



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Analysis of multiparty mediation processes

Vuković, S.

Citation

Vuković, S. (2013, February 22). *Analysis of multiparty mediation processes*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/20551>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/20551>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/20551> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Vuković, Siniša

Title: Analysis of multiparty mediation processes

Issue Date: 2013-02-22

Analysis of Multiparty Mediation Processes

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op vrijdag 22 februari 2012
klokke 11.15 uur

door

Siniša Vuković

geboren te Podgorica, Montenegro
in 1983

Promotiecommissie:

Promotores:

Prof. dr. Madeleine O. Hosli, Leiden University

Prof. dr. I. William Zartman, Johns Hopkins University

Overige leden:

Prof.dr. Touraj Atabaki, Leiden and Amsterdam Universities

Paul Meerts, MA, Dr. h.c., Netherlands Institute of International Relations "Clingendael"

Prof.dr. Jan van der Meulen, Leiden University

Prof.dr. Harrie de Swart, Tilburg University

Dr. Niels van Willigen, Leiden University



Universiteit Leiden
Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences

Analysis of Multiparty Mediation Processes
Doctoral Dissertation

Author
Siniša Vuković

First Promotor
Prof. Dr Madeleine O. Hosli

Second Promotor
Prof. Dr. I. William Zartman

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	10
CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	17
1.1 NEED TO MANAGE CONFLICTS	18
1.2 MEDIATION AS A DISTINCT FORM OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT	20
1.2.1 DEFINITION(S).....	20
1.2.2 INCENTIVES TO START MEDIATION.....	22
1.3 FACTORS AFFECTING THE MEDIATION PROCESS AND OUTCOME.....	28
1.3.1 CONTEXTUAL FACTORS.....	28
1.3.2 BEHAVIORAL FACTORS	31
1.3.3 POTENTIAL MEDIATORS.....	34
CHAPTER 2. MULTIPARTY MEDIATION.....	39
2.1 EXISTING THEORY.....	40
2.1.1 DEFINITION	40
2.1.2 BENEFITS AND LIABILITIES OF MULTIPARTY MEDIATION.....	41
2.1.3 CONFLICT CYCLE	42
2.1.4 COMPOSITION OF THE MEDIATING COALITION	44
2.2 ADVANCING THE THEORY OF MULTIPARTY MEDIATION..	46
2.2.1 CHALLENGES OF COOPERATION AND COORDINATION.....	46
2.2.2 GAME THEORETICAL MODEL.....	50
2.3 INSIGHTS FROM THE MODEL AND HYPOTHESES.....	59
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY.....	73
3.1 THE PROBLEM OF CAUSALITY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE	74
3.2 PROCESS TRACING METHOD.....	75
3.3 CASE STUDY SELECTION AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES.....	78
3.3.1 CASE SELECTION.....	78
3.3.2 EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE AND POTENTIAL LIMITATIONS.....	78
3.3.3 VARIABLES (CONDITIONS).....	80
CHAPTER 4. TAJIKISTAN	85
4.1 NATURE OF CONFLICT	87
4.1.1 SOURCES OF INTRACTABILITY.....	87
4.1.2 DEVELOPMENT OF DEEP FEELINGS OF DISTRUST AND HATRED	87
4.1.3 INTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CONFLICTING SIDES AND CREATION OF IRRECONCILABLE POSITIONS.....	89
4.1.4 EMPLOYMENT OF REPRESSIVE MEASURES.....	90
4.2 INVOLVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS	91
4.2.1 POWERFUL STATES AND THEIR INTERESTS IN THE CONFLICT	91

4.2.2	INVOLVEMENT OF THE UN	94
4.3	MUTLIPARTY MEDIATION PROCESS	96
4.3.1	INITIAL LACK OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THIRD PARTIES	96
4.3.2	CONVERGENCE OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THIRD PARTIES	100
CHAPTER 5.	NAMIBIA	105
5.1	NATURE OF CONFLICT.....	107
5.1.1	SOURCES OF INTRACTABILITY.....	107
5.1.2	DEVELOPMENT OF DEEP FEELINGS OF DISTRUST, MUTUAL HATRED AND IRRECONCILABLE POSITIONS.....	108
5.1.3	INTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CONFLICTING SIDES AND EMPLOYMENT OF REPRESSIVE MEASURES	110
5.2	INVOLVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS AND THEIR INTERESTS IN THE CONFLICT.....	114
5.3	MULTIPARTY MEDIATION PROCESS	118
5.3.1	INITIAL LACK OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THIRD PARTIES	118
5.3.2	CONVERGENCE OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THIRD PARTIES	120
CHAPTER 6.	CAMBODIA	129
6.1	NATURE OF THE CONFLICT	131
6.1.1	SOURCES OF INTRACTABILITY	131
6.1.2	DEVELOPMENT OF DEEP FEELINGS OF DISTRUST AND EMPLOYMENT OF REPRESSIVE MEASURES.....	132
6.1.3	INTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONFLICTING SIDES AND CREATION OF IRRECONCILABLE POSITONS...	134
6.2	INVOLVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS AND THEIR INTERESTS IN THE CONFLICT.....	134
6.3	MULTIPARTY MEDIATION PROCESS.....	138
6.3.1	INITIAL LACK OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THIRD PARTIES	138
6.3.2	CONVERGENCE OF INTERESTS BETWEEN THIRD PARTIES	144
CHAPTER 7.	KOSOVO	151
7.1	NATURE OF THE CONFLICT.....	152
7.1.1	SOURCES OF INTRACTABILITY.....	152
7.1.2	DEVELOPMENT OF DEEP FEELINGS OF DISTRUST AND MUTUAL HATRED	153
7.1.3	EMPLOYMENT OF REPRESSIVE MEASURES	154
7.1.4	CREATION OF IRRECONCILABLE POSITIONS.....	154
7.1.5	INTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CONFLICTING SIDES...	156
7.2	. INVOLVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS AND THEIR INTERESTS IN THE CONFLICT.....	159
7.3	MULTIPARTY MEDIATION PROCESS.....	169
7.3.1	THE CONTACT GROUP'S MEDIATION STRATEGY.....	169
7.3.2	PARTY ARITHMETIC.....	170

7.3.3	THE MEDIATION PROCESS	171
7.3.4	EMERGENCE OF DIVERGING INTERESTS BETWEEN MEDIATORS	175
7.3.5	INCLUSION OF THE UN INTO THE PROCESS.....	178
7.4	THE NEW REALITY IN KOSOVO	179
7.4.1	THE KUMANOVO AGREEMENT AND UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1244	179
7.4.2	UNMIK REGULATIONS AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR PROVISIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT	181
7.5	MULTIPARTY MEDIATION BY THE UN	183
7.5.1	THE INITIAL COHERENCE WITHIN THE CONTACT GROUP.....	183
7.5.2	ACTOR TRANSFORMATION AND UN LEGITIMACY	184
7.5.3	THE MEDIATION PROCESS	186
7.5.4	EMERGENCE OF DIVERGING INTERESTS BETWEEN MEDIATORS	188
7.6	ADDITIONAL ATTEMPT TO MEDIATE BY THE TROIKA	190
7.6.1	DIVERGING IDEAS ON THE PROCESS BY MEDIATORS	190
7.6.2	LACK OF COORDINATION BETWEEN MEDIATORS	192
CHAPTER 8. SRI LANKA.....		195
8.1	NATURE OF THE CONFLICT.....	197
8.1.1	SOURCES OF INTRACTABILITY AND EMPLOYMENT OF REPRESSIVE MEASURES	197
8.1.2	FAILED PEACE PROCESSES	198
8.1.3	PRELUDE TO THE PEACE PROCESS.....	199
8.2	MULTIPARTY MEDIATION PROCESS.....	200
8.2.1	INVOLVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS AND THEIR INTEREST IN THE PROCESS.....	200
8.2.2	THE COCHAIR SYSTEM.....	210
8.2.3	FAILURE OF THE PEACE PROCESS	212
CHAPTER 9. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....		217
9.1	INSIGHTS FROM THE MODEL	218
9.2	ANALYZING COOPERATION AND COORDINATION.....	219
9.2.1	EXOGENOUS GEO-POLITICAL SHIFTS.....	221
9.2.2	CHANGES IN CONFLICT DYNAMICS	222
9.2.3	NEGOTIATION FOR COOPERATION	223
9.2.4	STRATEGIC INTERESTS, LEGITIMACY AND ACHIEVEMENT OF COORDINATION	225
9.3	CONCLUSION.....	227
ACRONYMS		231
SUMMARY.....		235
SAMENVATTING		247
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		259
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....		279
CURRICULUM VITAE		283