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
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


(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