

UNDERSTANDING NATION-STATE STABILITY: DEVELOPMENT OF A STRESS-COPING FRAMEWORK



BY
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A THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL COMPLETION OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF
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ABSTRACT

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This exploratory study conducted a comparative, multi-disciplinary examination of nation-state stability in order to provide new insights into conflict assessment methodologies. Working from the proposition that the psychological literature on individual coping could be used to inform the understanding of the coping responses of nation-states, a Stress-Coping Framework was developed. This framework addresses a deficiency in linear models by emphasizing the dynamic interaction of stress, response capacities, and outcomes. A case study examination of conflict and United Nations sponsored intervention in Kosovo established the applicability of the Stress-Coping Framework to conduct conflict assessments for peace support operations.

Key words: coping, stress, conflict assessment, Kosovo, UNMIK

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Chapter 1 - INTRODUCTION

For a variety of reasons weak and failing states lack the requisite capacity and resiliency necessary to achieve stable and durable systems. These states have two essential criteria. First, they fail to deliver essential social political and economic goods to their citizens. Secondly, many have lost their monopoly on violence. Because of their nature, weak and failed states lack the capacity to respond effectively to internal and external challenges. Their ability to cope, respond, and adapt is simply overwhelmed and exhausted by the mismatch between available resources and the problems they face. The resulting vulnerability makes these states increasingly susceptible to the economic, social, and political stressors as well as to enduring cycles of conflict. Nation-state vulnerabilities and resulting conflict cycles, in turn, prompt international responses in the form of developmental aid and peacebuilding efforts to strengthen nations and to restore, and maintain peace, however fragile.

1.1 Purpose

The goal of this exploratory study is to conduct a comparative, multi-disciplinary examination of nation-state resiliency that is informed by an understanding of coping mechanisms. While a range of indexes such as the *Failed States Index* assess patterns of global instability, there is a continued need to develop a theoretical model to bring coherence to factor-based approaches. This research will turn to the psychological literature and explore models of coping and individual resiliency. It is believed that the emphasis of coping models on stressors, coping capacity, and resiliency can also be used to inform a more complete model of nation-state adaptation and stability. Overall, this research will seek to combine coping models and the social dimensions of nation-state vulnerability and resiliency within a unified nation-

state stability model. This research concludes with a short, descriptive case study of the United Nations intervention in Kosovo in order to demonstrate the applicability of a stress-coping framework to conduct conflict assessment in support of peace support operations.

1.2 Research need

Many global indexes assess patterns of global instability. These indexes often rely on an aggregate assessment of individual factors. However, one criticism of these approaches is the lack of an explanatory theoretical basis for the selection of the surveyed factors. So, there is a contemporary need to develop a descriptive, theoretical model which can provide a unifying foundation to factor-based approaches for understanding instability. This study will attempt to resolve this research need by introducing a stress-coping framework as an informative analog by which to understand the resiliency, or the failure, of nation-states in achieving stability in the face of internal and external stressors.

There is also a need to further understand the social dimension of nation-state resiliency. For example, the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals lack an emphasis on local participation. This research will explore the need for adaptive strategies to be based on elements of social capital such as mutual participation, fair voice, and shared interests. This may be particularly important since negative impacts of crisis are most felt within the least empowered, most disadvantaged, and most resource limited elements of a society.

In addition to its theoretical contributions, this research will also seek to make a practical contribution to the areas of conflict assessment and peacebuilding. It will take a grassroots perspective on the issues and problems facing nations during high risk conditions

and how to address these problems through peacebuilding at the local level in order to sustain lasting peace.

1.3 The importance of studying nation-state stability

The stability of nations can be an important indicator for both positive and negative conditions. On one hand, nations that rank higher on stability indexes tend to also have higher income per capita, primary school completion, levels of democracy, and government effectiveness (Marshall & Cole, 2008; Rice & Patrick, 2008). Those nations that rank higher for stability also tend to have lower levels of corruption, child mortality and undernourishment, political instability, and violence (Rice & Patrick, 2008). So, the benefits are two-fold, both yielding positive outcomes and providing a buffer to negative ones. Importantly, nations with lower stability scores tend to maintain their poor position persistently. For example, Somalia has been ranked as the number 1 failed state three years in a row (2008-2010) (Fund for Peace, 2011a). And, in the last four years of the *Failed States Index* (2007-2010) just 11 different nations made up the top 10 countries when ranked according to instability. Further, nations ranked as unstable are more likely to experience violent conflict (Hewitt, Wilkenfeld, & Gurr, 2008).

1.4 The importance of studying coping responses as a model

Coping is generally considered an adaptive behavior that is expressed when a person is faced with new challenges or changing conditions. It can be characterized as either a linear, interactionist, or a dynamic process. As a linear process it might be goal oriented and focused on the resolution of a specific problem. As an interactive process it might seek to incorporate social support from others to gain knowledge or emotional support. However, it is its potential

characterization as a dynamic, interactive process that makes it most attractive and useful to this study.

Overall, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) and Aldwin (1994) have proposed dynamic and transactional approaches that account for the interrelated influence of multiple factors on a stress event, *and* on each other. Selye's (1976/1956) classic study of stress reactions led to the conceptualization of a general adaptation syndrome. According to this three stage theory, a person may enter an alarm stage of temporary shock after receiving a stressor. As one rebounds from the initial shock his or her stress resistance rises during adaptation during a coping response. Finally, if the stress continues without relief, exhaustion will set in as response reserves are depleted. Selye's underlying point is simple – prolonged, unrelieved stress that is mismatched to response capabilities has the potential to produce deterioration. Thus, the connection between stressor, response capacity, and outcome can be fully made.

A research goal of this study is to translate a stress-coping model from its use in the understanding of psychological adjustment to an understanding of the dynamics of nation-state stability. Although situational determinants and response options vary due to the difference between the nature of personal and nation-state problems, it is proposed that the underlying mechanisms of stress-response are fundamentally similar. Of particular research interest is the potential for a stress-coping framework to help shape the understanding of conflict interventions and peace support operations in order to achieve positive, lasting outcomes.

1.5 Definition of key terms

Stress: Stress is commonly equated to a situational demand to which an individual must respond. However, it is multi-faceted. It may include elements of the situation, the response, as well as the appraisal mechanism by which an individual may assess its relative importance. This study will follow Lazarus and Folkman (1984) and emphasize the key element of stress as its relational component, that is, the relationship between the characteristics of the person (reframed in this study as the nation-state), and the nature of the conditional event to which a response is required.

Coping: When a stressor exceeds an individual's resources, or the stressor is appraised as taxing, the individual may respond with coping behaviors that address the experienced lack of fit with his or her environment (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). However, since coping responses may be based on available resources (Aldwin, 1994) this study will emphasize coping as an extant response capacity. This emphasis on response capacity is consistent with studies on nation-state response options regarding a variety of challenges such as climate change and conflict which validate response capacity as a determinant to the effective management of external stressors (see Smith & Vivekananda, 2009).

Nation-state stability: Nation-state stability is widely considered to be the product of combined political, economic, and social variables. It is generally assessed as the composite performance of a nation across a variety of components or factors. For example, the *Failed States Index* assesses 12 indicators (mounting demographic pressures, economic decline, human rights violations, etc.) (Fund for Peace, 2011a). Alternatively, the *World Governance Indicators* assesses 6 indicators (voice and accountability, political stability and absence of terrorism,

government effectiveness, etc.) (Kaufmann, 2010a). It is useful to note that linear, criteria-based frameworks such as these may be criticized because they do not fully examine the dynamic interaction of factors collectively. This study will address that need through the introduction of a more fully integrated model.

Nation-state resiliency: While nation-state stability has been characterized within a variety of factor-based approaches, operational definitions and associated measurements are less available for nation-state resiliency per se. The concept of individual resiliency includes personal adaptability as well as successful adjustment in the face of hardship or adversity. Similarly, nation-state resiliency would include the ability of a nation to likewise exercise a successful response to an environmental challenge. So, nation-state resiliency can be considered as both a characteristic (i.e., the ability to respond) and an outcome (i.e., a successful response).

Social capital: In economic terms capital might be considered the net value of investments in means of production that are available to generate production or profits. Social capital extends this concept to the social dimension by considering the availability of social networks, cultural norms, skills, knowledge, and values as potential resources (Lin, 1999). In the context of the present study the stock of social capital for a nation might include its capacity for governance, decisionmaking, and the nature of its interactive relationship to its populace.

1.6 Summary

The present study is multi-disciplinary. It seeks to transfer models of stress and coping from the psychological domain to an understanding of the mechanisms of adaptive responses of nation-states. The goal is both theoretical and practical. On one hand this study will explore

the general applicability of individual coping models to nation-state stability, providing a new theoretical framework for understanding sequences of stress and response within nations. On the other hand, this study will maintain a focus on real-world stressors that nations face (e.g., conflict, disaster), providing the intervention and peacekeeping community with an empirically grounded view of how stress and adaptation manifests in real terms in high risk and crisis environments.

Chapter 2 - RESPONSE MODELS

This chapter will briefly examine the conceptualization of several available coping models. It is helpful to remember that coping is generally considered a behavioral response to events or conditions that challenge existing resources and requires adaptive behavior. This chapter will use a building block approach to explore how these responses can be categorized along a continuum from simple to increasingly complex. The goal is to identify a general coping model that is sufficiently comprehensive and yet flexible enough to be applied in a multi-dimensional context to understanding nation-state stability.

2.1 Stress - Response (S-R) model

In its simplest form coping is a direct behavioral response to the emergence of a stressor. This stimulus and reaction pairing can be characterized as a stress - response (S-R) model. At a personal level stressors may manifest in various forms, including catastrophic events (e.g., disasters), major normative life events (e.g., marriage, death), and chronic conditions (e.g., long term unemployment) (Emeke, 2006). These general categories of stressors have counterparts in the broad milieu of nation-states. Nations can experience stress through catastrophic disaster events, normative events such as democratic transition, and chronic events such as persistent conflict. So, the stressors are different in kind but not in their fundamental nature.

While the nature of stressors may be generally similar, each manifests in a different manner at the level of the individual or the nation-state. This observation is a key component of this study which proposes that fundamental similarities exist in the mechanisms of stress, response, and adaptation whether considered at individual personal or aggregate nation-state

levels. Yet, individuals and nations face challenges that, although similar in the need for adaptive response, are dramatically different in scope since the stressor and response respectively require resource mobilization at either an individual or a societal level. At a personal level the response to stress may manifest at a physiological level and at a psychological level (Emeke, 2006). This may include emotional, cognitive, and behavioral responses. Once again a parallel may be found within the nation-state, which can respond structurally to stress conditions or may respond through informational programs, deliberation, or collective action to directly address a stressor.

Overall, a stress-response paradigm suggests that people, and nations, are reactive to stimuli. In this sense the stress-response model is one-dimensional and linear (see Figure 1). That is, the response is predominantly shaped by, and proportional to, the stimulus. Yet, it is apparent that responses are shaped by forces outside of the original stimulus. For example, Seligman's theory of learned helplessness proposes that poor internal perceptions of control may create conditions in which a stimulus fails to elicit a behavioral response at all despite increases in anxiety (Peterson, Maier, & Seligman, 1993). So, while the stress-response paradigm is useful in capturing the essence of the causal relationship between a stress and its corresponding response, it is incomplete as a descriptive model.

Figure 1. *Stress - Response model*



2.2 Stress - Mediation - Response model

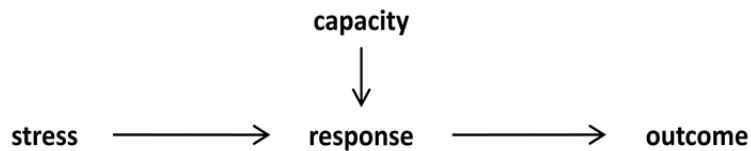
Although incomplete as a theory, the stress-response model provides an essential building block to the understanding of stress and adaptation by establishing the causal

relationship between stress and response. At the next level of complexity, a stress - response pairing might also include the influence of an intervening, or mediating, variable. For example, it has been established that individual appraisal approaches can shape a person's response to new conditions and threats (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). In this case appraisal serves as a mediating variable. In terms of the current research, nation-state capacity might be considered a mediating variable (see Figure 2).

The interplay of stressors, intervening variables such as appraisal, and responses has been conceptualized under the rubric of interactionism (Aldwin, 1994). That is, the stressor acts in conjunction with additional influences to shape one's response. In this case, the sequence of stress- response is modified to a pattern of stress – mediation – response. This approach preserves the causality of the stress but accounts for additional variables, yielding an improvement on the more simplified stress – response model. But, this model too may be incomplete. In the stress – mediation – response model, although each variable acts mutually to shape the response, they maintain their independence (Aldwin, 1994). That is, each variable itself remains unchanged despite its influence on the response.

However, the personal and social worlds that people and nations occupy are highly interactive with many conditions and influences working simultaneously to shape one another as well as outcomes. So, a more complete model is needed. A model is needed that preserves the causality of the stress – response model and builds upon the interactive nature of the stress – mediation – response model.

Figure 2. *Stress - Mediation - Response model*



2.3 Transactional model

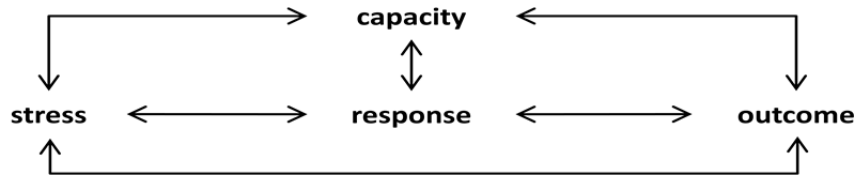
The concepts underpinning the linear and interactionist perspectives of stress – response and stress – mediation – response models can be unified within a model that more fully considers the dynamic interaction of all conditions on each other. This dynamic interplay has been conceptualized as a transactional model of coping (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). In a transactional model the linear causality of previous models is reconsidered as a process. By emphasizing the transactional nature of stress and coping this model re-conceptualizes stress and response as a two way process, one in which each variable or condition impacts both the outcome as well as all other variables.

The re-conceptualization of coping as a dynamic, transactional model provides several benefits. First, it accounts for the interrelated influence of multiple factors on stressors, responses *and* on each other. Secondly, it provides the ability to account for feedback influences. That is, it can bridge the impact of precipitating conditions (i.e., stressors) on response as well as the impact of selected responses back on the conditions that support the crisis. It is this multidimensional influence of condition on response and response, in turn, on condition that provides the transactional model its dynamic characteristic.

It now becomes clear how stress – response, stress – mediation – response and transactional coping models relate to one another. The utility of each model to serve as a

building block for the development of a more refined and complete paradigm is depicted in Figure 3. In this figure the causality provided by a stress – response model can be combined with the interaction of stress – mediation – response model to provide the basis for a final transactional model. The present study proposes that a transactional model of coping is sufficiently complete to serve as a mechanism for understanding the complex nature of nation-state stability in the face of crisis. This study will adopt the term stress-coping framework to refer to this type of dynamic model.

Figure 3. *Transactional model*



2.4 Summary

This chapter briefly examined the conceptualization of available coping models characterized as linear (S-R model), relational (interaction), or dynamic (transactional) processes. It is proposed that a transactional model of stress-response is most useful as a coping paradigm for understanding nation-state stability. This assessment is based on the ability of a transactional model to incorporate multiple variables and to account for the interaction of those variables as both antecedent and feedback components on response outcomes as well as on each other. The present research can now focus on understanding how a dynamic stress-coping model can be applied to the special case of nation-state stability.

Chapter 3 - STRESS APPLIED TO NATION-STATES

Due to the need for coping responses to have an antecedent, precipitating condition or crisis event, this chapter will explore a variety of the events (i.e., stressors) that put nation-states at risk and, in turn, prompt coping responses in order to manage their impacts. These preconditions will be broadly categorized into two areas: shocks and systemic pressures. These two categories capture the basic idea that stressors can have either a rapid or a prolonged onset. It is understood that rapid and prolonged onset events are not mutually exclusive and that some events may share some characteristics of both. So, the examples in this chapter are intended to be illustrative and not definitive. The goal of this chapter is to introduce stressors in a general manner, but one sufficient to allow the integration of stress as a component into a stress-coping framework.

3.1 Shocks

3.1.1 Climate-based disaster risk

Climate-based disaster risks can originate from natural phenomena such as cyclones, floods, and earthquakes. Assessments of these disaster risks are provided by the United Nations Environment Programme's Disaster Risk Index (DRI). The DRI was developed for the United Nations Development Programme, Bureau of Crisis Prevention & Recovery with results published by the United Nations Development Programme, Global Resource Information Database - Geneva. The project was entitled, *Global Risk and Vulnerability Index Trend per Year* (GRAVITY) (United Nations Environment Programme, 2002). Table 1 presents the top 10 nations exposed to natural disaster in the form of cyclones, floods, and earthquakes. Results based on the DRI results are generally supported by additional reporting such as the United Nations'

report, *Disaster Risk in the Context of Climate Change* (United Nations Development Programme, 2007) although some variation exists.

Table 1. *Climate disaster risks*

Global ranking	Cyclone exposure	Flood exposure	Earthquake exposure
1	China	India	Japan
2	India	China	Indonesia
3	Philippines	Bangladesh	Philippines
4	Japan	Indonesia	Taiwan
5	Bangladesh	Pakistan	USA
6	USA	Afghanistan	Chile
7	Vietnam	Iran	Mexico
8	Mexico	Myanmar	China
9	South Korea	Brazil	Turkey
10	Cuba	Nepal	India

Note: Cyclone exposure reflects exposure to winds ≥ 33 meters/second and includes high wind and hurricane events in this range.

Legend	
Critical	Critical
In danger	In danger
Borderline	Borderline
Stable	Stable
Most stable	Most stable
Not rated	Not rated

The individual country disaster risk and vulnerability rankings presented in Table 1 are also coded to reflect nation-state stability based on the Fund for Peace's *Failed States Index*. This index measures social, economic, and political health across a set of 12 indicators and has been conducted annually since 2005 (Fund for Peace, 2011a). Its results are generally confirmed by other metrics-based state stability assessments such as George Mason University's *State Fragility Index* which assesses nation-state health across a range of security, political, economic, and social indicators (Marshall & Cole, 2008). When considered together the risk rankings and stability assessments provide an indication of the likelihood of the occurrence of a climate-based disaster as well as the capacity of an at risk country to respond. For example, countries in Table 1 are coded to reflect stability as critical, in danger, or borderline. Table 1 only includes the most at-risk countries for climate-based disaster. So, it

becomes clear that the vast majority of countries at risk for climate based disaster are also unstable.

3.1.2 Conflict environments

Similar to disaster vulnerability, conflict, and security risks also demonstrate a general geographic pattern worldwide. The distribution of countries hosting armed conflict is reported in the *Armed Conflicts Report* which defines armed conflict as a political conflict in which armed combat involves the armed forces of at least one state (or one or more armed factions seeking to gain control of all or part of the state), and in which at least 1,000 people have been killed by the fighting during the course of the conflict. The geographic distribution of armed conflicts in 2008 is presented in Table 2 (Ploughshares, n.d.). These results highlight the conflict and security risks in Africa and Asia and may tend to broadly correspond to the disaster risk and vulnerability results presented in Table 1. These overlapping results point to the likelihood of interventions in environments which possess both security challenges and climate-based disaster risks, especially in Africa or Asia.

Table 2. *Geographic distribution of armed conflicts in 2008 (Ploughshares, n.d.)*

Region	# of countries in region	# of conflicts in region	# of countries hosting conflict	% of countries in region hosting conflict	% of world conflicts
Africa	50	11	10	20	39.3
Asia	42	11	8	19	39.3
Europe	42	1	1	2.4	3.6
The Americas	44	1	1	2	3.6
Middle East	14	4	4	29	14.2
World totals	192	28	24	12.5	100

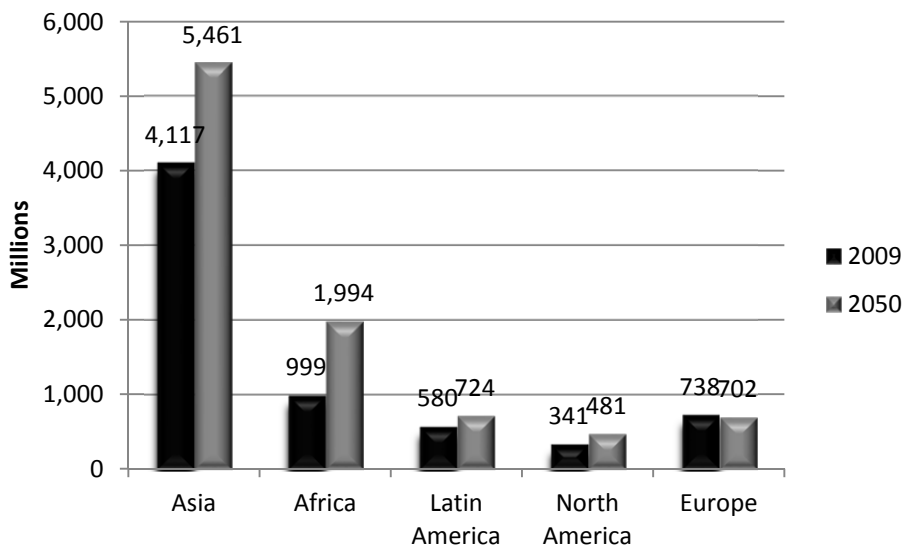
3.2 Systemic pressures

3.2.1 Population

It is estimated that world population could reach 9.5 billion by 2050 (Joint Forces Command [JFCOM], 2010). However, alternative scenarios have provided estimates as high as 10.6 billion or as low as 7.4 billion (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UN DESA], 2004). Overall global growth will be distributed unevenly with divergent trends occurring within developed and developing regions. The population of more developed regions is expected to experience only minor population growth, rising from 1.23 billion to 1.28 billion. This positive shift would have been reflected as a decline to 1.15 billion were it not for the projected net migration from developing to developed countries, which is projected to average 2.4 million persons annually from 2009 to 2050 (UN DESA, 2009).

In contrast, the population of the less developed regions is projected to rise from 5.6 billion in 2009 to 7.9 billion in 2050. Overall, by 2050 86 per cent of the world population is expected to live in the less developed regions, including 18 per cent in the least developed countries, with only 14 per cent living in the more developed regions (UN DESA, 2009). While exact population numbers in future forecasts tend to vary, most population growth will occur in Asia and Africa (Haub, 2010) (see Figure 4). Unfortunately, most population growth will occur in regions that contain the weakest nations and are least able to respond to the political and economic demands of their populations.

Figure 4. *Population to 2050: Regional disparities (Haub, 2010)*



Changing demographics may manifest as new strains for nations. A larger world population will create additional job demands by enlarging the available workforce from a 2010 level of 4.5 billion to approximately 6 billion by 2050 (International Center for Peace and Development [ICPD], n.d.). And, as developed countries cope with increasingly aged population, developing countries will continue to face the challenge of coping with the passage of youth bulge cohorts. It has been estimated that countries in which the 15-29 year old cohort comprises 40 per cent or more of the population are 2.5 times more likely to experience civil conflict as are nations which fall below that threshold (Center for Emerging Threats and Opportunities [CETO], 2010).

Internal pressures may also be mounting due to new trends in displaced persons and in migration. In 2009 49 countries had situations that may be categorized as serious, situations in which one in every thousand persons was internally displaced. Of these countries, 20 were in Africa, 11 in Asia, 8 in Europe, 6 in the Middle East, 4 in the Americas. The most serious cases,

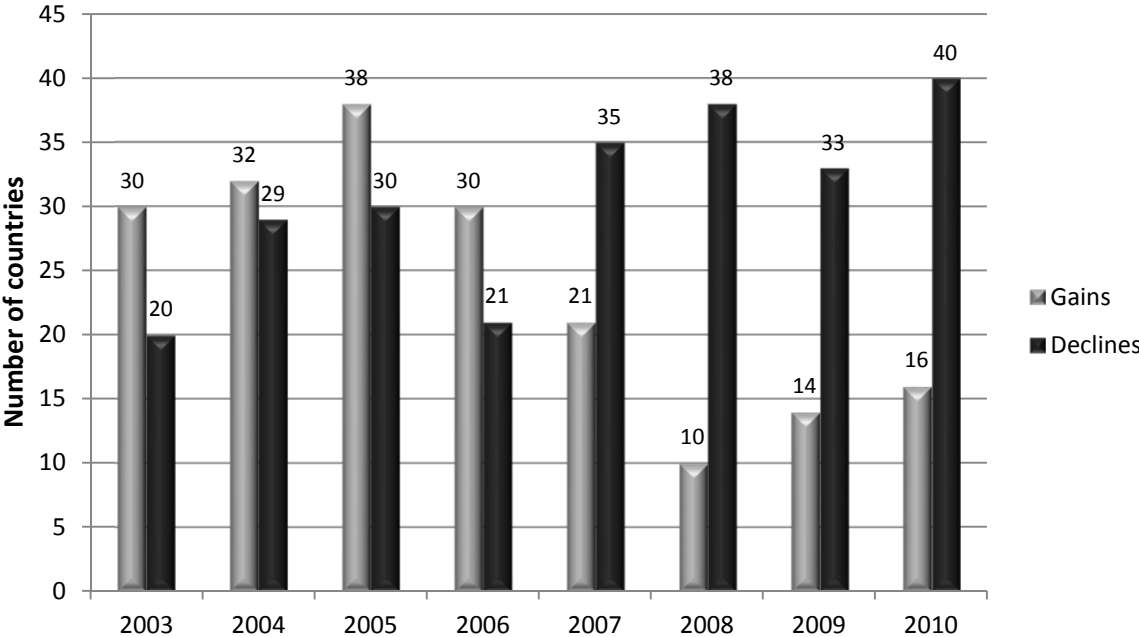
countries in which displacement affected one in every hundred people, categorized as the most serious situations, could be found in 25 countries, of which 10 were in Africa, 6 in Europe, 5 in the Middle East, 3 in Asia and 1 in the Americas (Francesch et al., 2009). The United Nations estimates for 2009 indicated that there were 43.3 million forcibly displaced persons worldwide of which 27.1 million were internally displaced (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2010). International migration now involves a wider diversity of ethnic and cultural groups than ever before and the worldwide pool of international migrants could reach 405 million by the year 2050 (World migration report, 2010). Population movements, forced or voluntary, have the potential to disrupt patterns of culture, politics, and economics and may carry with them the potential for conflict due to competition for resources and the creation of internal stress within nations hosting displaced populations.

3.2.2 Disenfranchisement

According to the *Freedom in the World* index, worldwide freedom experienced a decline during the period 2007-2010 (see Figure 5) (“Freedom in the World 2010”, 2010). On one hand the emergence of newly independent states has given a boost to freedom and world democracy. In 1950, only 22 of the 80 sovereign political systems in the world, just 28 per cent, were democratic. By 2000, there were as many as 120 democracies worldwide, the highest number and the greatest percentage, 63 per cent, in the history of the world at that point (Diamond, 2000). By 2009 the number of electoral democracies still stood at 119. Yet, despite the general expansion of democracies worldwide, just 45 per cent of the world’s population lives in countries considered fully free (“Electoral democracies”, 2009). Civil conflict has been an

important contributing factor to a negative trajectory freedom indexes in South Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

Figure 5. *Freedom in the world: Global gains versus declines* (“Freedom in the World 2010”, 2010).



Additionally, a resurgence of authoritarianism has eroded global freedom. There has been an intensification of efforts by authoritarian regimes to consolidate their power through the suppression of democratic opposition, civil society, and independent media. An emerging concern is the negative impact of powerful autocracies on smaller, less powerful neighboring countries. For example, some assessments indicate that Russia provides diplomatic and political support to autocratic regimes on its borders, including Belarus and states in Central Asia, and puts pressure on nearby governments, such as Estonia and Georgia, whose policies or leaders it disapproves of. In Africa, China provides various forms of aid, including security assistance, to authoritarian countries and undermines the efforts of the United States, the European Union,

and other multilateral institutions to promote transparent governance (Puddington, 2008). However, in the Middle East and North Africa, a wave of popular unrest beginning in 2010 challenged the legitimacy of existing governments and resulted in the downfall of authoritarian regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, and seriously threatened regime stability in Bahrain and Syria.

3.3 Summary

This chapter explored the nature of stressors that face nations. It recognized that stressors can manifest quickly in the rapid onset of a disaster or conflict or manifest more slowly as systemic issues of demographic shifts and disenfranchisement. Understanding the nature of the stressors facing nations is an important step in conceptualizing nation-state stability within a theoretical stress-coping framework. Once an understanding of the stressor is understood it is then possible to explore the response. In addition, by focusing on selected conditions (e.g., conflict, shifting demographics) it is possible to operationalize a stress-coping model in real terms.

Chapter 4 - NATION-STATE RESPONSE CAPACITIES

The previous chapter examined stressors that can precipitate crisis. This chapter examines the next layer of the proposed stress-coping framework - nation-state response capacities. Response capacities fulfill a vital role in effective response and shape the nature of interventions required to assist in recovery and the re-establishment of the pre-crisis status quo. Poor or deficient capacities may require long term or systemic interventions, while robust capacities may only require more short term reinforcements to overcome a crisis. This chapter explores governance, security, and public service as critical capacities. This chapter will also begin to more sharply focus on the concept of social capital as a unifying dimension of nation-state response capacities.

4.1 Governance

Effective governance is a prerequisite for nation-state stability. Ineffective governance contributes to state fragility because it undermines state legitimacy, authority, and capacity (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2010). A lack of effective governance can undermine public confidence, set conditions favorable to terrorism, and inhibit response capabilities.

The examples of the earthquakes occurring in Chile and Haiti are illustrative. In January and March 2010, magnitude 8.8 and 7.0 earthquakes struck Chile and Haiti respectively. In Chile, limits on the death toll were attributed to government effectiveness and control of corruption (Kaufmann, 2010b). In Haiti, a post-earthquake survey found widespread dissatisfaction with national government performance which was given a performance rating of 40.0 points, while foreign NGO's and governments were given the highest points at 68.1 and

59.7 respectively (on a scale of 100). It has been assessed that poor government response to the disaster undermined already low public perceptions of the legitimacy of the Haitian government (Haiti Libre, 2011).

When expectations of government services and stewardship are not met popular dissatisfaction may be expressed in political or social action. The Arab Spring, a popular democratic protest movement that swept through North Africa and the Middle East in 2010-2011, was largely attributed to disenfranchisement and public dissatisfaction with repressive, autocratic rule. In Afghanistan almost a decade of stabilization and reconstruction efforts by the international community are undermined by government ineffectiveness. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime asserts that corruption is endemic in Afghanistan; creating a lack of confidence as ordinary Afghans are unable to obtain services and protection from the government or obtain them only through bribery (UNODC, 2010). Insurgent groups in Afghanistan exploit weakened legitimacy in an attempt to co-opt support for continued conflict.

Inadequate governance can create un-governed, or under-governed, areas that can serve as terrorist safe havens, where terrorists are able to plan, organize, raise funds, recruit, train, transit, and operate in relative security (U.S. Department of State, 2011a). Violent extremist groups conduct operations to resist and undermine government efforts to improve governance and control. Violent extremist and insurgent groups challenge government legitimacy in countries such as Somalia, Afghanistan, and Iraq, all of which are listed as failed states in the 2011 Failed States Index (Fund for Peace, 2011b).

Ineffective and de-legitimized governance may be systemic to failed states and indicative of a lessened capacity for response. The *World Risk Report* notes that ineffective

governance is one of the most important risk factors regarding the impact of natural disasters, as states with strong institutions have fewer deaths after extreme natural events than those with weak or inexistent institutions (UN University, 2011). A review of the *Failed States Index* 2011 showed that the top ten failed states averaged 9.4 on the *Failed States Index's* Legitimacy of the State indicator, while the most resilient states averaged just 1.3 on the same measure (higher scores representing worse conditions) (Fund for Peace, 2011b). Ineffective governance may be indicative of a weakened social contract between the State and its citizens and represents an erosion of the capacity of the State. It is not surprising that failed states did poorly as well on the *Failed States Index's* measure for Human Rights and Rule of Law, with the top ten failed and top ten most resilient states scoring 9.0 and 1.4 respectively (Fund for Peace, 2011b).

4.2 Security

Security is a critical enabler of nation-state stability. A variety of studies have established the connection between security and nation-state stability. A review of the *Failed States Index* 2011 showed that the top ten failed states averaged 9.3 on the *Failed States Index's* Security Apparatus indicator, while the most resilient states averaged just 1.5 on the same measure (higher scores representing worse conditions) (Fund for Peace, 2011b). Security is important because it provides an umbrella for the healthy development of economies and political exchange.

Security's role as a prerequisite for stability is highlighted by current UN mandates. As of 2011, the UN was supporting 15 peacekeeping missions and one special political mission (Afghanistan) across four continents (UN Peacekeeping, n.d.). A good example of the

foundational role of security in stability as well as crisis response is the UN mandate for Haiti. The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) was established in 2004 by UN Security Council Resolution 1542. The mission was originally focused on restoring order and supporting Haiti's Transitional Government after the departure of President Bertrand Aristide (MINUSTAH, n.d.). MINUSTAH's original mandate included requirements to establish a secure and stable environment, to support political processes, and to support the promotion of human rights (UN Security Council, 2004). Over time, the MINUSTAH mandate has been modified to keep pace with changing circumstances, most notably the aftermath of the Haiti earthquake of January 2010. In 2010, UN Resolutions 1908 and 1927 extended the security mandate of MINUSTAH while expanding the mandate to include support to humanitarian assistance and recovery, reconstruction, and stability efforts (MINUSTAH, n.d.). The MINUSTAH mandates have maintained a focus on the restoration of order and continued support building a government capacity for rule of law as building blocks for larger institution building and crisis response.

Conflict cycles can retard the development of nation-state response capacities. Contemporary phrases such as the new normal, the arc of instability, and the wicked problem capture the idea that sustained conflict is an indelible part of the international landscape. Global conflict impacts nation-state health. Armed conflict is heavily correlated with underdevelopment, especially institutional underdevelopment that results in the absence of a conflict management capacity (Regehr, 2011). Worldwide, the Global Economic Costs of Conflict project found that conflict between 1960-2007 had a cost impact of \$9.1 trillion USD and that the global GDP in 2007 would have been 14.3% higher if there had not been any conflict since 1960 (Bozzoli, Brück, and de Groot, 2010).

4.3 Public services

The delivery of public services is a critical enabler of nation-state stability. Fragile states may not be seen by parts of the population as a legitimate provider of security and justice and often fail to provide public services such as health, education, and water to citizens (OECD, 2008). A review of the Failed States Index 2011 showed that the top ten failed states averaged 9.0 on the Failed States Index's Public Services indicator, while the most resilient states averaged just 1.7 on the same measure (higher scores representing worse conditions) (Fund for Peace, 2011b).

Public services cement the social contract between states and citizens and serve as an indicator of the health of a society (OECD, 2008). Excepting conflict, perhaps nowhere is the social contract between citizen and state more visible than in the delivery of public services. Public services provide the infrastructure for economic development and impact the daily quality of life for the populace. When public services are disregarded or incomplete, the legitimacy of the nation can be put at risk as people question its commitment to their welfare. This researcher's personal experience in Iraq showed that people were sensitive to the hours of electricity they received each day. Electricity, in effect, served as a proxy for effective reconstruction; when hours were constant or improving, opinion of the overall reconstruction effort tended to be higher and vice versa. When government provided public services are weak, opposition groups may develop their own domestic outreach in an effort exploit the government's lack of legitimacy and supplant it with their own (OECD, 2008). Hezbollah has been designated as a terrorist group by the United States (U.S. Department of State, 2011b). However, after the Lebanon war with Israel in 2006, Hezbollah won a propaganda coup by

providing cash grants to war victims and promising to rebuild homes for displaced persons (CRS, 2006). This research's case study will also show that disenfranchised ethnic groups in Kosovo established shadow governments once existing structures were deemed illegitimate to meet their needs.

In fragile states marginalized public services, strained to provide even basic needs, lack the capacity to respond to the urgent needs of crisis. This is particularly true since crisis, manmade and natural, often involve the destruction of public infrastructure, which reduces capacity at the time it is needed most. The mismatch between capacity and a demand spike for basic needs are the foundation of intervention and humanitarian responses as the world community attempts to ensure the maintenance of minimum conditions for life. Devastating sequential floods in 2010 and 2011 in Pakistan affected 20 million and 5.4 million people respectively and resulted in international aid appeals of \$2,006 million USD for 2010 and \$356.7 million USD for 2011 (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs [UN OCHA], 2010; UN OCHA, 2011). The floods not only strained Pakistan's ability to meet basic needs, but also strained the resources of the international community to help in the face of other worldwide requirements. Potential limits on international help highlight the need for nation-states to possess their own adaptive capacities.

4.4 The role of social capital

The response capacity of a nation-state is a critical element of its ability to effectively deal with crisis and return to normalcy. While these capacities have formal or structural components in the form of material resources, they also have a social component in the form of people, knowledge, relationships, organization, and planning skills. It is the people that make

things work, guide decisionmaking, and have the ability to achieve cooperative solutions. In a sense, social capital is a valued resource as well, acting as glue that binds physical capital together and guides its employment. Governance, security, and public services all are dependent on social capital in their function. In the development community, there has evolved a focus on local empowerment. Solutions, it seems, must be bound to the community in which they are employed through ownership, agreement, or participation. When capacities lack a foundation of knowledge, skills, and relationships they find difficulty in meeting needs. The result may be responses that are misguided, serve the wrong constituent, or lack the longevity to make a sustained contribution. Since nation-state responses are inherently interactive, social capital is a key component of the interplay between the crisis and response.

4.5 Summary

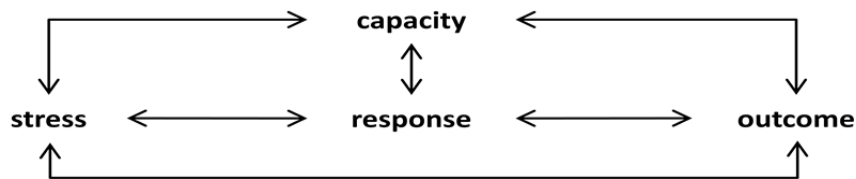
This chapter explored why an ability to provide governance, security, and public services are critical nation-state response capacities. Understanding the nature of response capacities is an important step in conceptualizing nation-state stability within a theoretical stress-coping framework. This chapter completed the stress and capacity dimensions of the proposed stress-coping framework. The following chapter will examine how stress and response capacity interact to cope with crisis.

Chapter 5 – CASE STUDY: UN Interim Administration Mission Kosovo (UNMIK)

The previous chapter explored why the ability to provide governance, security, and public services are critical nation-state capacities. This research proposes a three part nation-state stress-coping framework based on stress, capacity, and response. Having examined stress (Chapter 3) and capacity (Chapter 4), this chapter will use a case study format to explore nation-state crisis response and its impact on stability. A case study format is preferred since this research proposes that nation-state crisis response can be viewed as dynamic, transactional coping behavior. It is believed that a case study will best highlight the dynamic interplay between stress, capacity, and response. Continuing with this research’s theme of nation-state resiliency and crisis response as coping behavior, the following case study will focus on the several questions: What was the nature of the crisis and the response? What capacities or limitations shaped the outcome?

This case study is not designed to be a definitive history of the UN intervention in Kosovo, rather, is intended to illustrate the applicability of a general stress-coping model to the understanding of nation-state stability. Consistent with this study’s stress-coping framework (see Figure 6), the dimensions of the Kosovo conflict will be considered in terms of their contribution as a form of stress, a capacity, a response, or an outcome.

Figure 6. *Stress – Coping Framework*



5.1 Background

The breakup of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1991 was generally peaceful, excepting for a series of wars of succession that were sparked in Yugoslavia (formally the Socialist Federal Republic, Yugoslavia, or SFRY). Conflicts were experienced between Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo. These conflicts were particularly brutal, often including atrocities on either side in the form of ethnic cleansing. Worldwide concern that conflict in Kosovo would continue the regional pattern of ethnic violence against civilians led to an effort to achieve a timely intervention vis-à-vis NATO and the United Nations. The NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) was deployed as a peacekeeping force but had UN charter Chapter VII (enforcement) authority. The UNMIK was deployed on an interim administration mission. Each, however, ultimately derives its authority from the UN and UN Resolution 1244 (United Nations, 1999). As of October 2011, KFOR had 6,240 troops in Kosovo, including 783 U.S. members. Ethnic unrest in 2011 will likely delay any plans for a drawdown of NATO peacekeepers for the foreseeable future (Woehrel, 2011). As of December 2010, UNMIK consisted of 418 personnel including, 146 international staff, 8 military staff, 28 UN Volunteers, and 236 local staff (UN Interim Administration Mission Kosovo [UNMIK], n.d.).

On February 17, 2008, Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia. As of November 2011, 85 countries, including 22 of the 27 countries of the European Union, have recognized Kosovo's independence, but it has been opposed by both Serbia and Russia. It is likely that Russia would use its veto power in the UN Security Council to block Kosovo membership in the UN (Woehrel, 2011).

5.2 Stress

Like most conflicts, the origin of conflict in Kosovo is complex and varied. In general, stressors in Kosovo can be characterized as stress within its political and economic climates. Key determinants include political and economic disenfranchisement concomitant with ethnic polarization. Secondary factors include regional patterns of ethnic violence, refugee flight, unemployment, and the inability of exclusive national identities (Serbian and Albanian) to share the same cultural space.

Under the leadership of Joseph Broz Tito, Yugoslavia was a united collection of diverse regions. The former Yugoslavia consisted of separate, ethnically divergent, states, including Bosnia and Herzegovina; Croatia; Macedonia; Montenegro; Serbia; Slovenia; and, Kosovo (Melady, 2011). With the death of Tito in 1980, the relationship between Kosovo and Yugoslavia began to deteriorate as a result of rising Serbian-Albanian ethnic tension and competing narratives of nationalism:

The growth of the Albanian community led to increased demands for greater minority rights by ethnic Albanians, particularly during the 1980s. In 1990, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic authorized a brutal counterinsurgency; many Albanians were killed or wounded. The severity of the counterinsurgency led to a three month NATO-led military operation against Serbia, which resulted in the withdrawal of Serbian military and police forces from Kosovo. (Melady, 2011, ¶ 13)

The Kosovo conflict was, in part, due to the disenfranchisement of ethnic Albanians. Under Tito, political rights based on the recognition of ethnic imperatives had expanded for Kosovar Albanians. In 1974 Kosovo's status was changed from an autonomous region under

Serbian jurisdiction to an autonomous province, equal in status to the other federal units including Serbia. However, in 1989 Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic navigated constitutional changes that stripped Kosovo of its autonomous status (Jansen 2008). The persistent struggle for Albanian and Serbian dominance in Kosovo would set the stage for the UN intervention in 1999.

In Kosovo, the political climate also impacted the economic and social situation, and vice versa, resulting in economic disenfranchisement, increased poverty, and increased unemployment. On one hand, ethnic tension, resulting in part from shifting demographics as Albanians made up an increasing majority in Kosovo, prompted an outflow of Serbians. Unfortunately, Serbians made up a proportionally larger percentage of the educated and technically trained work force. Further, increasing financial drain on other Yugoslavian federal units to support development in Kosovo and its poorer Kosovar population, along with its less robust agricultural economy, was increasingly resented in Serbia (Jansen, 2008). On the other hand, policies originating in Serbia to marginalize ethnic Albanians resulted in increased unemployment as Albanians were removed from state government and civil positions after Kosovo first attempted to declare its independence in 1990. It is estimated that between 1990 and 1995 the gross domestic product of Kosovo shrank by 50 percent, resulting in a per capita GDP of just \$400 USD (Ciagne, 1999).

5.3 Capacity

Stresses within Kosovo and the capacity to respond co-existed in a dynamic manner, with each existing independently but each also influenced by the other. The political economy of Kosovo was closely related to actions by Serbia and was simply unable to peacefully

accommodate the cooperative inclusion of both Albanians and Serbians. However, Serbian actions were, in turn, based in part on the reaction to Kosovar desires for independence. The separatist goals of Albanians and the centralist goals of Serbians were in opposition and failed to provide a common forum for the resolution of differences. In this sense, the social capacity to resolve political differences, albeit based on ethnicity, was defunct. The inability to mediate their opposite trajectories would lead to violent conflict and UN intervention.

The nationalist aspirations of Kosovar Albanians had been encouraged by political liberalization under Tito. So, it is natural that their removal under Milosevic would not be well received. Unfortunately, new restrictions only served to limit the capacity to resolve differences by alienating Kosovar Albanians from the national political process and by threatening Albanian culture:

When Milosevic became president in 1989, he stripped Kosovo's autonomy, and later forced Albanians from their state jobs, shut down their media and suppressed the Albanian language. Milosevic also dismantled the legislative assembly after ethnic Albanian legislators declared independence [in 1990]. ("Kosovo", 1999, ¶ 8)

The continued claim for sovereignty in Kosovo by both Serbs and Kosovar Albanians led to the fragmentation of state governance. This fragmentation reinforced the cultural divisions within Kosovo, as Muslim ethnic Albanians and Orthodox Christian Serbs lived uneasily beside each other. In response to the denial of political rights and participation Kosovar Albanians established a shadow government within Kosovo. By the 1990's, two states co-existed:

While the Serbian government is the official one, the Albanian ethnic majority operates a parallel government which stages its own elections. The government

collects money to fund social services from Albanians in Kosovo, Albania and abroad.

Ethnic Albanians also run their own schools and universities and get their news from Albanian-language sources; Serbians rely on Serbian TV and Belgrade newspapers.

(“Kosovo”, 1999, ¶ 9)

Today (2011), over ten years after the UN intervention and the establishment of the UNMIK mission, the fragmentation of the state continues. In an interesting parallel, it is now the Serbs who maintain elements of a shadow government in Kosovo. The Serbian focus is on Mitrovica, a Serbian enclave in northern Kosovo, where the Ibar River serves as the ethnic dividing line. A 2006 report by Amnesty International noted that, north of the Ibar River in Mitrovica, the Serbian Ministry of Justice maintains a court system, the Serbian Ministry of Interior maintains a police presence, and that the Serbian Ministries of Health and Education continue to pay the salaries of teachers in Mitrovica and in other Serb enclaves within Kosovo. On the other hand, ethnic Albanians in Mitrovica use the court system south of the Ibar River. Ethnic Albanians traveling north from Mitrovica into Serbia are forced to remove the Kosovo licenses from their cars or are otherwise turned back (Amnesty International, 2006).

5.4 Response and outcome

It is perhaps not surprising that competing nationalist interests, an expanding cultural divide, and political disenfranchisement would lead to Serb-Albanian conflict in Kosovo. Conflict resolution requires effective communication and is greatly assisted when parties in conflict are able to recognize some common ground from which they can build a consensus dialogue. These elements were not only missing in the Serb-Albanian discourse but were hampered by a slow escalation of polarization that would eventually lead to conflict. In short, the capacity of the

existing relationship to address stressors, already weakened by perceived ethnic differences, was further weakened as each side made rhetorical and practical decisions that only furthered the distance to agreement. The separation of governance into formal and shadow components was obviously detrimental to the development of any coordinated response.

Serb-Albanian responses were not only shaped by their history of disagreement and mutual exclusion but also by a climate of violence resulting from the eruption of regional wars of succession. In addition to Kosovo's Albanians, aspirations for independence were also expressed by Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croatian and Bosnian wars to achieve independence from Serbia would introduce atrocities and ethnic cleansing as a tool of regional war on each side, elements that would reappear in the Kosovo conflict. From the Serb perspective, the Kosovo conflict was just one in a series of separatist wars fought to retain the political and territorial imperative of Serbia. It is likely that losses in Croatia and Bosnia acted to more deeply entrench Serb commitment to retain sovereignty in Kosovo. This may be especially true since Milosevic's political ascension was based on a strong, rhetorical appeal to Serbian nationalism and the defense of Yugoslavia's territorial integrity (Jansen, 2008) Interestingly, Serbia had also gained experience in dealing with UN interventions in the Bosnian war. The experience of regional war, in turn, shaped the conflict in Kosovo, perhaps acting as an accelerant to violence.

The escalation of conflict was aided by the establishment of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) which had began sporadic attacks by 1996 in a response to increased Serbian encroachment and the loss of Kosovar social and political freedoms ("Special report", 1998). From the Serbian viewpoint the KLA was simply a terrorist organization. However, since political

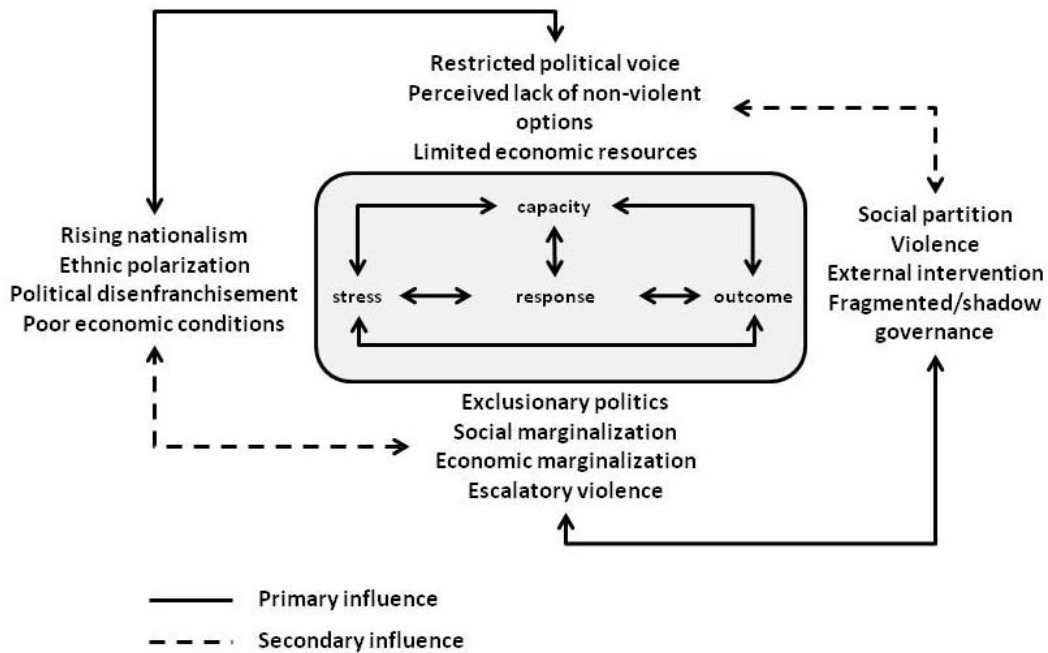
options were increasingly scarce within the political apparatus, the desire to achieve freedom by force is not a surprising development. However, it graphically demonstrates the lack of political capacity to resolve differences and the elevation of violence as a preferred response. Acts of violence by the KLA were matched by violent reprisals by Serbia and vice versa. Since many attacks on each side focused on the civilian population, they acted to further a sense of disenfranchisement and to force a polarized survival response as the 'us-them' social divide between Serbs and Albanians became a de-facto justification for attacks. Escalation of violence and fears of widespread atrocities against civilians led to UN intervention in 1999. Even with the UN intervention the human toll was still great. In Kosovo, violence and ethnic cleansing resulted in an estimated 10,000 civilian deaths, over 1.5 million internally displaced persons and refugees, as well as atrocities such as the burning of homes, the use of human shields in combat, use of rape as an instrument of war, and summary executions (U.S. Department of State, 1999).

It has been proposed that the curve of conflict operates along a continuum that includes durable peace, stable peace, unstable peace, crisis, and war (U.S. Institute of Peace [USIP], 2008). Lund (cited in USIP, 2008) states:

Unstable Peace is a situation in which tension and suspicion among parties run high, but violence is either absent or only sporadic. A 'negative peace' prevails because although armed force is not deployed [or employed], the parties perceive one another as enemies and maintain deterrent military capabilities... A balance of power may discourage aggression, but crisis and war are still possible. (p. 11)

It is likely that Kosovo is in a state of unstable peace. Continuing ethnic tension holds the potential for future crisis. In 2011 Kosovo’s ethnic Serbs established border control points in an attempt to reject the authority of Kosovo. Clashes at the checkpoints led to the injury of 50 NATO peacekeepers. At issue is the separate sovereignty of Kosovo, since unique control of the border would imply Kosovo’s separation from Serbia (“Serbia hopes”, 2011). Additionally, after a decade of deployment both KFOR and UNMIK remain present in Kosovo to broker the peaceful transition of governance, which appears to be caught in a stalemate between Kosovo and Serbia. So, while violent conflict has been prevented, the underlying causes remain to be resolved, mandating continued external intervention. Figure 7 presents an assessment of the Kosovo conflict and its stability outcomes within a stress-coping framework.

Figure 7: *Stress – Coping Framework: Kosovo*



5.5 Summary

This chapter used a case study format to explore nation-state crisis response and its impact on stability. Conflict and the subsequent deployment of UN-sponsored peacekeeping missions in Kosovo were examined to test the applicability of this research's stress-coping framework. While the case study was descriptive, not definitive, it was sufficient to establish the usefulness of this research's stress-coping framework.

Chapter 6 – CONCLUSION

This exploratory study conducted a comparative, multi-disciplinary examination of nation-state resiliency in order to provide new insight into conflict assessment methodologies. Working from the proposition that the psychological literature on individual coping could be used to inform the understanding of the coping responses of nation-states, a stress-coping framework was developed. This framework addresses a deficiency in linear models by emphasizing the dynamic interaction of stress, response capacities, and outcomes. A case study examination of conflict and UN-sponsored intervention in Kosovo established the applicability of a stress-coping framework to analyze peace support operations. In keeping with the dynamic aspect of this research, the interaction of stress, capacity, and outcome was emphasized. This research's descriptive case study of the UNMIK deployment to Kosovo highlighted the ability of a dynamic framework to capture the interplay of conflict drivers and responses. Using this research's framework it is assessed that the conflict cycle in Kosovo has not been broken. Its ability to cope, respond, and adapt is simply mismatched with the problems it faces and the persistent ethnic divide that disunites available social capital. The combined presence of KFOR and UNMIK is able to provide sufficient security and governance capacity to limit crisis, but has likely only achieved an unstable peace since the dynamic interaction of social and political differences continue to drive ethnic tension and create antecedent conditions for future conflict. Until resolved, Kosovo will remain vulnerable to conflict. Oppositional root causes are likely to dominate conflict trajectories and Kosovo will likely continue to require external intervention to achieve conditions conducive to peaceful conflict resolution.

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