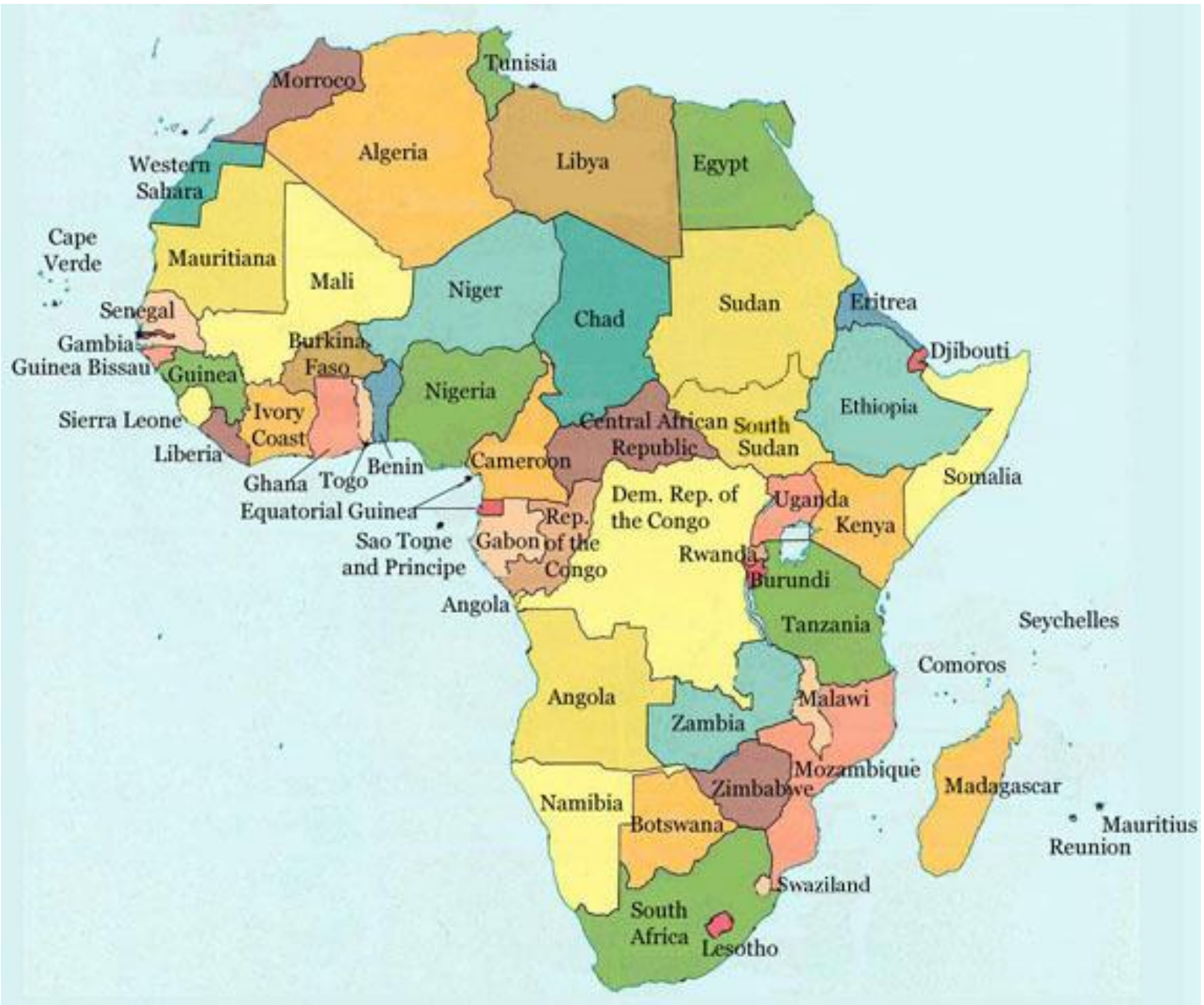
1. Coercion
2. Inducement
3. Persuasion




Examples from:

The Central African Republic

- Last country on human development index
- Violence 2012-14:
 - Of 4.5 million people, nearly 500,000 Muslims fled
 - 30,000 cases of sexual abused
 - 2.7 million in dire humanitarian need





How do peacekeepers convince the government, rebels, and civilians to change their behavior?

1. Coercion

Means of military power (Bob Art, 1980)

- A. **Compellence** – offensive attack
- B. **Deterrence** – requires second strike
- C. **Defense** – fend off attack
- D. **Swagger** – display of might, “mixes irrational and rational,” sends confused signals
- E. **Policing** – order, rule of law, disarmament, power of arrest



Bangui, Central African Republic
Defense



Near Mbaiki, CAR

Swagger



MINUSCA HQ, Bangui, CAR

Policing



2. Inducement

UNDP and Peacekeeping

Offering incentives for cooperation and good behavior

- Quick impact projects
- Hospitals, veterinary clinics
- Schools, training, community centers



**Bangui, Central African Republic (PK5),
May 2015**

Destroyed December 2013-January 2014



**Bangui, CAR, Parliament Building, May
2015**



Mbaiki, CAR



Boy-Rabe, CAR—Community Center, March 2015

Inducement




3. Persuasion

Changing beliefs to change behavior

Requires:

1. clear ideals and goals
2. alignment of ideals and action



Persuasion is hard to quantify, but arguably it is the most important means of power

Examples:

- Foot patrols, face-to-face communication
- Information/education campaigns through Radio and other media
- Setting moral example



Bangui, CAR
Moral persuasion



Airport, IDP Camp, Bangui, CAR, March 2015



Sum

- Peacekeepers cannot and do not employ Compellent force to achieve their goals
- Peacekeepers exercise power through policing, inducement, and persuasion
- CAR: effective policing and inducement
- But power of persuasion undermined by behavior