
UNIT 10 THEORIES OF CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

Structure

10.1 Introduction

Aims and Objectives

10.2 Theories of Conflict Transformation

10.2.1 Gene Sharp

10.2.2 Adam Curle

10.2.3 Terrell A. Northrup

10.2.4 Edward Azar

10.2.5 Raimo Vayrynen

10.2.6 David W. Augsburger

10.2.7 Johan Galtung

10.2.8 John Paul Lederach

10.3 Summary

10.4 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The discipline of conflict transformation became an established field in the late 1980s and 1990s, having a distinctive theory, concepts, tools and models. However, the roots of the field go much beyond the 1990s and draw on the concepts of conflict management and conflict resolution. The conflict transformation school asserts that conflicts are always in a flux, in a constant state of change and the aim is to transform them into something socially useful and non-destructive. Conflict, therefore is a dynamic and changeable process and the process which seeks to alter conflict must be equally dynamic and changeable. Conflict transformation also asserts that some conflicts are better off being transformed, rather than being resolved.

Aims and Objectives

After going through this Unit, you will be to understand

- the major theories and the theorists' contributions to the development of the discipline of conflict transformation; and
- the theoretical underpinnings of conflict transformation.

10.2 THEORIES OF CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

The theorists of conflict transformation draw on a wide variety of conceptual building blocks, some of which are borrowed from other schools, some are old and yet some others are recent. The theories of conflict transformation reflect both differing paradigms and different types of intervenors (state and non-state, internal and external).

The functionalist school of thought represented by Georg Simmel and Lewis Coser are one intellectual source that informs the field of conflict transformation. Both these thinkers had stressed on the positive social function of conflict. Simmel (in his extended essay, *Conflict*, published in 1955) articulated that conflict has an integrative nature as it brings together disparate and contending influences. He saw it as a source of social cohesion and creativity. Coser (*The Functions of Social Conflict*, 1956) too believed that conflict served specific and useful social functions. In 1968, he wrote:

Conflict is not always dysfunctional for the relationship within which it occurs; often conflict is necessary to maintain such a relationship. Without ways to vent hostility toward each other, and to express dissent, group members might feel completely crushed and might react by withdrawal. By setting free pent-up feelings of hostility, conflicts serve to maintain a relationship.

Conflict thus served the function of maintaining established social relationships. Besides, it had another purpose as well:

Conflict not only generates new norms, new institutions ... it may be said to stimulating directly in the economic and technological realm. Economic historians often have pointed out that much technological improvement has resulted from the conflict activity of trade unions through the raising of wage levels. (1957)

Coser, therefore, focused on both the functional and dysfunctional role of conflict. He contended that conflict breaks people out of old and dysfunctional habits, serving a positive social function.

Yet another school of thought that enlightens the field of conflict transformation is that of structural theory, which entails the idea of conflict formation and its analysis. The most influential work in this school of thought was that of Johan Galtung's. Another significant contribution to the discipline of conflict transformation has come from the theorists on non-violence such as Gene Sharp. Nonviolent resistance is seen as an integral part of conflict transformation that offers one possible approach to achieving peace and justice. Edward W. Azar's work on protracted social conflicts has also had an important influence on conflict transformation theory, wherein he offered an explanation for the

protracted quality of contemporary conflicts. However, one of the most comprehensive works on the application of the field of conflict transformation is that of John Paul Lederach's.

10.2.1 Gene Sharp

Sharp recognises that conflict in society and politics is inevitable, and in many cases, desirable. Some conflicts can be resolved by 'mild methods' such as negotiation, dialogue and conciliation – methods that basically involve compromise. However, these methods are feasible only when the issues at stake are not fundamental. In "acute conflicts", the fundamental issues are or are believed to be, at stake; such conflicts are not suitable for resolution by compromise because hostile violence may be applied to impose oppression, injustice, dictatorship or even to threaten survival. In these circumstances, it is unreasonable to aim for a "win-win" resolution. In fact in 2003 Sharp said, "Brutal dictators and perpetrators of genocide do not deserve to win anything."

The usage of violence in conflicts cannot be eliminated by protests against such violence. If violence is not an option in acute conflicts, Sharp says, "There has to be a substitute means of conducting the conflict powerfully with the chance of success equivalent to or greater than the violent option." He further elaborates:

A very important clue that such an alternative is possible lies in the fact that the strength of even dictatorships is dependent on sources of power, in the society, which in turn depend on the cooperation of a multitude of institutions and people.....Such a substitute for violent conflict is a realistic option.....This technique is called nonviolent action or nonviolent struggle. This is 'the other ultimate sanction'. In acute conflicts it potentially can serve as an alternative to war and other violence.

Sharp categorises non-violent action into three methods: protest and persuasion, non-cooperation and non-violent intervention. Protest and persuasion are actions that highlight the issue in contention and/or a desired strategy for responding to the situation. Specific methods include petitions, leafleting, picketing, vigils, marches, and teach-ins. Non-cooperation is an action in which protestors refuse to participate in the behaviour to which they object socially, economically and/or politically. Sanctuary, boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience are some of the specific non-cooperation methods. Non-violent intervention is a technique in which protestors actively interfere with the activity to which they are objecting such as sit-ins, fasts, overloading of facilities, and parallel government.

The usage of nonviolent methods is not a guarantee of success; there are requirements for achieving success with this technique. Two crucial special processes that may be present

in some nonviolent conflicts, but not in everyone are: “(1) an ability to defy and at times reverse the effects of repression, and (2) an ability to undermine and sever the sources of power of the opponents.”

Gene Sharp’s “mechanisms of change” (1973) is a process by which change is achieved in successful cases of nonviolent struggle. The four mechanisms of change are conversion, accommodation, nonviolent coercion and disintegration. Changes of attitude lead the opponent to make concessions voluntarily because it is right to do so – this process is known as conversion. However, Sharp feels that conversion happens rarely as a result of non-violent struggle. Accommodation takes place more often, wherein the opponent is forced to agree to a compromise because of the withdrawal of political and economic cooperation. Non-violent coercion takes place when the defiance and non-cooperation is strong and skillfully targeted and the sources of the opponent’s power are sufficiently weakened; the opponent is thus left with no option but to capitulate. In some rare cases, the defiance and non-cooperation is massive and the severance of the sources of opponents’ power is so complete that the regime falls apart – this is known as disintegration.

Proponents of principled non-violence favour the process of nonviolent conversion. But the strategic school of non-violence opines that it is unrealistic to apply the process of conversion to acute political conflicts, such as inter-ethnic rivalries, that are likely to have high levels of polarisation and antagonism. Conversion can most likely occur in conflicts arising out of misperceptions but when human needs are involved, rulers are unlikely to yield to persuasion. Moreover, conversion is an inter-individual mechanism; it would be difficult to translate conversion to large-scale conflicts as that would require the conversion of all the opponent’s troops, supporters and elites (Sharp 1973).

Planning a nonviolent uprising is almost similar to devising a military campaign: it starts by identifying an opponent’s “pillars of support” and areas of vulnerability. Here the political and psychological factors of power are emphasized, such as undermining the opponent’s sources of authority, and increasing division in its base of support.

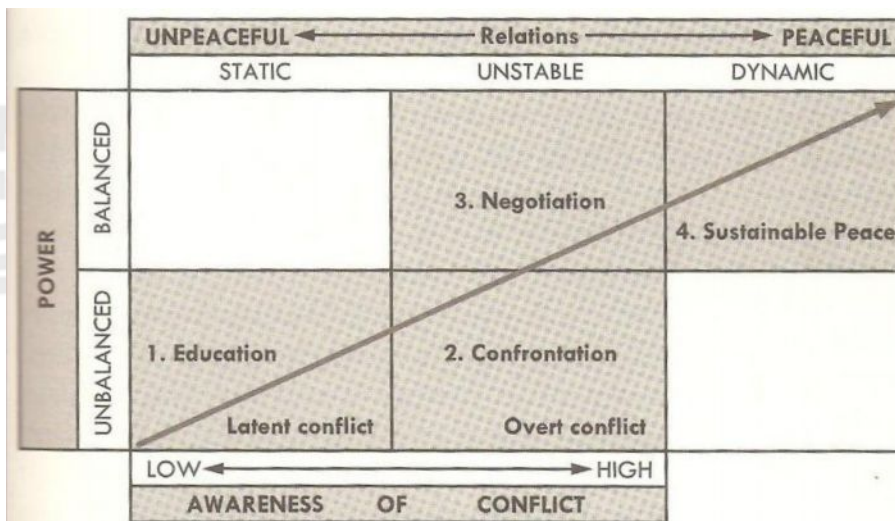
A special process that may operate during a nonviolent struggle to change power relationships is referred to as “political jiu-jitsu” by Sharp. Here the opponent’s violent repression against nonviolent resisters is turned to operate politically against the opponents, weakening their power position and strengthening that of the nonviolent resisters. This can only operate when violent repression is met with continued nonviolent defiance. This may result in shifting of opinion among third parties, the general grievance group and even the opponent’s usual supporters. These shifts may produce withdrawal of support for the opponents as well as increased support for the nonviolent resisters leading

to widespread condemnation of the opponents, internal opposition among the opponents and increased resistance. These changes can produce major shifts in power relationships in favour of the nonviolent resistance group.

However, political jiu-jitsu does not operate in all cases of violent struggle and when it is absent; the shift of power relationships depends highly on the extent of non-cooperation. Thus Sharp’s strategic approach is helpful in establishing a link between non-violence theory and the transformation of conflicts.

10.2.2 Adam Curle

The Conflict Progression Model conceptualised by Adam Curle (1971) facilitates an analysis of the dynamics and progression of conflict. Curle’s model is based on the premise that conflict is never static or linear but moves along a continuum from an unpeaceful to a peaceful relationship (see *Figure 1*). The progression is charted out in a matrix that compares two key elements: the level of power between the parties in conflict and the level of awareness about the conflict. The matrix helps intermediaries and stakeholders to locate, at any given point, where the conflict is situated and consequently, what might be the appropriate approaches to peacebuilding.



The Progression of Conflict

Source: Adam Curle, *Making Peace* (London: Tavistock Press, 1971).

Figure 1: The Conflict Progression Model

The first quadrant represents a situation of latent conflict. Here people are unaware of the power imbalance and the injustice prevalent in relationships/institutions/structures. Educators and activists, who work to “conscientize” the masses, play an important role. As people become aware of the denial of their legitimate needs and rights, and begin to assert these, the conflict moves into the second quadrant – the stage of confrontation and becomes “overt”. As the parties begin to realise that they can neither impose their will on,

nor eliminate, the other side, they agree to negotiate and the groups reach a stage of “strategic power balance”. However, this balance of power is often shaky. Moreover, the progression is seldom linear (in reality moving back and forth between the negotiation and confrontation stages). But this is a very simplistic interpretation and conflicts might never follow this progression. Some might never reach the negotiation stage and get caught in a cycle where negotiations consistently break down and violence resumes. Negotiations often fail because the parties in conflict lock themselves into position making, seldom articulating their “needs and values”, at least in the initial stages. People’s “core values and needs” cannot be negotiated and the challenge therefore lies in helping the conflictants to accept the other’s needs and to try to move to a place where these can be respected. Consequently, the challenge for those working to transform conflict lies in how best to prevent the negotiations from lapsing into open confrontation, and how to support the process so that it reaches the stage of “sustainable peace”.

10.2.3 Terrell A. Northrup

According to Northrup, conflict resolution is based on four assumptions: parties to conflict are rational; misperception constitutes a central cause of conflict; conflict resolution principles apply across social settings (such as interpersonal, organisational, national, international); and high value is placed on peaceful resolution. Northrup centres the evolution of the school of conflict transformation on the rejection of these assumptions. She contends that the parties to conflict may be rational but they are rational in different cultural contexts. Therefore, for Northrup, rationality is a culturally specific phenomenon. Secondly, the idea of misperception “does not seem powerful enough or a deep enough notion to deal with drastic differences in world views.” Additionally, simple misperception fails to explain long-festered and deeply entrenched conflicts. Thirdly, she points out that conflicts may go through various stages and each stage may demand a different treatment at different points of time. Finally, she observes that many parties may be interested in continuing the fight rather than switching to peace; in such a case peaceful resolution may not be an alternative at all.

10.2.4 Edward Azar

The concept of protracted social conflict developed by Azar has had an important influence on conflict transformation theory. Protracted social conflicts are on-going, deep-rooted and seemingly unresolvable. Azar has concentrated on the genesis and maintenance of protracted quality of contemporary conflicts. The concept of protracted social conflict can be used as a theory of conflict transformation to show the formation as well as transformation (or deformation) of protracted conflicts (Hugh Miall).

The formation of a protracted conflict can be traced to the historical context, to the denial of basic human needs of access, identity and security, as well as to the roles played by the

state, international political and economic linkages and the military in politics. If the state and communal groups choose suppression and violent rebellion as their strategies, the conflict may become destructive. Destructive conflict further results in a dependent and exploitative pattern of development, a distorted pattern of governance and a militarised form of politics. This leads to an added denial of basic needs. The result is a protracted cycle of institutional deformation and destructive conflict. On the other hand, if there is sufficient capacity in governance and society, if politics is not too militarised, and if the international environment is supportive, states may instead choose accommodation, and communal groups may choose political forms of confrontation. This can lead to a pattern of constructive conflict that in turn will promote legitimate decision-making capacity, strengthen autonomous development and sustain civil rather than military politics. All these are conducive to the meeting of basic needs. Azar has thus contributed to conflict transformation theory by suggesting how patterns of conflict interact with the satisfaction of human needs, the adequacy of political and economic institutions, the choices made by political actors and how different options can lead to benign or malignant spirals of conflict.

10.2.5 Raimo Vayrynen

In 1991, Vayrynen argued for an analytical conflict theory based on the idea of transformation, stressing that it is important to understand how conflicts are transformed in dynamic terms:

The bulk of conflict theory regards the issues, actors and interests as given and on that basis makes efforts to find a solution to mitigate or eliminate contradictions between them. Yet the issues, actors and interests change over time as a consequence of the social, economic and political dynamics of societies.

He suggested four types of transformation:

- Actor transformations – internal changes in parties, or the appearance of new parties;
- Issue transformations – altering the agenda of conflict issues;
- Rule transformations – changes in the norms or rules governing a conflict;
- Structural transformations – the entire structure of relationships and power distribution in the conflict is transformed.

10.2.6 David W. Augsburger

All cultures and societies have created pathways for channeling conflict. Augsburger therefore looks at different cultures to see what they can teach concerning conflict transformation, for the objective in most non-western cultures is to manage differences and resolve disputes in a way that will restore friendly relations and maintain harmony in interpersonal relations. In several traditional societies, conflict avoidance is a basic orientation and in some of them conflicts are dealt with based on face-saving (e.g.

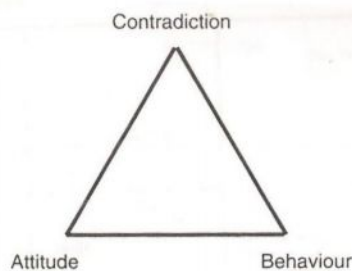
Chinese society where harmony is seen as the goal of human society). In such situations, confrontation is avoided but there is no genuine resolution of conflicts. In 1992, Augsburg pointed out:

The more harmony-oriented that a group is, the more conflict-sensitive the group will be; the more committed the group to practicing the cultural value of harmony, the more intensely conflict will be internalized.

Augsburger defines conflict transformation as the task “to reopen the future for the parties to the dispute in ways that empower them to move back into responsible relationships.” Conflict transformation requires a metamorphosis in each of the three elements: transforming attitudes (“by changing and redirecting negative perceptions”), transforming behaviour (“by limiting all action to collaborative behaviour”), and transforming the way the conflict is structured (“by seeking to discover, define, and remove incompatibilities by creative design”). Augsburg further cautions that an understanding of the forms which conflict takes in each culture does not necessarily ensure the transformation of conflicts without violence, but no real conflict transformation can take place without an understanding of the cultural roots of the ways in which conflict is expressed.

10.2.7 Johan Galtung

Conflicts have life-affirming as well as life-destroying aspects and they are formed from contradictions in the structure of society. They then become manifest in attitudes and behaviour. Galtung suggested that conflict could be viewed as a triangle (see *Figure 2*), with attitude (A), behaviour (B) and contradiction (C) at its vertices.



Source: Galtung, 1969

The conflict triangle

Figure 2: Conflict Triangle

Contradiction refers to the underlying conflict situation, which includes the actual or perceived ‘incompatibility of goals’ between the conflict parties. In a symmetric conflict, the contradiction is defined by the parties, their interests and the clash of interests between them. In an asymmetric conflict, it is defined by the parties, their relationship and the conflict of interests inherent in the relationship. Attitude includes the parties’

perceptions and misperceptions of each other and themselves and can be either positive or negative. However, in violent conflicts parties tend to develop demeaning stereotypes of each other, and attitudes are often influenced by emotions such as fear, anger, bitterness and hatred. Attitude includes these three elements: emotive (feeling), cognitive (belief) and conative (will). Behaviour can include cooperation or coercion, gestures signifying hostility or conciliation. Violent conflict behaviour is characterised by threats, coercion and destructive attacks. All the three components have to be present together in a conflict.

Conflict is a dynamic process wherein structure, attitudes and behaviours are constantly changing and influencing each other. A conflict formation takes place with the emergence of a conflict as the parties' interests come into conflict or the relationship they are in become oppressive. Parties then organise around this structure to pursue their interests and develop hostile attitudes and conflictual behaviour. This leads to the growth and development of conflict formation, drawing in other parties and deepening and spreading, resulting in secondary conflicts within the main parties or among outsiders who get pulled in. This complicates the task of addressing the original, core conflict.

Finally, the resolution of the conflict must involve a set of dynamic changes that involve a de-escalation of conflict behaviour, a change in attitudes and transforming the relationships or clashing interests that are at the core of the conflict structure. The transformational processes therefore include several things: articulation or disarticulation, conscientisation or de-conscientisation, complexification or simplification, polarisation or depolarisation, escalation or de-escalation. The incompatibility which arises between parties may be eliminated by transcending the contradiction, by compromise, by deepening or widening the conflict structure, and by associating or dissociating the actors.

Another concept that was the brainchild of Galtung was the notion of cultural violence. Galtung distinguished between direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence depending on how it operated. Direct or overt violence involves direct strikes (verbal or non-verbal) against others and it intends to do actual harm. It emerges as a response to the experience of structural violence. Structural violence emerges out of the creation of social structures and institutions that deprive some people of their rights and the ability to satisfy their basic human needs. In this case, systems discriminate between groups, communities and nations to the point of threatening lives and livelihoods. Galtung categorised structural violence into two: vertical and horizontal. When people are repressed politically, exploited economically and alienated culturally by structures, systems or institutions, it is vertical structural violence. The needs that are violated in this case are freedom, well-being and identity. On the other hand, horizontal structural

violence denies the need of identity by keeping people who want to live together apart and people who want to live apart together. In cultural violence the intention is to harm, even kill directly but through words and images. Cultural violence is used to justify direct or structural violence. Direct violence can be ended by changing conflict behaviours, structural violence can be brought to an end by removing structural contradictions and injustices, and cultural violence can be ended by changing attitudes.

Galtung therefore contributed substantially to the discipline of conflict transformation specifically by devising and defining several key concepts and developing the conflict triangle model.

10.2.8 John Paul Lederach

Lederach is of the view that conflict is experienced as a disruption in the natural flow of relationships, in which we most often tend to focus on the immediate “presenting” problems and look for a solution to the presenting problems without seeing the underlying causes and forces (the bigger map) of the conflict. He thus suggests that we must look at conflict with a different lens. Three lenses can help create a bigger map:

- A lens to see the immediate situation (the content);
- A lens to see beyond the presenting problems toward the deeper patterns of relationship (the context); and
- A conceptual framework that connects the immediate situation with the deeper relational patterns (the structure of relationships).

Conflict transformation thus seeks to create a framework to address the content, the context and the structure of relationships. Lederach defines conflict transformation thus:

Conflict transformation is to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships.

Lederach’s definition touches upon several key aspects and notions of conflict and conflict transformation. First of all conflict is envisioned as a natural, normal and continuous dynamic within human relationships; it brings with it the potential for constructive growth. For positive change, engagement with this opportunity is necessary. Secondly, conflict has a rhythm and pattern; there is escalation and de-escalation. Next, conflict flows from and returns to relationships, making relationships the centre of conflict transformation. Relationships have visible and invisible dimensions, immediate and long-term issues and transformation must pay heed to all of them. Additionally, conflict creates life because it is the motor of change that keeps relationships and social structures honest, alive and dynamically responsive to human needs. Furthermore,

conflict transformation pursues the development of change processes that explicitly focus on creating positives from the negative and improving relationships.

Lederach sees peace-building as a long-term transformation of a war system into a peace system. The key dimensions of this process are changes in the personal, structural, relational and cultural aspects of conflict. For John Paul conflict and change both are a reality and conflict impacts situations and changes things in these four broad categories:

- *Personal*: Minimise destructive effects of social conflict and maximise the potential for growth and well-being in the individual at the physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual levels;
- *Relational*: Minimise poor communication, maximise understanding and work with fears and hopes related to emotions and interdependence in the relationship;
- *Structural*: Understand and address root causes and social conditions that give rise to violent and other harmful expressions of conflict and promote non-violent mechanisms; and
- *Cultural*: Identify and understand the cultural patterns that contribute to the rise of violent expressions of conflict and build upon resources for constructively responding to and handling conflict.

John Paul envisions peacebuilding as a *process* – one that incorporates different functions, roles and strategies employed by different people at different stages of conflict progression. He articulates this in the form of a pyramid (see *Figure 3*) on the basis of where individuals (the conflicting parties and peacebuilders) are located in a system and the approaches that work best in a particular sector/level of society.

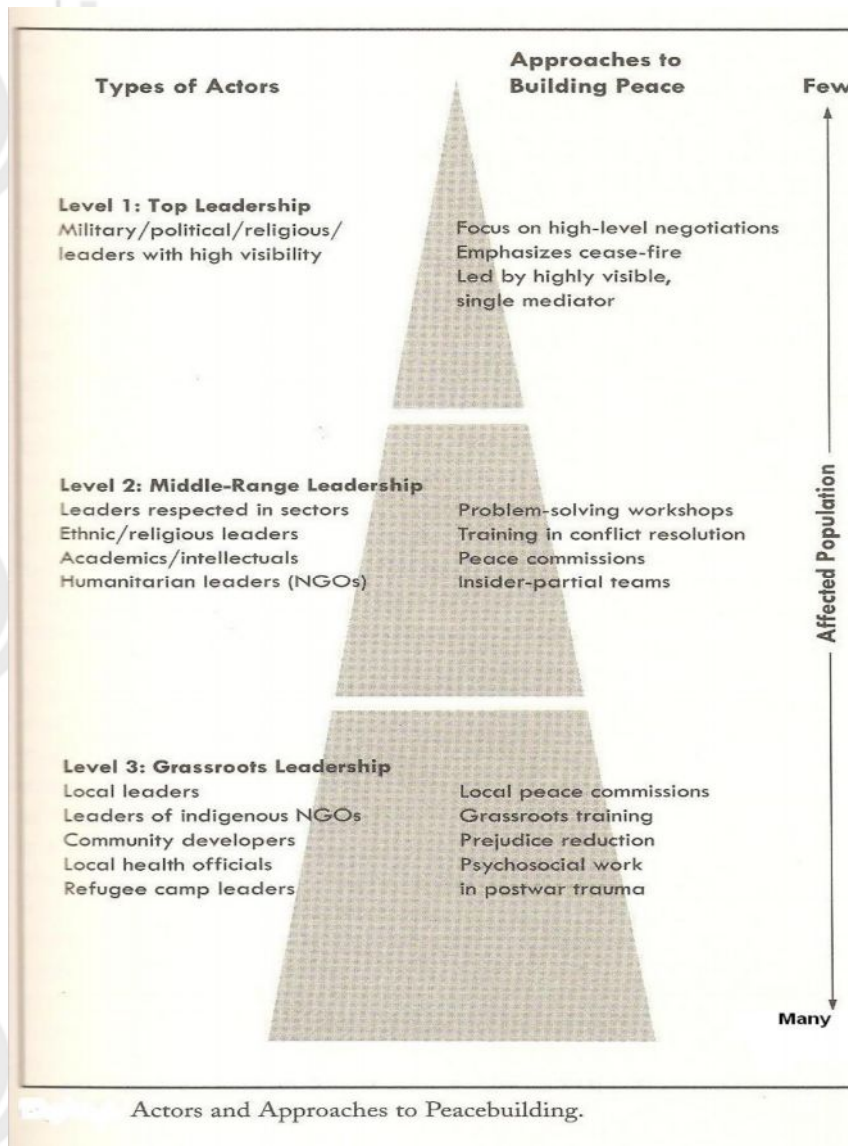


Figure 3: The Pyramid

The pyramid captures the overview of how an entire affected population in a setting of internal armed conflict is represented by leaders and other actors, as well as the roles they play in dealing with the situation. The pinnacle, or top-level leadership, represents the fewest people, in some instances perhaps only a handful of key actors. The grassroots base of the pyramid encompasses the largest number of people, those who represent the population at large. On the left-hand side of the pyramid are the types of leaders and the sectors from which they come at each level. On the right-hand side are the conflict transformation activities that the leaders at each level may undertake.

The pyramid lays out the leadership base in three major categories: top level, middle range and the grassroots. The pinnacle represents the top-level leadership or track one (policy makers, politicians, military people, diplomats) and the base represents grassroots workers (members of indigenous NGOs, psychologists working with trauma victims etc.) The middle-range leadership comprises of individuals representing NGOs, educational institutions, humanitarian and relief organisations, the academia and the media. The grassroots-level leadership represents the voices of people who are directly affected by the conflict and for whom issues of livelihood are crucial.

Individuals/groups at each level of this pyramid use different and unique methodologies to contribute to the processes of transformation. Top-level peace-building is characterised by high profile peace missions led by diplomats, negotiations between government representatives etc. At the middle-level, peace-building (also known as the “middle-out” approach) comprises of problem solving workshops, conflict resolution training etc.

It is difficult for the top-level to arrive at creative solutions because it often gets locked in position-making and is under tremendous pressure to maintain a “position of strength” vis-a-vis adversaries and its own constituencies. The middle-level leadership is connected to both the grassroots and the top-level leadership and this is its biggest strength. Leadership at this level is not necessarily based on political or military power and this gives intermediaries greater flexibility and room to maneuver. Thus the middle range, if integrated properly, might provide the key to creating an ‘infrastructure’ for achieving and sustaining peace. The pyramid was one of the first models that dealt with middle range peace-building and was thus seen as an important contribution by John Paul to the field of conflict transformation.

10.3 SUMMARY

The theories of conflict transformation are either analytical and interpretative (Azar and Vayrynen as they attempt to explain the formation and transformation of contemporary conflicts), or they are prescriptive (Curle and Lederach as they offer peacebuilders a means to conceptualise the path from conflict towards desired outcomes). Galtung’s approach is an attempt to synthesise the two. Sharp was not explicitly talking in terms of conflict transformation but he was necessarily concerned with achieving success and bringing change in violent conflict situations where fundamental issues are at stake, through the usage of nonviolent means.

The field of conflict transformation is relevant to most contemporary violent conflicts as they are asymmetric, protracted and complex. Therefore, conflict transformation theorists argue that contemporary conflicts require more than the reframing of positions and the

identification of win-win outcomes. The very structure of parties and relationships may be embedded in a pattern of conflictual relationships. Conflict transformation is the process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, and if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict. It sees constructive conflict as a catalyst for change. It also recognises that conflicts should be transformed gradually and should include a variety of actors.

10.4 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Briefly discuss the main strands/schools of thought that have directly contributed to the development of the theory of conflict transformation.
2. What is Adam Curle's Progression of Conflict? How is it related to conflict transformation?
3. What is Gene Sharp's strategic non-violence? How can his strategic non-violence transform power relations in a violent conflict situation?
4. What is Azar's protracted social conflict?
5. What is Galtung's conflict triangle?
6. Discuss the notion of direct, structural and cultural violence as laid out by Galtung.
7. What are the lenses of conflict transformation according to Lederach? In what areas does conflict impact change?
8. In Lederach's pyramid, who are the actors and what are the corresponding approaches?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Adam Curle., *Making Peace*, Tavistock Press, London, 1971

Alan C. Tidwell., *Conflict Resolved: A Critical Assessment of Conflict Resolution*, Pinter, London & New York, 1998

David W. Augsburger., *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures: Pathways & Patterns*, Westminster/John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 1992

Edward Azar., *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict*, Dartmouth, Aldershot, 1990

Gene Sharp., *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Porter Sargent Publishers, Boston, 1973

Gene Sharp., *There are Realistic Alternatives*, The Albert Einstein Institution, Boston, 2003

Gene Sharp., *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*, Porter Sargent Publishers, Boston, 2005

Hugh Miall., 'Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task', <http://www.berghof-handbook.net>, Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, Edited version, 2004 (First Launch March 2001)

Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham & Tom Woodhouse., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1999

International Alert (ed.), 'Thinking about Conflict', in International Alert (ed.), *Resource Pack for Conflict Transformation*, International Alert, London, 1998

Johan Galtung., *Peace by Peaceful Means*, Sage, London, 1996

Johan Galtung, Carl G. Jacobsen & Kai F. Brand-Jacobsen., *Searching for Peace: The Road to Transcend*, Pluto & TRANSCEND, London, 2nd edition, 2002

Johan Galtung., *Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means – The Transcend Method*, [Participants' Manual/Trainers' Manual], United Nations Disaster Management Training Programme, 2000

John Paul Lederach., *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York, 1995

John Paul Lederach., *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington DC., 1997

John Paul Lederach., *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*, Good Books, New York, 2003

Kumar Rupesinghe., (ed.), *Conflict Transformation*, Macmillan, London, 1995

Kumar Rupesinghe., *Civil Wars, Civil Peace*, Pluto, London, 1998

Maire A. Dugan, 'Nonviolence', http://www.beyondintractability.org/m/nonviolent_direct_action.jsp (Accessed on June 16, 2005)

Peter Wallensteen (1991), 'The Resolution and Transformation of International Conflicts: A Structural Perspective,' in Raimo Vayrynen (ed.), *New Directions in Conflict Theory: Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation*. London: Sage

Robert J. Burrowes (1996), *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach*, Albany: State University of New York Press

Raimo Vayrynen (1991), 'To Settle or to Transform? Perspectives on the Resolution of National and International Conflicts,' in Raimo Vayrynen (ed.), *New Directions in Conflict Theory: Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation*. London: Sage

Terell A. Northrup (1989), 'The Dynamic of Identity in Personal and Social Conflict', in Louis Kriesberg, Terell A. Northrup & Stuart J. Thorson (eds.), *Intractable Conflicts and Their Transformation*, Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press

Vernonique Dudouet (2008), 'Nonviolent Resistance and Conflict Transformation in Power Asymmetries', <http://www.berghof-handbook.net>, Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management