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Functional and Dysfunctional Themes in Successful Peace Agreements Arising From Intractable Conflicts

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Walden University
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Abstract

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Intractable Conflicts

by

Sharon Catherine Ryan

MA, University of Alberta, 1990

BComm, University of Alberta, 1984

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

College of Management and Technology

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March 2017

Abstract

An important challenge facing humanity today is to determine how to resolve intractable conflicts. Intractable conflicts are intensely violent conflicts that are difficult to resolve and last at least one generation. The purpose of this study was to explore the themes leaders used in resolving intractable conflicts by writing peace agreements, which achieved at least a ninety percent implementation rating by the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. The research questions focused on the distribution of societal themes defined by Bar-Tal as present within societies experiencing an intractable conflict. This study used a multicase study approach and a directed content analysis of the narratives, chosen because the study began with an existing concept as a guide for determining initial codes. A categorization matrix was developed based on the existing concept and expanded to include one new category not initially included. The texts were coded by hand and the data were interpreted to reveal the findings, which show that the distribution of themes within narratives of the peace accords contained themes supported by Bar-Tal's research as being functional in transitioning a society out of conflict and absent themes found as being dysfunctional in helping societies make this transition. Second, interpretation of the findings confirmed that knowledge found in transformational leadership literature extends knowledge of narratives of peace accords. A new model of peacemaking emerged from these findings entitled the *peace accords transformational leadership model*. If leaders understood how to craft narratives of peace, then positive social change would result from a quicker end to violent conflicts and lasting peace for the societies suffering within them.

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Dedication

For the most honorable man I've ever known, my father, who turned 90 years of age at the time of my completing this dissertation. Dad, you taught me how to love and serve humanity without prejudice. In keeping with the image of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, which you served with honor, you lived your life with integrity and taught me how to respect others and to love God. To my mother, who continues to live her life with openness to everyone she encounters, thank you for nurturing an open mind in me.

To all members of police and military forces who suspend their own prejudices and risk their lives to bring peace to societies caught in perpetual conflict, may you never lose heart in your fight for justice and peace.

Please choose the way of peace … In the short term, there may be winners and losers in this war that we all dread. But that never can, nor never will justify the suffering, pain and loss of life your weapons will cause.

Mother Teresa

Acknowledgments

I'd like to express my gratitude to the three committee members who never gave up on me: my chair, Dr. Jeffrey Prinster, who inspired me to pursue this topic of finding peace in war. His own courageous career as a U.S. Marine, his experience in conflict, including the Vietnam War, and his wisdom as a mentor could not have been a better fit for me throughout this PhD process. To Dr. Joseph Barbeau, whose advice was always timely, concise, and extremely helpful—thank you for keeping an open mind in relation to my exploratory research. And to Dr. James Bowman, thank you for your patience and respectful overview of my work.

I'd like to express my appreciation to Walden University for offering flexible online programs and for sustaining open-mindedness among your professors to allow students like myself to pursue with passion topics related to positive social change.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Armed conflicts are causing human suffering by creating an inexorable rise in fatalities and internationally displaced persons (IDPs). According to the Armed Conflict Database (2015), the estimated number of fatalities resulting from conflicts rose from 56,000 in 2008 to 180,000 in 2014. Furthermore, the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees reported that in 2013, the number of IDPs exceeded 50 million for the first time since the end of World War II. Intractable conflicts are the most difficult types to resolve (Bar-Tal, 2013; Coleman, 2003; Güleç, 2015; Okafor, 2014; Tebboth, 2014). They are man-made and violent, lasting for decades or even centuries. There is an urgent need for leaders to construct peace treaties that will inspire people to embrace peace and reject longstanding cycles of violence. The importance of negotiating terms of peace cannot be overemphasized, as negotiating peace is considered one of the main purposes for war (Couto, 2003).

Transformational leadership may resonate with leaders who are faced with the difficult task of negotiating terms of peace agreements. It is an approach whereby leaders inspire subordinates to work toward a shared vision, and it "raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both leader and led, and thus it has a transforming effect on both" (Burns, 1978, p. 20). Introducing principles of transformational leadership into the politics of negotiating peace after war may help leaders find peace between warring factions. Officials who possess an understanding of the themes that inspire peace versus those that perpetuate violence may be able to transform societies from an ethos of conflict to an ethos of peace.

Bar-Tal (1998, 2000, 2013) constructed the most extensive infrastructure concept that characterizes the transition from conflict to peace within intractable conflicts. He identified eight core societal values that characterize these wars, and he specified that three of those values need to be minimized or eliminated in order to achieve a peaceful resolution. Leaders who understand Bar-Tal's concept may be better able to inspire and transform rival factions to end cycles of violence and to adhere to terms of peace.

This study explored the distribution of these themes within successful peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts. The social implications are that the results may heighten leaders' awareness of the power of the words they choose to use during negotiations and in the crafting of peace agreements. By understanding which themes inspire peace versus those that incite violence, leaders may be able to transform the hearts and minds of rivals away from a mindset of conflict and toward one of peace. With this knowledge, they may be able to end decades of war and transition societies toward new eras of calm, prosperity, and happiness.

This chapter provides a background for transformational leadership and intractable conflicts. In the problem statement, I state the research problem, provide evidence that conflicts pose a serious problem for the world, and discuss the gap in the literature. The purpose of this research is presented, with a description of how exploration of themes within peace agreements can help leaders end conflicts. The research questions, the conceptual framework, the nature of the study, definitions, assumptions, scope and delimitations, limitations, the significance of the research, and a chapter summary follow.

Background

Scholars have studied intractable conflicts for many decades within the disciplines of international relations and conflict resolution (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000, 2013; Coleman, 2003). Leaders find them exceedingly difficult to resolve because tangible and intangible issues related to rights, justice, basic human needs, higher moral values, identities, religion, and history fuel hatred between groups of people (Coleman, 2003). Recent intractable conflicts have included conflicts between

> Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, Turks and Kurds in Turkey, Moslems and Hindus in India's Kashmir, Tamils and Singhalese in Sri Lanka, Russians and Chechens in Chechnya, Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus, and Jews and Arabs in the Middle East. (Bar-Tal, 2013, p. 36)

Bar-Tal (2013) asserted that many of these wars can lead to progress in civilization with changes from destructive to constructive beliefs, such as shifts from slavery to colonialism. However, many leaders do not handle conflicts well, and their missteps can cause escalations of violence and unnecessary human suffering (Manmuang, Yolles, & Talabgaew, 2013).

Leaders are on the front line of negotiating peace agreements, and they can fulfill a catalytic function to transform cultures from conflict to peace (Brummans, Putnam, Gray, & Hanke, 2008). Transformational leadership can have an effect upon political leadership because it introduces empowerment into the negotiating experience by emphasizing commonality between rivals (Couto, 2003). Burns (1978) classified two leadership concepts: "transactional leadership" and "transforming leadership." Building

upon Burns's theory, Bass (1985, 1999) refined the distinction between the two styles: A transactional leader looks out for him- or herself and motivates followers to achieve organizational goals with rewards and punishments, whereas a transformational leader uses intrinsic motivational factors to inspire followers to achieve higher levels of performance for the sake of the group (Emmanuel & Ugochukwu, 2013).

Leaders who use a transformational style can fuse the separate agendas of warring parties because they elevate the aspirations of both sides and join their initially separate purposes into a whole, enduring effort (Couto, 2003). More specifically, these leaders are able to express narratives of common bonds between rivals. Consequently, leaders who aspire to negotiate peace agreements may want to adopt a transformational leadership style, which inspires followers to shift away from violence and toward peace by emphasizing societal themes known to transition societies out of conflicts. Bar-Tal's (2013) research indicated that when leaders reframe their communication, as in public discourse and peace agreements, with a tone that supports an ethos of peace, they are able to change the nature of the relationship between rival parties and facilitate a process of reconciliation. Using the insights of Bar-Tal's concept and the principles of transformational leadership, negotiators may be able to find commonality between rival parties and construct agreements that elevate the aspirations of those involved.

The world lacks a clear understanding of many aspects of the resolution process (Curless & Roth, 2013; Güleç; 2015; Muggah, 2013; Okafor, 2014; Schiff, 2014; Tebboth, 2014). Muggah (2013) wrote that there have been surprisingly few comparative studies on how peace agreements are brokered and little guidance for mediators on how to integrate critical policies into them. More refined analysis is needed to understand

factors present in order to reach mutual agreements. Bar-Tal (2013) maintained that research over the past decade has focused on the process of reconciliation in the peace process. This approach to conflict resolution has not led to a lasting peace in many situations, such as the conflict between Israel and Palestine, Germany and Poland, and Germany and the Czech Republic (Bar-Tal, 2013). Bar-Tal (2013) contended that research is needed to understand how leaders can imbue the peace ethos into their norms, opinions, symbols, narratives, and speeches so that members of society are able to witness external acts that "provide the new experiences, such as peaceful gestures, meetings, joint projects, exchanges, apologies, promoting justice, changing inequalities, and introducing peace education into the system" as a way to validate information that encourages people to view their social reality with a worldview geared toward peace rather than conflict (p. 432).

So far, peace studies have concentrated on varied factors affecting the peace-building process. Researchers of the resolution process have examined the aspirations of social relationships (Güleç, 2015); governance issues (Tebboth, 2014); dynamics with rival parties (Edgar, 2011; Schiff, 2014); the use of complementary goals and policies between rival factions to negotiate peace (Bah, 2013; Jeng, 2014; Lerner, 2014); the historical background of the conflict (Curless & Rodt, 2013; Okafor, 2014); and leaders' determination to resolve conflicts and build trust between themselves and opposing leaders as critical for success (Beirne & Knox, 2014; Bureekul & Thananithichot, 2012; Chow, Mercy, & Kappmeier, 2011). Many leaders have invoked the activism of groups and organizations to create lasting peace (Bar-Tal, 2000; Handelman & Pearson, 2014), whereas others have called upon the international community to facilitate and carry out

conflict resolution and reconciliation (Bah, 2000; Bar-Tal, 2013; Bellamy & Pape, 2013; Quainton, 2012). No studies exist that show the themes leaders use in texts comprising successful peace accords in intractable conflicts, accompanied by the rationale for the selection of those themes.

The objective of this study was to explore the themes leaders used in peace accords that were successful in ending intractable conflicts. By understanding this distribution of themes, present and future leaders may become more aware of the impact their communication can have toward securing successful peace accords. The social implications are that if leaders are more effective in negotiating peace accords, human suffering will diminish while civilizations will continue to advance as they grapple with conflicts in a healthy and productive manner. This study explored three successful peace accords that were born out of intractable conflicts to understand the distribution of themes found in the texts of those agreements. This information is needed so that leaders can guide their discussions with each other and rival groups toward constructive texts consisting of societal beliefs known to transition groups out of an ethos of conflict and into an ethos of peace.

Problem Statement

Intractable conflicts are on the rise globally and are considered among the most serious issues confronting the modern world (Kudish, Cohen-Chen, & Halperin, 2015; Muggah, 2013). The Global Security Organization has indicated that from 2012 to 2013 the number of people killed in terrorist attacks rose more than 60% (Bush, 2014). The Global Terrorism Index reported that deaths resulting from terrorism increased from 11,133 in 2012 to 17,958 in 2013 and that terrorist attacks increased by 40% in the same

period (Bush, 2014). Over 80% of those deaths occurred in countries with intractable conflicts, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria, and Syria (Bush, 2014). Although numerous studies have explored the peace-building process (Bah, 2013; Bar-Tal, 2000; Edgar, 2011; Handelman & Pearson, 2014; Jeng, 2014; Lerner, 2014; Muggah, 2013; Schiff, 2014), none have examined the themes leaders use to construct peace accords arising specifically out of intractable conflicts.

The specific problem here is to determine what themes negotiators should focus on when constructing peace accords within the context of intractable conflicts that will result in the accord achieving at least a 90% success rate of implementation. This multiple case study analyzed three accords that arose out of intractable conflicts and achieved an implementation score of 90% as identified by the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. A content analysis highlighted the themes used by those who wrote the agreements. The analysis determined the frequency of functional and dysfunctional beliefs as postulated in Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept. The study concluded with an interpretation of the frequency of these beliefs with the intention of helping leaders learn how to integrate societal themes into accords known to transition a society from an ethos of conflict to an ethos of peace.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the themes leaders use to construct peace agreements arising from intractable conflicts. If leaders understand more clearly how to create effective peace agreements, then they may be able to resolve more conflicts and reduce violence. The analysis included three successful peace accords. I explored how the

principles of transformational leadership may assist leaders in developing narratives infused with appropriate themes.

Research Questions

The following research question framed the direction of this study: What is the distribution of functional and dysfunctional themes included by leaders in successful peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts that have achieved at least a 90% implementation rating? I included the following subquestions to enrich the exploration:

- What general categories emerge in a first review of the peace agreements?

- What are the major themes in the peace agreements?

- Which of the themes can be classified as functional and dysfunctional societal beliefs as defined in Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept?

- Do any of the dysfunctional beliefs appear in any of the peace agreements? What is their frequency?

- Do any of the functional beliefs appear in any of the peace agreements? What is their frequency?

If leaders understand the distribution of themes present in peace accords, they may be able to apply a transformational leadership style and construct narratives in their negotiations with warring leaders that will result in peace and reduce conflict.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework for the Study

Scholars in the fields of political leadership and management have explored many aspects of conflict resolution. Some of them have investigated the aspirations of rival parties (Edgar, 2011; Schiff, 2014), whereas others have examined the use of complementary goals and policies (Bah, 2013; Jeng, 2014; Lerner, 2014); methods of

building trust between rivals (Beirne & Knox, 2014; Bureekul & Thananithichot, 2012; Chow, Mercy, & Kappmeier, 2011); strategies to invoke activism of groups and organizations (Bar-Tal, 2000; Handelman & Pearson, 2014); and tactics to invoke the international community to resolve conflict and institute reconciliation (Bah, 2013; Bar-Tal, 2000; Bellamy & Pape, 2013; Quainton, 2012).

Bar-Tal (2013) contended that the key to resolving these disputes lies in the leaders' ability to inspire the led through their narratives, symbols, and speeches to view their society with a worldview targeted on a peace ethos and away from a conflict ethos. Furthermore, Bar-Tal (1998) identified key societal themes known to successfully transition as society away from an ethos of conflict and into an ethos of peace. Bar-Tal's psychological Infrastructure concept (1998, 2000, 2013) identified eight societal themes that typically exist in intractable conflicts. His research indicated that if leaders are able to reframe their narratives towards an ethos of peace, they will be more likely to change the nature of the relationship between rivals and even spark the process of reconciliation.

If Bar-Tal's concept is correct, then a comparative analysis of successful peace agreements may help to guide leaders in their narratives when negotiating and crafting peace agreements. Muggah (2103) asserted that there is an information gap and provided a descriptive review of the content of these agreements. Scholars have agreed that many aspects of the resolution process are still not understood and that more refined studies are needed to help in understanding the factors needed to reach agreements (Diehl & Goertz, 2000). This study used a multiple case research design to explore the presence of functional and dysfunctional societal beliefs in successful peace agreements that arose out of intractable conflicts. It concluded with an interpretation of the frequency of these

terms within the peace agreements and a summary of how principles of transformational leadership may align well with the task set before those who negotiate the agreements.

Nature of the Study

Bar-Tal (1998, 2000, 2013) indicated that when a society struggling with an intractable conflict shifts from an ethos of conflict to an ethos of peace, several beliefs remain unchanged and three conflict-laden beliefs must significantly diminish or disappear in order for peace to be sustained. Bar-Tal (1998) tested his concept by exploring the narrative of high school textbooks in a period of reduced tension between Arabs and Jews. He used a content analysis to show that five beliefs were strongly represented in the textbooks during this peaceful period and three of the conflict-laden beliefs were diminished in most but not all textbooks.

Because this study began with an existing theory, the initial coding scheme came directly from Bar-Tal's (1998) research; additional codes were derived as the analysis of the text of the peace agreements unfolded (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The codes were phrases used to describe societal beliefs identified by Bar-Tal (1998, 2000) as being present in societies suffering in intractable conflicts: (a) concern for security, (b) positive self-image, (c) patriotism, (d) unity, (e) one's own wish for peace, (f) delegitimization of the opponent, (g) victimhood, and (h) justness of one's own goals. Bar-Tal (1998, 2000) maintained that the last three beliefs need to disappear or significantly diminish before an agreement is drafted and throughout the peace period (Bar-Tal, 2013). Additionally, he maintained that the first five goals need to continue into the new era of peace to help people cope (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000, 2013). If Bar-Tal was correct, then peace agreements should be void of language that delegitimizes the opponent, reinforces one party's sense

of victimhood, and justifies one party's goals in continuing violence yet still contain
phrases that support the first five beliefs.

The steps of the analysis conducted for this study were as follows:

1. *Code for phrases and words*. I began with the five societal beliefs present in
   both an ethos of conflict and an ethos of peace as indicated by Bar-Tal (1998,
   2000).

2. *Decide on level of generalization*. I determined whether exact words were
   necessary for coding or whether words in a different form would be included
   in particular themes.

3. *Create rules*. I decided on coding rules so that I understood what to code for.

4. *Code the text*. I coded by hand because I wanted to watch for implicit
   meanings and nuances hidden within the text. A computerized program might
   have been prone to repeated coding error and would not have added to the
   robustness of the research. Further, the peace agreements were not lengthy
   documents, so the risk and cost of using a computerized program outweighed
   the benefits.

It was not the intention of this study to explore the rationale for the presence and
absence of the beliefs, but to explore their existence within peace agreements and to
describe how the principles of transformational leadership may guide leaders to negotiate
successfully with rivals. The significance of this study is that by extending Bar-Tal's
concept from high school textbooks to peace agreements, future leaders may have a
guideline on how to write agreements that stand a better chance of sustaining peace.

Definitions

Comprehensive peace agreement (CPA): A document in written form produced through negotiations (Muggah, 2013).

Conflict: Much has been written about conflicts in a variety of fields, including psychology, sociology, and management. Scholars within these multiple disciplines seem to agree on a definition of conflict. They all concur that conflict involves "a contradiction of goals and interests among two or more parties" (Bar-Tal, 2013, p. 5). Another well-accepted definition of conflict comes from Coleman (2003), who wrote that conflict is "the experience of incompatible activities (goals, claims, beliefs, values, wishes, actions, feelings)" (p. 6).

Dysfunctional belief: A societal belief that harms or impairs a society's ability to maintain peace.

Ethos: Societies develop dominant perspectives consisting of shared societal beliefs. This configuration of beliefs is known as an *ethos* (Bar-Tal, 2000). The ethos provides the epistemic foundations on which all social institutions derive their meaning, structure, and visions (Bar-Tal, 2013). Societies' members pattern their behavior after the systematic pattern of knowledge echoed by the ethos.

Ethos of conflict: Eight themes of societal beliefs dominant in a society engaged in an intractable conflict: "the justness of one's own goals, opponent delegitimization, self-victimhood, positive self-image, security, patriotism, unity, and peace" (Bar-Tal, 2013, pp. 175-76). The first three themes distinguish a society caught in an intractable conflict from all other societies, which possess the last five themes.

Ethos of peace: A culture of peace is one in which society's members reject violence and cooperate toward creating a new vision, acquire knowledge about past rivals, mutually accept and understand past rivals, foster equality between parties, value human rights and freedoms, respect difference between groups, develop cooperative relations, and maintain peace (Bar-Tal, 2013). Achieving an ethos of peace is a long process and begins when conflicting societies deemphasize the three themes known to foster conflict—justness of one's own goals, delegitimization of the opponent, and self-victimhood.

Forgiveness: Within the context of societal relations, forgiveness is an emotional letting go of feelings of anger and resentment after experiencing an unjust and intentional violation by others (Bar Tal, 2013).

Functional belief: A societal belief that contributes to a society's ability to maintain peace.

Intractable conflict: Bar-Tal (1998, 2000, 2013) defined intractable conflict as a conflict that takes place between races, states, or societies. These types of conflicts have specific features: (a) concern for security, (b) positive self-image; (c) patriotism; (d) unity; (e) one's own wish for peace; (f) delegitimization of the opponent; (g) victimhood; and (h) justness of one's own goals.

Peace agreements: Peace agreements are contracts intended to guide warring parties toward a final peaceful settlement. They may be intended to end a conflict or to transform a conflict so that parties can work toward a lasting peace.

Peace-building process: The peace-building process is defined as all the acts that are required to achieve the goal of developing lasting peace relations between past rivals.

Bar-Tal (2013) defined the peace-building process as "continuous efforts exerted by society members, society's institutions, agents, channels of communications, and the international community to realize lasting peaceful relations with the past rival within the framework of the culture of peace" (p. 324).

Peacemaking: The formal acts of writing peace agreements. Bar-Tal (2013) specified that peacemaking requires a new repertoire reflecting beliefs plausible in an ethos of peace and articulated by the leaders who negotiate and write the formal peace agreements.

Reconciliation: Within a society, reconciliation entails the psychological societal process that involves changes in emotions, attitudes, beliefs, motivations, and goals by most of the members of the society (Bar-Tal, 2013).

Transactional leadership: Couto (2003) described transactional leadership as a leadership style whereby the leader and the follower exchange things of value, such as psychological, political, and economic things, for a common goal. The leader and follower have a temporary bond, which is limited by their bargain (Emmanuel & Ugochukwu, 2013).

Transformational leadership: Burn (1978) defined transformational leadership as a leadership style that "occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (p. 20). Emmanuel and Ugochukwu (2013) elaborated and described transformational leadership as a style whereby the leader inspires "subordinates to adopt the organizational vision as their own, while attempting to heighten their values, concerns, and developmental needs" (p. 31).

Assumptions

This study relied upon several assumptions:

1. Bar- Tal (1998) assumed that the Israelis and Arabs moved toward a more
   peaceful society during the period of time (i.e., the late 1970s) in which the
   school textbooks included in his research were published.

2. Bar-Tal (1998) assumed that societal beliefs motivate people to act
   accordingly. Furthermore, if leaders infuse institutions with beliefs, members
   of society will behave according to the stated beliefs. The awareness of
   sharing beliefs, attitudes, or emotions turns sharing into a powerful socio-
   psychological mechanism that has crucial effects on a group or a society.

3. The peace agreements chosen here were selected from agreements analyzed
   by the University of Notre Dame`s Kroc Institute for International Peace
   Studies. Three agreements were selected from among the 34 agreements
   analyzed by the institute based upon the length of the conflict and the
   implementation score assigned to the agreement by its researchers. For this
   work, I made the assumption that the researchers correctly classified the
   agreements and that the implementation score accurately reflects the degree of
   provisions implemented in longitudinal studies and provides the best measure
   of the success of the agreement.

Scope and Delimitations

This study examined the themes used by leaders in writing peace agreements. It
focused on intractable conflicts because researchers indicated that over 80% of all deaths
caused by terrorist attacks in 2013 occurred in areas suffering from intractable conflicts

(Bush, 2014). Previous research (Curless & Roth, 2013; Güleç; 2015; Mayer, Aquino, Greenbaum, & Kuenzi, 2012; Muggah, 2013; Okafor, 2014; Schiff, 2014; Tebboth, 2014) centered on particular elements within the negotiating events, such as building trust between rivals, using symbolic gestures, invoking activism, and encouraging reconciliation. However, Bar-Tal (2013) argued that more attention needs to be placed on building a culture of peace than on forging the agendas of leaders. Consequently, research is needed to focus on negotiators' use of themes in writing peace agreements in order to understand how to introduce a new ethos of peace in societies suffering from intractable conflicts. This study focused on the themes used to construct peace agreements because these agreements are the first strong evidence of cultivating a peace ethos.

This investigation focused on peace agreements written for societies caught in intractable conflicts and ones that received an implementation score of at least 90%. These conflicts were characterized as being irreconcilable, violent, zero-sum, and protracted (Bar-Tal 2000). Protracted conflicts last for at least one generation, which is a minimum of 20 years. Peace agreements arising out of disputes lasting for less than 20 years were excluded because they would not be appropriate to extend a generalization from Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept and would not be confirming. As well, agreements that were assigned an implementation score of less than 90% were excluded. The score indicated the degree to which the country was able to enact the agreement.

Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept (1998) was applied to understand the distribution of themes contained within school textbooks, but it has not been applied

yet to peace agreements. This study elaborated upon his concept with the potential for

transferability from its application to school textbooks to peace agreements written for

societies suffering from intractable conflicts.

Limitations

To help in answering these and related questions, the Kroc Institute developed the

Peace Accords Matrix, a unique source of comparable data on peace agreements. The

Matrix allows scholars and practitioners to compare more than 50 themes in all

comprehensive peace agreements signed since 1989. This interactive database was

developed with support from the U.S. Institute of Peace and the National Science

Foundation.

This study drew upon the Matrix to find agreements that arose out of intractable

conflicts. The limitation of using the database was that it included 37 agreements

collected by the Kroc Institute since 1989. Although comprehensive, the database was not

exhaustive; however, the advantage of using this database was that it allows a researcher

to search all of its agreements thematically and temporally. Another limitation of using

the database was that it restricted me to searches using preselected search terms, thereby

negating the possibility of exploring different word combinations (Muggah, 2013). This

limitation was overcome because I did not rely on the database's thematic search

capability, but rather employed a content analysis on the content of the agreements.

This work extended an existing concept, Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure

concept (1998, 2000), from its application to the understanding of the distribution of

themes contained within school textbooks to peace agreements written in intractable

conflicts. This research approach has a potential limitation in that a researcher can

develop a strong bias toward a concept, overlooking possible nonsupport for the concept. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) warned that this overemphasis could result in missing important contextual aspects. This limitation could be overcome with confirmation of trustworthiness by reviewing the definitions before commencing the reading of the texts.

Significance of the Study

This study explored the distribution of themes present within successful peace agreements that arose out of intractable conflicts. Intractable conflicts are intense, prolonged, and violent intergroup conflicts that are highly resistant to resolution (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000, 2013; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, D., 2014). Examples include the Northern Ireland conflict between the Protestants and Catholics lasting 378 months with 3,526 deaths; the Cambodian conflict lasting 383 months with 2,313,734 deaths; the Sudan conflict lasting 260 months with 1,200,000 deaths; and the East Timor conflict lasting 273 months with 131,000 deaths, to name a few (Peace Accords Matrix, 2015). Furthermore, the Global Security Organization indicated that the number of fatalities in terrorist attacks increased more than 60% from 2012 to 2013, and over 80% of those deaths occurred in countries experiencing intractable conflicts, such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria, and Syria (Bush, 2014). By understanding the themes contained within agreements known to have achieved high implementation ratings, military officials and peace negotiators may be able to more quickly construct narratives and direct discussions with opposing factions in such a way as to broker peace and avoid escalating conflict.

Transformational leadership literature contains suggestions on how leaders can inspire followers to work toward a common goal (Dabke, 2016; de Oliveira Rodrigues & Ferreira, 2015; Ghasabeh, Reaiche, & Soosay, 2015; Pradhan & Pradhan, 2015; Trma,

Ummi, & Mohamed, 2015; Wu & Wang, 2015); however, researchers have not addressed this question as it pertains to members of society adhering to an agreement negotiated to end a conflict. Scholars in international relations and conflict resolution have explored ways in which leaders can build peace (Bah, 2013; Bar-Tal, 2000; Edgar, 2011; Handelman & Pearson, 2014; Jeng, 2014; Lerner, 2014; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Schiff, 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014), but they have not explored specific themes contained within agreements that have achieved high implementation ratings.

Manmuang, Yolles, and Talabgaew (2013) indicated that a large proportion of conflicts are not handled well and result in escalations of violence. The results of this study may help leaders to construct peace agreements that people who have struggled through prolonged conflicts would be willing to support. If officials are sensitive to language that unites versus language that divides groups caught in the violence of war, they may be able to bring peace to areas plagued with perpetual conflict (Muggah, 2013). The social implications of this work are that leaders may be able to construct peace agreements to end violent conflicts and help societies caught in intractable conflicts transition from an ethos of conflict to an ethos of peace (Bar-Tal, 1998).

Summary and Transition

Intractable conflicts are rising in number throughout the world (Nets-Zhngut, 2007). Their destructive forces have caused human suffering. Bar-Tal (2013) indicated that these conflicts can shift civilizations from destructive tendencies toward constructive ones, but that many of them are not handled well, leading to long and protracted violence. If leaders understood how to guide their discussions with opposing parties in ways that

did not incite more hatred and loathing between them, then they could potentially construct successful peace agreements more quickly.

Transformation leadership may offer insight for leaders who negotiate peace agreements. This form of leadership builds bonds between parties using principles of inclusion (Bass, 1998, 1999; Burns, 1978; Couto, 2003). If leaders understand what societal themes are common between rivals and which themes fuel violence, they may be able to direct their communication toward the constructive themes and imbue those themes within their peace agreements. An understanding of common societal themes within intractable conflicts would be useful for leaders so that they can transform warring parties away from conflict and toward peace.

Bar-Tal (1998) tested the application of his own concept by studying textbooks written for Israeli schools during a period of relative calm after decades of conflict and violence. He studied the distribution of themes related to culture and found that although there was some mention of the three destructive themes—delegitimization of the opponent, victimhood, and justness of one's own goals—the content mentioned the positive or peace ethos themes more frequently. This study extended his concept to peace agreements arising from intractable conflicts to explore the distribution of themes used by the leaders. If the distribution of themes minimizes the three destructive ones and accentuates the five positive ones, then leaders would have a blueprint for guiding their discussions with warring factions, enabling them to secure peace agreements more quickly and eradicating violence and massive human suffering. Transformational leadership theory provides insight on how leaders can use appropriate themes in their narratives to build bonds between rivals and transform a society from conflict to peace.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review of work related to transformational leadership, intractable conflicts, and Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept. Additionally, it provides a summary of studies related to the construction of peace agreements with an emphasis on content analysis of post intractable dispute narratives.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Intractable conflicts around the world are causing massive human suffering, and scholars consider them among the most serious issues facing humanity today (Kudish, Cohen-Chen, & Halperin, 2015; Mazur, 2014). Bar-Tal (2013) indicated that most peace accords fail because the involved parties do not see the agreement as providing a fair and just settlement. Furthermore, he indicated that there will always be groups that will never be satisfied with a settlement, but if the majority of society members are satisfied, then a lasting peace is possible (Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014). Bar-Tal (2013) wrote that the change from conflict to peace has to come from those who negotiate the peace accords. These leaders will be more successful if they build bonds between rivals by imbuing societal beliefs into the final accord that bring rivals together rather than fuel the conflict with societal beliefs known to propagate hatred between the rivals (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2014).

This chapter begins with a summary of the literature search strategy, followed by a synthesis of primary writings comprising the conceptual framework with an emphasis on transformational leadership theory and Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept, and how scholars have applied these concepts in previous research. Then this chapter provides an exhaustive review of the current literature justifying the rationale for the selection of this approach to understanding peace agreements and describes the strengths and weaknesses inherent in past approaches. It concludes with a summary of what is known and unknown about resolving intractable conflicts through peace agreements and describes the gap in the literature justifying the research method described in Chapter 3.

Literature Search Strategy

I found sources for the literature review by accessing databases through the

Walden University Library, such as Thoreau Multi-Database Search, Academic Search,

ABI/INFORM Complete, and SAGE Premier. In addition, I accessed scholarly articles

through Google Scholar. By cross-referencing those articles with Walden University

online databases, I was able to ensure that they were peer reviewed. Key words used in

this review were *case study approach, conciliatory gestures, confirming case sample*

type, conflict resolution, *conflict*, *conflict settlement, conformability, credibility, culture*

of conflict, demobilization, dependability, directed content analysis, disarmament,

eruption of intractable conflicts, escalation of intractable conflicts, ethnography, ethos of

conflict, ethos of peace, grounded theory, homogenous sampling, intractable conflicts,

multiple case study, narrative research, peace agreements, peace building, peace

resolution, *peace-making, phenomenology, reconciliation, transferability,*

trustworthiness, truth, and *reconciliation commissions*. Keys words searched in

ABI/INFORM Complete, SAGE Premier, and Academic Search Complete included

conflict resolution, international negotiation, transactional leadership, transformational

leadership, and *trust in leadership*.

In order to find actual peace agreements, an online search was conducted using

the search terms *intractable conflicts*, *peace accords,* and *peace agreements* at the Kroc

Institute of International Peace Studies and at the United Nations' website. During the

search for articles related to the conflict resolution process, I discovered that insufficient

literature is available that explores the distribution of themes leaders use to construct

successful peace agreements. This is the gap in the literature—a clear description of themes and their distribution in the peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts.

Conceptual Framework

Armed conflicts are causing a dramatic rise in fatalities and numbers of internationally displaced persons (IDPs), as well as severe degradation of social institutions (Armed Conflict Database, 2015). Of all conflicts, none are as difficult to resolve as intractable ones (Bar-Tal, 2013; Coleman, 2003; Coleman & Putnam, 2007; Güleç, 2015; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Okaor, 2014; Tebboth, 2014). The reason that such conflicts are so difficult to resolve is that they have lasted for decades or even centuries and are rooted in moral, identity, religious, justice, and historic issues (Coleman, 2003).

Couto (2003) asserted that the purpose of war is to determine who will eventually set the conditions for peace, including the policies and resolutions between the warring factions after the war. Peace agreements are documents outlining resolutions and relationships following war, and they are negotiated and written by political leaders. Leaders hold the key to negotiating peace, but only if they have the power to transform the mindset of the led away from war and toward peace (Bar-Tal, 2013; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014). Achieving this transformation is even more difficult in intractable conflicts because the violence is rooted in deep-seated issues such as morality, identity, justice, and history (Coleman, 2003; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014). Bar-Tal asserted that such a transformation requires a change in ethos away from conflict and toward peace (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014). Transformational leadership has the

potential to raise the ethics and morals of the led to an elevated state using the concept of empowerment (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978; Couto, 2003; Mwambazambi & Banza, 2014).

Bar-Tal (1998, 2000, 2013) developed the most extensive concept of societal themes held by people suffering in conflicts. In his conceptual work on psychological infrastructure during intractable conflicts (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000), he asserted that because the wounds run deep, a seismic shift is required to transform societies caught in intractable conflicts away from an ethos of conflict and toward an ethos of peace. Bar-Tal (2013) asserted that leaders who grasp the societal themes known to transition a society from conflict to peace and leaders who imbue those themes appropriately within their communication are able to change the nature of the relationship between rival parties and transform the society (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014).

Transformational leadership may possess elements that leaders who negotiate peace accords arising out of violent conflicts find useful. It has the power to transform the led if leaders reassert familiar values and relate them in such a way as to inspire change (Emmanuel & Ugochukwu, 2013). If Bar-Tal has successfully identified the key societal themes that leaders need to emphasize in order to inspire their communities to shift from a perspective of conflict to an ethos of peace, then the two theories may work very well together in helping leaders craft successful peace accords in intractable conflicts.

Literature Review

This section begins with a synthesis of the research pertaining to transformation leadership followed by a summary of the nature of intractable conflicts and Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept. It concludes with a description of how these two

concepts, transformational leadership and Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept, could be used together to help leaders construct peace agreements.

Transformational Leadership

Transformational leadership appeared in leadership literature in Downtown's book *Rebel Leadership: Commitment and Charisma in a Revolutionary Process* (1973), wherein he argued that follower commitment in revolutions is based in inspiration, transaction, or charisma. Downtown drew attention to followers' needs and how leadership styles vary. Following the first introduction of the term *transformational leadership* by Downtown, Burns (1978) developed the idea of transformational leadership by describing it as a process whereby leaders appeal to followers` higher order morale and motivational needs. Transactional leadership is a traditional leadership model whereby the relationship between the leader and followers is based upon exchanges (Burns, 1978). Transformational leadership, in contrast, is a higher form of leadership whereby the leader inspires followers to be intrinsically motivated to achieve common goals (Burns, 1978).

According to Burns (1978), transforming leadership "occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (p. 20). It "fuses the common but initially separate purposes of leaders and followers into an enduring effort of mutual support" (Burns, 1978, p. 15). More specifically, Hoxha (2015) specified that transformational leadership refers to "a leader's behavior, influential traits, power and situational variables that influence employee performance in a positive direction such as motivating employees to work more than expected and enjoy the work they do" (p. 45). The

fundamental distinction between transformational leadership and transactional leadership is that the former raises both the conduct and ethics of leaders and followers to a new level, thereby transforming them (Burns, 1978). Both the values and goals of leaders and followers change in a very significant way (Burns, 1978).

Bass (1985, 1999) refined even further the distinction between the two leadership styles: A transactional leader looks out for him or herself and motivates followers to achieve organizational goals with rewards and punishments; a transformational leader, on the other hand, uses intrinsic motivational factors to inspire followers to achieve higher levels of performance for the sake of the organization (Emmanuel & Ugochukwu, 2013). Burns believed that society needed a paradigm shift in leadership thinking away from the standard cold social exchange paradigm and into a new empowerment one (Bass, 1985). Dussault & Frenette (2015) indicated that Burns advocated a leadership style that combines transactional and transformational leadership.

Bass (1985, 1986) further refined the transformational leadership model to include four main components: intellectual stimulation, individualized consideration, inspirational motivation, and idealized influence. If leaders hope to gain the trust, respect, and admiration of their followers, they need to not only challenge the status quo, but also intellectually stimulate their followers, encourage individuals to provide their own ideas with an open-door policy, motivate followers inspirationally so that the led experience the same passion, and influence followers' thinking with ideals in such a way that the led will internalize them. More specifically, the transformational leadership model was developed into a full range leadership model, which consists of four components:

1. *Intellectual stimulation*: Transformational leaders are not only interested in exchanging time and talent for money; they encourage creativity among the led. Additionally, they seek to motivate followers to explore new work methods using creativity (de Oliveira Rodrigues & Ferreira, 2015).

2. *Individualized consideration*: Those who practice transformational leadership offer supportive encouragement to the led. Leaders keep an open-door policy so that followers feel comfortable sharing their ideas with them and receive direct recognition for their ideas (de Oliveira Rodrigues & Ferreira, 2015).

3. *Inspirational motivation*: Transformational leaders articulate a clear vision to followers. They are able to inspire followers to work with passion and motivation to achieve the organization's goals (de Oliveira Rodrigues & Ferreira, 2015).

4. *Idealized influence*: The transformational leader garners the trust and respect of the followers, who internalize the leader's vision (de Oliveira Rodrigues & Ferreira, 2015).

It is this latter factor—idealized influence—that leaders who negotiate intractable conflicts may find helpful if they are able to identify the key ideals that followers will be willing to commit to and internalize. The task is further complicated because the leaders need to convince the rival leaders, and the rival leaders need to convince their followers that all parties have the same ideals; thus, finding the intersection of common ideals is important in order to negotiate and craft peace accords with a spirit of inclusiveness and guide communities out of their ethos of conflict.

A number of scholars have provided specific ways in which transformational leadership can assist leaders in inspiring and garnering trust from the other party. Pradhan & Pradhan (2015) indicated that transformational leaders have the vision and moral guidance to inspire followers to exhibit extra behaviors above the normal call of duty because they encourage followers to bond emotionally with them. Dabke (2016) indicated that people who are sensitive to the emotional cues of the other party and are sensitive listeners are able to create a cooperative rapport with the other, garner trust, and achieve more success in their assigned role. Wu & Wang (2015) found that transformational leaders who cultivate a positive affective tone toward the led inspire the group to perform at a high level, especially when task variety is high. They do this by identifying potential opportunities and inventing ways to increase cooperation between teams so that they can activate change (Wu & Wang, 2015). Positive affective tone energizes team members and motivates them to rise to higher heights of performance (Wu & Wang, 2015). de Oliveira Rodrigues and Ferreira (2015) wrote that transformational leaders inspire organizational members to cooperate with colleagues through effective communication.

Transformational leadership is an effective leadership style not only for business environments, but also globally in political arenas (Ghasabeh, Reaiche, & Soosay, 2015). Specifically, transformational leaders activate intellectual stimulation, which facilitates new knowledge and ideas (Ghasabeh et al., 2015). Additionally, transformational leadership transverses borders and religions because it espouses a constant building of collaboration and cooperation between leaders and their peers and subordinates (Trma, Ummi, & Mohamed, 2015). It is a global leadership style suitable for the political arena

and very effective because it can be used to inspire the led to sacrifice self-interest for the good of the organization (Trma, 2015). Couto (2003) wrote that Burns's description of transformation "resonates with the paradigm of transformational politics" (p. 16). The core of transformational leadership rests on transforming values, which are public values that reflect the enduring principles of a society; the core of transformational politics rests on the core societal values that enable the people to achieve liberty, equality, and "strengthened structural opportunities for the pursuit of happiness" (Couto, 2003, p. 23). By understanding the key structural opportunities that will enable all to achieve peace and happiness, the individual members find the courage to change without "the unjustifiable coercion of the state" (Couto, 2003, p. 23).

Transformational politics draws upon transforming political leadership to "convey the values and narratives of nonviolence and the dignity and value of others and their similarity to the 'us' of political narratives" (Couto, 2003, p. 24). Based upon a study conducted among inner-city children, the narratives begin with the leaders' insistence that a choice other than violence exists (Couto, 2003). Burns's elaboration of the core of transformational leadership indicates that the narratives of political leaders perhaps should include the structural opportunities that will enable people to pursue happiness; if political leaders want to end intractable conflicts, they should imbue their peace treaty narratives with a clear delineation of the structural opportunities that both sides of the conflict can agree will assist them in their pursuit of happiness. To better understand what these structural opportunities are, this literature review addresses the nature of intractable conflicts and Bar-Tal's conceptual research on psychological infrastructure during and following these conflicts.

Intractable Conflicts

The characteristics of intractable conflicts are that they are intensely violent and difficult to resolve (Bar-Tal, 2000, 2009; Halperin, Eran, & Pliskin, 2015; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014). The concept of intractable conflict has evolved through several decades of study. Coleman (2006) succinctly summarized the evolution of this construct beginning with the 1980s, when scholars referred to these conflicts as deeply rooted or protracted conflicts. Today, scholars have been able to identify prevalent characteristics that distinguish intractable conflicts. Coleman's (2003, 2004, 2006) summarized these conflicts in a meta-theory. He described the context within which intractable conflicts occur as characterized by the presence of an exploitive power group, which controls and abuses the less powerful group. They sustain this imbalance of power by creating longstanding situations of dominance and injustice. The power group perpetuates and uses salient intergroup differences, such as social class, as a tool to distinguish themselves from the disadvantaged group (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014).

For example, the 1994 genocide in Rwanda resulted in the Hutus killing approximately 700,000 Tutsis (Staub, 2006). Staub noted that the salient differences between the groups consisted of power, class, and occupations; the minority Tutsis (14%) were cattle herders, whereas the Hutus (85%) were agriculturalists. Coleman (2006) indicated that intractable conflicts are characterized typically by a history of colonialism, racism, sexism, ethnocentrism, or human rights violations. The dominant group sustains these injustices by integrating their relational components into cultural and structural practices and ideologies of society.

Protracted disputes can arise when this situation becomes instable (Coleman, 2006). More specifically, disturbances can arise when some failure of state emerges or collapse of the prevailing power arises. The suppressed segments may feel a sense of deprivation or frustration in aspirations or outcomes causing them to question the old guard and breaking down levels of trust and fairness in the established institutions. These disturbances destabilize the prevailing order causing anarchy and power vacuums that fuel the conflict even further (Coleman, 2006).

Bar-Tal's (2013) research indicated that when peace agreements reframe the values towards an ethos of peace, they are able to change the nature of the relationship between the rival parties and facilitate a process of reconciliation. He maintained that intractable conflicts differ with respect to their context. He classified them into three types: intra-societal, degree of asymmetry, and uniqueness. Intra-societal intractable conflicts exist when the rival parties realize they will have to live within the same state. For example, the whites and the blacks in South Africa lived through a separatist type of intra-societal conflict where both parties wanted separation from the other. Other intra-societal disputes exist when there is an effort to unite two states into one.

The second type is characterized by the presence of asymmetry in the power structures (Cianciara, 2012; Farer, 2010). The degree of symmetry is based upon the military and economic capabilities of the parties. A group with a strong military capability, such as Russia versus Georgia, has an advantage in a conflict; however, the power and might does not necessarily mean the advantaged side will win. For instance, the disadvantaged Tutsi conquered Rwanda (Bar-Tal, 2013). The third type is unique. Peace is not easily found because it is characterized by unusual and specific

characteristics and conditions (Bar-Tal, 2013). Regardless of type, Bar-Tal maintained

that the psychological foundations are similar. By understanding the nature of conflicts,

leaders are in a stronger position to negotiate peaceful solutions.

Bar-Tal (2013) identified three phases allowing society to move into a peaceful

settlement: an emergence of new ideas about finding peace, legitimization of the peace-

making ideas, and institutionalization of the peace-making ideas. The process is not often

quick or linear, and it involves societal tensions oscillating in a competitive manner

between an ethos of conflict and an ethos of peace. Bar-Tal (2013) indicated that the

second and third phases consist of a competition between societal beliefs supporting the

conflict and societal beliefs supporting peace. Meaningful peace can only be obtained

when it is sustained by the institutions of society, i.e., the third phase. At some point,

leaders emerge with proposals leading to a settlement. This most often occurs in the

second phase with the peace ethos begins to take root.

Intractable conflicts revolve around certain types of issues that are not resolvable

using traditional methods (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014). For example, social

polarities, such as human rights, security, and inclusion in decision making, are a major

cause of conflicts (Coleman, 2006). Furthermore, those conflicts often involve issues

connected to tangible factors like water, land, and money because of the symbolic

meaning assigned to them via the social narrative of what constitutes the right decision

based upon moral criteria. Regardless of the cause of the intractable conflict, Bar-Tal

(2013) asserted that leaders have the ability to begin the peace making process by crafting

agreements imbued with societal beliefs that the majority of societal members would be

willing to adopt (Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014). The next section condenses his research on this topic.

Bar-Tal's Concept of Psychological Infrastructure Related to Intractable Conflicts

Bar-Tal (2000) defined intractable conflicts as "characterized as being protracted, irreconcilable, violent, of a zero-sum nature, total, and central, with the parties involved having an interest in their continuation (p. 353)." He believed that the end of these conflicts is achieved through long resolution processes that can last centuries, but the resumption of peaceful relations requires the formation of an ethos of peace. Bar-Tal and Halperin (2014) asserted that an unfreezing of old beliefs is necessary in order to stimulate people to embrace a new future of peace. The instigating belief begins with a new idea about peace communicated by influential people in society, such as a minority special interest group (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2014).

Bar-Tal (2000) identified eight themes of functional societal beliefs that characterize conflictive ethos. He defined societal beliefs as "society members' shared cognitions on topics and issues that are of special concern for society and contribute to their sense of uniqueness" (p. 353). Three of these values are obstacles to achieving a peaceful resolution: (a) delegitimization of the opponent, (b) victimhood, and (c) justness of one's own goals. Delegitimizing the adversary refers to "denying their humanity throughout casting and propitiating extremely negative characteristics" (p. 354). Positive self-image refers to "the tendency toward ethno-centrism whereby the society attributes only positive values and behaviors toward themselves" (p. 354). Justness of one's own goals refers to "the intensity with which the society believes in the rationales supporting the goals that precipitated the conflict" (p. 354). Bar-Tal indicates that the process of

reconciliation requires a change in the eight beliefs but that the three noted above pose the greatest resistance and highest obstacles to reconciliation.

Bar-Tal referred to these societal beliefs as underlying "the major psychological infra-structure" that enables them to cope with the intolerable situation while simultaneously strengthening their resolve to perpetuate the conflict (1998; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014). Societal members process these eight themes cognitively in order to make sense of the extreme violence and hatred that permeates their everyday lives. He indicated that people derive these eight themes through selective information processing involving biased interpretations of information they feel is necessary to survive threats to their personal security (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014). The more intense the violence, the more intense becomes the cognitive processing. The formation of the conflictive beliefs helps them to cope with the violent situation by providing them with the motivational basis for their own actions (Bar-Tal, 1998; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014).

The beliefs form thematic clusters, which emerge from a number of fundamental beliefs (Bar-Tal 1998; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014). The themes appear frequently in public discussions, resound within leaders' discourses, impart themselves within social institutions, and infiltrate society's language, art, myths, and collective memories (Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014). They become the ethos of the society and if the beliefs are conflict oriented, they help in perpetuating a conflict ethos; whereas if they are peace oriented, they help in perpetuating a peace ethos (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014).

Bar-Tal's (1998) characterized the eight themes with characteristics that makes them identifiable in the narratives of leaders and institutions. More specifically, the first theme, justness of one's own goals, is characterized a tone that repeats the unjustness of the opponents' goals. As well, members of society reiterate that the goals of the society as a whole are unjust. People are only willing to consider their own perspective, and they disregard the perspective of the other. The second theme, security, is characterized by members of society making security their main preoccupation. Personal security concerns revolve around preventing loss of life, injury, and property damage. National security concerns focus on the achievement of national goals, defeating the enemy, and achieving victory. Members of the military are honored and some are glorified. The third theme, delegitimizing the opponent, is characterized by people out-casting the opponent, denying the opponents' humanity, and imbuing negative traits characteristics on the other. They use political labels to describe the people, and they lay total responsibility for the conflict onto the opponent. As well, they justify punishing the opponent by delegitimizing them.

The fourth theme (Bar-Tal, 1998), creating a positive self-image, is characterized by societal members maintaining beliefs that support their own self-image. For example, they use words like *we* and *they* and characterize themselves with words like *morality*, *fairness, courage*, *endurance*, and *trustworthiness*. They reiterate self-justification, glorification, and praise. The fifth theme, victimization, is characterized by societal members justifying their goals by showing how they are victims of a wicked opponent with unjust goals. They contrast their own moral and just goals with the adversary's evil and harmful ones. As well, they use victimization to justify their own unethical action. The sixth theme, patriotism, is characterized by societal members using love of country

to ask others to sacrifice their own needs, wishes, conveniences, and even their own lives. They emphasize attachment to the group and country by connoting emotions of pride, love, loyalty, and commitment.

The seventh theme (Bar-Tal, 1998), unity, is characterized by societal members setting aside internal conflicts and controversies and uniting the group so all members support the goals and follow the leaders. They use unity to increase solidarity and cohesiveness and avoid polarizations and internal conflicts. The eight theme, peace, is characterized by societal members characterizing themselves as peaceful and loving. The expression of peace is often cloaked in utopian phraseology.

Bar-Tal (1998) indicated that the societal beliefs provide the foundation for enabling the psychological conditions that are necessary to enable people to cope with life in the intractable conflict. They both inform and motivate members of society to live in a very stressful period. In other words, they are reality constructs through which people relate to the conflict (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014). Although these beliefs do not call for specific action, they do provide the rationale for action and they have an affective impact upon society because they arouse powerful emotions. Consequently, leaders make a concerted effort to imbue these beliefs into the political, social, cultural, and educational institutions (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014). They become part of the language, myth, symbols, and collective memory (Bar-Tal, 1998; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014). These themes characterize the most prevalent orientation of that society and they must be addressed and changed if the society hopes to form a peace ethos.

Some of the beliefs that are helpful during times of intractable conflict are also functional during the peace process (Bar-Tal, 1998). More specifically, security, positive self-image, unity, patriotism, and peace are helpful and should remain, but people should expand their concepts with modifications to include the opponent. As well, new societal beliefs imbued with themes of trust, respect, cooperation, commonalities, and consideration of the needs of the opponent need to be included in the new ethos of peace (Bar-Tal, 1998; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014).

I chose the apply Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept to study the content of peace agreements because his research indicates that five of the eight societal beliefs: (a) concern for security; (b) positive self-image; (c) patriotism; (d) unity, (e) one`s own wish for peace -- are functional during the peace process and three of the eight beliefs -- (f) delegitimization of the opponent, (g) victimhood, and (h) justness of one's own goals -- are "key obstacles to reconciliation" (Bar Tal, 2000, p. 357). He mentioned political speeches by leaders as one medium through which these beliefs are communicated to the masses to help them cope (Bar-Tal, 1998; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014). Since treaties are a necessary first step toward shifting from an ethos of conflict to an ethos of peace, leaders may imbue helpful or functional societal beliefs into the content to assist societies and their institutions in coping with the new reality. Since Bar-Tal has written extensively about societal beliefs during and after intractable conflicts, I decided to extend it to peace treaties to explore the distribution of themes related to societal beliefs.

Bar-Tal (1998) posed the question: How can vicious cycles that are typical of the intractable conflict be broken? He indicated that this process is long and difficult because

years of indoctrination embed these beliefs into the hearts and minds of nearly every

member of society (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014); however, if

even one party to the conflict changes its beliefs and/or if geopolitical, military, or

economic conditions change in such a way as to support a resolution, then progress

toward a peaceful resolution is possible (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vered & Bar-

Tal, 2014).

Related Studies

Intractable conflicts are on the rise and scholars of the peacemaking process have

explored factors helpful in building a peaceful society out of the ruins of years and

decades of violence. Many studies have been conducted to understand impeding factors

preventing parties to intractable conflicts from achieving peace, including: qualitative

studies designed to understand the main impediments to achieving peaceful resolutions in

intractable conflicts (Gulec, 2015); exploratory research examining the consequences of

ethical leadership on outcomes (Mayer et al., 2012); directed content analysis of peace

agreements to determine the presence of key terms important in sustaining stability

(Muggah, 2013); policy discourse analysis to determine how issues in an intractable

conflict are communicated and the resonating impact on the parties (Tebboth, 2011); and

enhanced case studies exploring factors leading to successful resolutions of intractable

conflicts (Schiff, 2014; Curless & Rodt, 2013).

Many scholars (Muggah, 2013; Gulec, 2015; Mayer et al., 2012; Tebboth, 2011)

have indicated that a more refined analysis is necessary to clearly understand factors that

contribute to constructing successful peace agreements. Bar-Tal (2000, 2013) asserts that

the end of these conflicts is achieved through long resolution processes that can last

centuries. He indicated that the resumption of peaceful relations between members of the society requires the formation of an ethos of peace. Peace begins with communication that demonstrates a sensitivity to the mention of functional societal beliefs and an avoidance or minimization of the mention of dysfunctional societal beliefs.

From this review, it became evident that a gap exists in the literature: there is a lack of an understanding of how leaders can write peace agreements imbued with societal beliefs that will persuade societies to embark on a road to peace and avoid expressing in peace agreements those beliefs known to perpetuate violence.

Bar-Tal (1998) applied his societal themes present in conflicts with a multiple case study. He used a content analysis on school textbooks published in Israel during a low conflict period between the Arabs and Jews to explore the distribution of societal themes. He found that the following five themes remained present in textbooks: (a) concern for security; (b) positive self-image; (c) patriotism; (d) unity; (e) one's own wish for peace. He found that the following three themes were either absent or diminished: (a) delegitimization of the opponent; (b) victimhood; and, (c) justness of one's own goals.

Bar-Tal (1998) summarized how this conceptual framework on societal beliefs prevalent in intractable conflicts has been used to analyze the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He began his analysis by explaining why he classified the conflict as an intractable one. Most saliently, it has lasted more than 70 years with Palestinians and Jewish people clashing over territory, politics, religion, and culture. The conflict turned into a full-blown war in 1948-1949. Intense violence and many layers of new hostilities developed over the years (Bar-Tal, 1998).

During the late 1940s, 50s, 60s, and early 70s, the Israeli people embraced specific beliefs that enabled them to cope with the stress of violence and uncertainty. Some of these beliefs were new whereas some have been part of a Jewish tradition dating back 2000 years, such as positive self-image. But the security belief had to be newly formed because they lived under constant confrontation (Bar-Tal, 1998).

Firer (1985) conducted a comprehensive content analysis of history textbooks used in Jewish schools between1900 – 1984. Bar-Tal (1998) indicated that her analysis of the textbooks between 1948 and 1967 is most relevant in applying his intractable conflict belief framework because during these years it is most apparent that the conflict was intractable. Bar-Tal (1998) concluded that she shows history books present justifications for the Jewish claims on land and discredit the Arabs' claims.

The content analysis of Israel textbooks between 1948 and 1967 indicate a strong inclination to indoctrinate the children with societal beliefs that would help them cope with the stress of the conflict (Bar-Tal, 1998). Bar-Tal (1998) indicated that many other social institutions, such as mass media, theatrical plays, and political speeches, also transmitted these beliefs in order to develop solid psychological conditions which enabled the people to cope with the Arab/Israel conflict. He emphasized that the conflict ethos helps people survive but also adds life to the continuation of the conflict (Bar-Tal, 1998).

Bar-Tal (1998) conducted another extensive analysis of all textbooks in history, geography, Hebrew, and civic studies used in the Israeli education system in 1994. His analysis showed that the societal beliefs used in the textbooks dating from 1950 to 1970 differed dramatically from the beliefs emphasized in the 1994. There were fewer

intractable conflict beliefs and more peace-filled beliefs. For example, phraseology

delegitimizing the Arabs was almost nonexistent with the exception of negative

stereotyping. Remnants of beliefs concerning security, positive self-image, and the

victimization of the Jews were still present. It is important to note that three pivotal peace

agreements were reached between Israeli and its neighbors between these two periods:

1979 Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement, the 1991 Madrid conference, the 1993 Oslo

agreement between the Israelis and Palestinians -- all of which were significant in

improving relations between Jews and Arabs.

In 2013, Muggah conducted a comparative study of peace agreements using a

content analysis to determine how disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration have

been grafted into peace agreements. He drew from peace agreements found in two

databases to explore the scale and scope of the terms disarmament and demobilisation

and other related terms. He began with a clear definition of the terms to ensure clarity and

rigor of methodology. He considered not only the terms *disarmament* and *demobilisation*,

but also synonyms. He conducted a content analysis by reading through the selected

peace agreements for categories. He summarized the results in a table illustrating the

terms' frequency of provisions related to the category. To ascertain the relative emphasis

attributed to terms, he examined more closely the content of the agreements and

summarized his findings in a descriptive assessment that determines the terms relative

location and weight within the agreement. The limitations of Muggah's research are that

the results are cursory and they do not reveal how the terms are related to the nature of

the issues included in the agreements. He admitted that his research was frustrated by the

"sheer range and multiplicity of expression" (Muggah, 2013, p. 39).

This study benefited from Muggah's (2013) study. The parallel application of the research methodology informed the research design of this study and provided insight into limitations, scale and scope. For example, Muggah (2013) narrowed his selection of peace agreements using three searchable databases: Peace Accords Matrix, Transitional Justice Peace Agreements database, and Uppsala Conflict Data Programme Peace Agreement. Upon further review, he excluded the latter database because it did not allow him to refine his search due to methodological limitations, such as disaggregating fields. The current research benefited from Muggah's (2013) explanation because the selection of peace agreements included a classification for the implementation rating in order to narrow the search to those agreements that reached a 90% success rate.

Mayer et al. (2012) constructed a theoretical model to examine the effects of ethical leadership on unethical behavior and relationship conflict. Using a structural equation model, they collected data to determine the relationship between ethical leadership and unethical follower behavior and conflict (Mayer et al., 2012). They determined that if leaders behave ethically, they can influence the followers' behavior, such as positive citizenship. The strength of their research is that they filled a gap in the literature by showing that ethical leadership can lessen unethical behavior among followers and decrease relationship conflict. Furthermore, they found that the moral identities of leaders can be activated among followers with cues such as slogans, symbols, and moral constructs.

This finding is important because it shows that if leaders communicate positive symbols, they can have a pivotal role in reducing negative outcomes, such as relational and interpersonal conflict. This pertains directly to this study. If leaders communicate

virtuous messages, such as themes related to peace ethos, and avoid conflict-laden themes, then followers are less likely to participate in conflict and possibly comply with the terms of the peace agreements. Such a finding may contribute to higher implementation ratings of peace agreements. The weakness of their research was that they focused on negative outcomes rather than positive outcomes, and they did not assess any role modeling variables. Mayer et al. (2012) indicated that other researchers have focused on positive behaviors that result from ethical leadership, such as organizational citizenship behavior and voice.

Güleç (2015) conducted a case study of an intractable conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, which reached its most violent phase between 1988 and 1994. This conflict went through several phases of dispute resolution and yet did not reach a final solution after many years of negotiation. Güleç studied the social relationships between many players involved including agents and institutions in order to gain an understanding of the impeding factors preventing a peaceful resolution. Using a constructivist approach, Güleç examined the social relationships that evolved over time between the parties involved in the conflict. More specifically, he defined constructivism as follows:

> It is concerned with beliefs, attitudes and perception of parties in conflict, the formation of regimes, the communicative-discursive strategies adopted by intermediaries in conflict, the role of language, member, and the actions that individuals and groups can take to shape their lives and to resolve their conflicts. (p. 12)

In short, constructivists interpret ethnic identities and conflicts as produced through socialization and acculturation (Güleç, 2015). Therefore, social ideas and

ideation structures can have a potent effect on societal members' identities. Consequently, social identities can be transformed through constructs such as ideas. This finding was important to this study because it provided support for the premise that leaders can influence followers' identities through the use of language, such as emphasizing societal themes related to peace ethos and avoiding societal themes related to conflict ethos. Güleç emphasized that if leaders emphasize common interests between rival factions through engaging dialogue, they have the power to bring these groups together. The limitation of this research was that it relied on only one aspect of interpretation of this particular conflict through its use history.

Intractable conflicts involve not only social conflict between warring parties but other topics such as environmental policy (Tebboth, 2014). Tebboth conducted a study using frame theory and cultural theory to explore ways in which the UK Government and the Coastal Concern Action Group perceive environmental issues such as coastal erosion. Using a multimethod approach, he identified the ways in which the two groups frame the issue of coastal erosion. Drawing upon Cultural Theory, he found that people frame complex information using personal, cultural, and societal values to make sense of situations. Tebboth used questionnaires and focus groups to determine how local people frame the erosion of the coast. Additionally, he employed policy discourse by examining texts belonging to the UK Government and the Environmental Agency to determine how the issue was communicated to the public. Tebboth added to the data using a media analysis consisting of three newspapers in order to explore how the issue was framed in the articles, published between January 1, 2004, and June 20, 2011.

Tebboth's (2014) analyzed the texts involved within the design of a matrix, which enabled him to use a step approach moving from explicit to inherent meanings of terms and phrases. He found that differences of opinion in intractable conflicts are unlikely to be resolved with more facts and scientific evidence. Rather Tebooth's results suggest that "constructive dialogue around shared frames of references" is more likely to increase understanding between opposing groups (p. 233). He concluded that if leaders build trust by employing positive dialogue around issues and reframe contentious topics to encourage consensus, then opposing parties may come together around common issues. Tebboth's research was important here because it showed that if leaders employ narratives consisting of positive reframing of critical issues, such as societal values, they may be able to build dialogue between warring factions. The limitations of Tebboth's study were that the documents and newspapers included in the analysis were limited to executive summaries, formal presentations, and issues. Due to the sheer volume of material available to analyze, the results provide only a snapshot of how the public perceives coastal erosion. The strength of the research was that it filled a gap in the literature by concluding that leaders can build consensus among differing parties in intractable conflicts using different acts of framing.

Schiff (2014) conducted an enhanced case study to understand the factors leading to a successful resolution of the conflict that occurred over the span of three decades between the Government of Indonesia (GoI) and the Free Aceh Movement (known as GAM). Schiff examined the Aceh peace process from the perspective of the readiness of the actors to enter a long lasting peace agreement. The purpose of the research was to

determine if readiness theory and central coalition theory could provide insight on the process of concession making in an intractable conflict.

Schiff (2014) used a content analysis on primary sources of information, including newspaper articles, speeches, declarations, and reports, and secondary sources, such as articles and books. He found that readiness theory and central coalition theory support the hypothesis that the parties' willingness to participate in the peace process influences the extent to which they engage in concessions. In this case, Schiff found that the tsunami disaster and international pressure contributed to a high degree to bringing the warring parties to the negotiating table and putting them in a conciliatory frame of mind. The limitation of Schiff's research was that it did not provide clarity on what level of readiness is necessary in order to cause a positive change in the negotiating process nor did it provide insight into the affect fluctuations in the variables can have on the outcome. As with all content analysis, the research was limited to the selection of documents chosen. One strength was that the results have the potential to operationalize the findings and so the findings were not trivial. The methodology of this research was consistent with the scope of the current study in that she used a content analysis on a limited amount of narratives arising out of conflict to find a significant insight.

Curless and Rodt (2013) conducted a case study of the Sudanese civil war to ascertain how a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was possible after numerous previous failures, from 1983 to 2005. The study reviewed the negotiation and implementation of the CPA between the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement and the Government of the Republic. Curless and Rodt focused their analysis on key issues hypothesized to create a transformative effect upon the people and paving the way for a

successful CPA. The analysis examined main factors leading to success, including power sharing between coalitions, wealth sharing between parties, and rebuilding of infrastructure. Curless and Rodt found that this particular conflict had a transformative effect on the warring parties, and the leaders who negotiated the CPA concentrated their discussions on political and economic challenges that lead to a sustainable peace. This main limitation of this research was that the authors focused on previous interpretations of the conflict of a few authors and a few macro issues.

The literature did not provide any particular tactics that could be employed by future leaders; however, they did admit that their work was introductory and that future research was needed to understand the issue more fully. The Curless and Rodt (2013) research was consistent with the methodology of the present study because the authors drew upon existing narratives to examine the key issues. As well, their case study showed that leaders can have a transformative effect on the followers if they negotiate a successful CPA in an intractable conflict; and, this research maintains that transformational leadership may be a useful approach when negotiating agreements arising out of intractable conflicts.

In short, the above section showed that studies exist related to the research question of this study and offer insight into the approach selected. Muggah (2013) used a comparative approach and a content analysis to understand how leaders grafted disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration into peace agreements. Similarly, this research used a multiple case research design and a content analysis to explore the distribution of societal themes contained within three peace accords. Güleç (2015) completed a case study of an intractable conflict with emphasis on the social relationships

between the players involved in the peace resolution process. This research drew upon

the premise of the Güleç (2015) study with reference to the positive outcome that the

leaders' use of language can have when negotiating peace agreements. The Tebboth

(2014) research used a matrix to explore the texts of policy discourse to understand the

inherent meanings of texts and phrases; similarly, this research used a directed content

analysis to explore texts of peace agreements to understand the societal themes contained

within them. Schiff (2014) used a case approach and a content analysis of documents

related to the resolution of an intractable conflict to show that the parties' willingness to

participate in the negotiation process aids in a successful outcome; similarly, this study

used case studies of intractable conflicts and a content analysis on the respective peace

agreements to explore the distribution of societal themes. Finally, Curless and Roth

(2013) used a case study approach to review the negotiation and implementation of peace

agreements arising from these conflicts. All of these studies showed that intractable

conflicts lend themselves to a multiple case research approach and that a content analysis

is an efficacious way to explore the content surrounding these negotiations.

Summary

There is an urgent need for leaders to learn how to resolve these conflicts with

more efficacy. Experts assert that successful resolutions require an elevation of values

away from those perpetuating an ethos of conflict and toward those fostering an ethos of

peace. Transformational leadership may offer political officials who negotiate peace

agreements helpful guidance because it informs leaders on how to appeal to the higher

morals and motivational needs of the led (Burns, 1978). Couto (2003) asserts that

because transformational leadership incorporates the concept of empowerment into the

arena of political leadership; those who practice it could be open to constructing narratives expressing themes of commonality between rival parties rather than themes of division thereby creating cohesion between warring factions. Furthermore, Couto (2003) emphasizes that leaders should focus their narratives on transformative values that are public and reflect the enduring principles of the society.

Bar-Tal's (1998, 2000, 2000, 2013) psychological infrastructure concept identified eight societal values that endure during times of intractable conflicts. He wrote that narratives and communication material laden with conflictual beliefs could contribute to sustaining the violence (Nets-Zehngut, R., & Bar-Tal, D., 2014; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014). Bar-Tal (1998, 2000, 2007, 2013; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2014) asserted that leaders who want to transform a society away from an ethos of conflict and toward an ethos of peace need to imbue their narratives and communication with the functional values and minimize or eliminate reference to the dysfunctional values.

Studies analyzing intractable conflicts have examined issues impeding peaceful resolutions (Güleç, 2015; Mayer et al., 2012; Muggah, 2013; Tebboth, 2011; Schiff, 2014; Curless & Rodt, 2013). Scholars agree (Muggah, 2013) that little research exists showing how specific themes are grafted into peace accords. This study filled this gap by exploring the distribution of societal themes contained within successful peace agreement that have arisen out of intractable conflicts. The significance of the work is that by understanding the distribution of social themes written into successful peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts, leaders may be able employ transitional leadership principles and empower divergent groups by elevating their ideals toward an ethos of peace and craft peace agreements that are sustainable.

Chapter 3 draws upon the methods described above by presenting a multiple case research design. The research questions of the present work extend Bar-Tal's concept because they explore the distribution of societal themes in successful peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts. Chapter 3 describes the population as consisting of all peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts and classified by the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies as achieving a 90% implementation rating. I used a purposeful sampling method. Using four sampling approaches -- homogenous, critical case, confirming case, criterion sampling, and confirming case -- I included all of the peace agreements comprising the population. This research used a form of data collection known as public documents. It used a directed content analysis to analyze the distribution of societal themes. This method is a deductive approach whereby the I used an initial coding scheme based upon the initial concept and refined as necessary depending upon the needs of the text.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Intractable conflicts are on the rise and pose a significant risk to the peace and well being of nations throughout the world (Kudish, Cohen-Chen, & Halperin, 2015; Muggah, 2013). Scholars have explored many elements related to the peace building process (Bah, 2013; Bar-Tal, 2000; Edgar, 2011; Handelman & Pearson, 2014; Jeng, 2014; Lerner, 2014; Muggah, 2013; Schiff, 2014), but none have explored the distribution of themes leaders use to construct successful peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts.

The purpose of this study was to explore the distribution of themes leaders used to write successful peace agreements that arose out of intractable conflicts. Bar-Tal (2013) indicated that resolving intractable conflicts requires leaders to inspire the led through cooperative narratives, symbols, and speeches with the aim of viewing the society as a peaceful rather than a conflictive one. Transformational leadership is a leadership style that inspires leaders and followers to higher levels of morals and motivation. Researchers have shown that transformational leadership results in successful partnerships between rivals because it encourages cooperative approaches to conflict resolution rather than competitive ones (Wong, Wei, & Tjosvold, 2014); consequently, transformational leadership may be a useful model to use in negotiating peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts.

This chapter presents the qualitative multiple case research design and the rationale for its selection. It contains a description of the role of the researcher and how the research method was used to answer the research questions. I explain the population, sampling procedure, justification for the sample size, consideration of ethical standards,

and data collection methods. I show in the data analysis section the appropriateness of using a directed content analysis in the exploration of the themes found in the selected peace agreements. Additionally, I address issues of trustworthiness, such as credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, and conclude with a summary.

Research Design and Rationale

This study explored the functional and dysfunctional societal themes present in successful peace agreements by using the research questions below. The primary question was as follows: What distribution of themes is used by leaders who construct successful peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts? The procedural subquestions were as follows:

- What are the general categories to emerge in a first review of the peace agreements?

- What are the major themes in the peace agreements?

- Which of the themes can be classified as functional and dysfunctional societal beliefs as defined in Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept?

- Do any of the dysfunctional beliefs appear in any of the peace agreements? What is their frequency?

- Do any of the functional beliefs appear in any of the peace agreements? What is their frequency?

If leaders understand the distribution of themes contained in successful peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts, they may be able to guide their discussion and narratives and write peace agreements that achieve a high implementation rating.

Intractable conflicts are considered the most difficult type of human conflict to resolve because of their long term nature and the deep seated negative perspectives of the rivals toward each other (Bar-Tal, 2013). If leaders are able to shift societal members' thinking away from themes centered on conflict and toward themes centered on peace, they may have more success negotiating agreements (Bar-Tal, 2013; Muggah, 2013). Bar-Tal (2013) identified functional societal themes known to transition societies out of intractable conflicts and into a new era of peace. His findings indicated that if leaders are able to construct narratives resplendent with functional themes and absent dysfunctional themes, they are more likely to transition their society out of conflict (Bar-Tal, 2013).

I reviewed and compared current literature on the topic of intractable conflicts and determined that there is not sufficient detailed information on themes used in constructing successful agreements. Bar-Tal (2013) posited that more research is needed to understand how leaders can imbue peace within conflict laden societies with their narratives, speeches, and joint projects in a way that will encourage members of the societies to embrace a new social reality of peace. No studies exist that show the distribution of themes leaders use to negotiate and write their peace agreements.

Bar-Tal (1998) tested his concept using multiple case research in which he selected several school textbooks published in Israel during a low conflict period between the Arabs and Jews to explore the distribution of societal themes contained within them. Using a directed content data analysis, he found that five themes—concern for security, positive self-image, patriotism, unity, and one's own wish for peace—remained intact within the texts, whereas three themes—delegitimization of the opponent, victimhood, and justness of one's own goals—were present or diminished to varying degrees. This

study extended Bar-Tal's (1998) psychological infrastructure concept from one context (school textbooks) to another (peace agreements). Just as Bar-Tal (1998) explored the distribution of themes related to societal beliefs in Israeli school textbooks during a relatively peaceful period, this study explored the distribution of themes related to societal beliefs in successful peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts.

A qualitative research approach was most appropriate for this study because it required a method to richly examine textual information, such as is found within peace agreements (McCusker, 2015). I used a multiple case approach for five reasons. First, the focus of a multiple case study is the development of in-depth analysis of multiple cases (Kothari et al., 2016). Three peace accords deemed successful by experts were subject to analysis. Second, a multiple case design was beneficial to the effort to provide an in-depth understanding of the cases (Kothari et al., 2016). This study explored the distribution of societal themes used by leaders to negotiate and write peace accords. Because the content data analysis technique explored language used to write these three accords, the analysis of the agreements is detailed rather than cursory.

Third, multiple case studies drew from a variety of disciplines including psychology, medicine, law, and political science (Kothari et al., 2016). Although this study was conceptually based upon leader behavior, it explored the frequency of the leaders' use of specific societal themes in crafting accords, thereby extending a psychological infrastructure concept. Fourth, multiple case studies explore an event, activity, or entity of more than one individual (Kothari et al., 2016). Fifth, multiple case studies analyze data through a description of the themes in the cases (Kothari et al.,

2016). This study explored and described the frequency of societal beliefs contained with the three accords.

I rejected other methods because their characteristics would not have allowed the accomplishment of the primary objective of this study. I did not settle for a narrative research approach because such an approach primarily explores the life of an individual (Sarasa, 2015). Rather, I sought to analyze peace agreements, which are textual data related to the outcome of a period of conflict. I rejected phenomenology because it seeks to understand the essence of a lived experience of several individuals (Tuohy, Cooney, Dowling, Murphy, & Sixsmith, 2013); I did not seek to interpret the phenomenon of experience of the people in the conflicts. I rejected grounded theory because it attempts to develop a theory from the data (Baturina, 2015), whereas the goal of this study was to validate and extend an existing theory. I did not choose ethnography because its focus is describing and interpreting the shared patterns of a culture group (Brown, 2014), whereas my research focused on the use of language and how it communicates contextual meaning in a text (Hsieh, 2005). I chose a case study approach because my focus was developing a detailed description of the distribution of societal themes as illustrated within three cases (Kothari et al., 2016). In my research, I did not analyze entire peace agreements, but rather sought to explore the use of language for the purpose of classifying some elements of these texts into categories representing similar meanings (Hsieh, 2007).

Role of the Researcher

McCusker and Gunaydin (2015) indicated that qualitative research is interpretative in nature and, as such, typically involves the researcher in an experience

with participants. In my research, I analyzed the text of peace agreements rather than involving myself in an experience with the societies involved in the agreements. McCusker and Gunaydin also indicated that this intensity opens up a range of personal and ethical issues. These types of concerns were not germane because I analyzed public documents with no mention of particular individuals within the narratives. Nevertheless, as the inquirer, I began by identifying my own personal biases, values, and personal interests about the research topic.

My research entailed analysis of the distribution of societal themes present in three peace agreements arising out of three intractable conflicts: Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor, Interim Constitution Accord of South Africa, and Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement. I did not have any personal biases related to these conflicts because I had no personal experience within them. However, as a Canadian citizen, I did have a bias in believing that Canadian citizens are among the most peaceful and nonracist people anywhere. I believe that Canadians, in general, are open minded with a highly developed sense of justice and fairness, and that we live in a society with the best practice of respecting human rights, diversity, and multiculturalism. I have had a peaceful life and sought to remain aware of this bias in order to avoid shrugging off the sense of victimhood known to be prevalent within societies suffering from conflicts. Further, I am a Catholic, and I needed to be cognizant of any personal biases I might have had toward Christians in these conflicts.

Methodology

This study explored the content contained within peace agreements that arose

from intractable conflicts and that had achieved at least a 90% implementation rating by

the Kroc Institute. The Kroc Institute's Peace Accords Matrix presented nine relevant

accords. Experts at the Institute assigned an implementation score to all of the peace

accords. Only three that arose from intractable conflicts scored an implementation score

of 90% or greater. The next most successful accord only rated an implementation score of

73%. Because the scope of this investigation was the examination of successful peace

accords, it seemed logical to study the agreements that achieved a score of 90% or

greater. This study received Institutional Board Approval 10-27-16-0117797.

This research explored the successful accords for themes. Experts have

recommended using a purposive sampling method in content analysis studies (Elo et al.,

2014). I was only interested in studying documents that had the most suitable information

concerning the topic (Elo et al., 2014). Elo et al. (2014) indicated that full details of the

sampling need to be provided in order to improve the trustworthiness of studies using

purposeful sampling, such as what is being sampled and why.

Selection Logic

Suri (2011) illustrated how to adapt 16 known strategies in purposeful sampling in

qualitative research to a particular research approach. Based upon Suri's application of

these strategies, I discussed how three sampling strategies were adapted to this study.

First, Suri (2011) explained that sampling politically important cases is useful

when a unit of analysis exists that gains the attention of stakeholders. Accords arising out

of intractable conflicts draw the attention of leaders of the world who find themselves in

situations whereby they need to negotiate peace in similar conflicts. Therefore, an appropriate strategy was to select peace accords arising out of these conflicts. Second, Suri explained that selecting illuminating cases is an example of extreme case sampling. Because the three peace accords selected were derived from intractable conflicts and then successfully resolved, they were illuminating. Third, Suri recommended selecting cases that are relatively homogenous. Because this study explored only successful peace agreements, homogenous sampling was ideal. Only those agreements arising out of intractable conflicts and assigned an implementation score of 90% or greater were chosen.

With qualitative research, there is no widely accepted sample size because the optimal size depends upon the nature of the study, the research questions, and the richness of the data (Elo et al., 2015). The size question hinges upon the purpose of qualitative research, which is to elucidate specific information beyond general suggestions (McCusker, 2015). The more homogenous the documents, the fewer of them are required for evaluation (Elo et al., 2015). To this end, this study required at least a few peace agreements with sufficient attention to the detail contained, as long as the number provided the opportunity to identify the themes outlined in Bar-Tal's concept (Elo et al., 2014).

Three accords comprised the sample because they possessed homogenous characteristics, were critical cases, and were confirming: Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor, South Africa's Interim Constitution Accord, and Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement. First, the samples were homogenous because they all qualified as intractable conflicts,

and they all scored over 90% on the implementation index. Second, they were critical

case samples because they facilitated a generalization to extend Bar-Tal's psychological

infrastructure concept. Third, they were confirming in that they elaborated and built upon

the initial theory. Finally, they meet predetermined criteria because they could be

classified as born out of intractable conflicts, and the Kroc Institute assigned them each

an implementation score of at least 90%.

Instrumentation and Data Collection

The Kroc Institute's Peace Accords Matrix contained all peace agreements written

since 1989, which were classified in relation to 50 themes. I was able to create a

customized table of peace agreements by location and topic. The Matrix allowed me to

determine the months of violence associated with the conflict, number of deaths, and

percentage of deaths of the population. Because Bar-Tal (2000) specified that a

protracted conflict lasts at least one generation, 20 years was a good indicator for the

minimum number of years that a conflict needed to last in order to be classified as

protracted. The Matrix enabled me to quickly ascertain intractable conflicts by first

choosing those that lasted for at least 20 years.

The form of data collected was document related, which encompassed a range from

private to public documents. Matsumoto, Oba, Onoyama, and Akiyoshi (2012)

encouraged researchers to use a variety of possible data, including digital archives.

Advances in digital archives enabled me to retrieve documents using metadata such as

title of work and creation date. This feature of digital archives aided this research because

it classified agreements according to certain factors, including length of conflict and

number of months for which the agreement achieved peace. Additionally, it assigned each agreement an implementation rating.

Data Analysis Plan

This study used a content analysis to analyze societal themes used by leaders to write successful peace accords arising out of intractable conflicts. Content analysis is one of many qualitative research methods used to analyze data and interpret meaning (Schreier, 2012). More specifically, it began with an existing theory to develop the initial coding scheme before beginning the analysis of the textual data (Hsieh, 2005). Additional codes were developed as I proceeded to analyze the text. Indeed, this expansion had the potential to lead me to expand or refine the existing theory (Hsieh, 2005).

Content analysis has three distinct approaches: conventional, directed, and summative (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Although all three are widely used, I chose the directed approach because it is used when a researcher begins a study with a specific theory as guidance for determining the initial codes (Hsieh, 2005). Because I started with Bar-Tal's (2009) psychological infrastructure concept, the directed approach was more suitable. The conventional approach is used when a researcher needs to derive coding categories directly from text data; the summative approach is used when a researcher needs to count and compare keywords, followed by an interpretation of the context (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) indicated that the directed approach uses a structured process rather than a conventional one. More specifically, the process begins by identifying concepts noted within the existing theory as the initial coding categories. Then the researcher derives operational definitions for each category as deduced from the

existing theory. In this research, Bar-Tal (2009) identified beliefs present in societies living within intractable conflicts. In his previous research (Bar-Tal, 1998), he coded the nine beliefs with reference to Jews and Arabs. I modified the coding by replacing the references to Jews and Arabs with the appropriate ethnic groups involved in the peace agreement under study.

Coding with the predetermined categories began immediately because I felt confident that initial coding would not bias the identification of text under examination (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Data that could not be coded was analyzed later to determine if it represented a new category of societal belief or a subcategory of an existing belief.

The findings from the study may offer supporting and nonsupporting evidence for Bar-Tal`s concept. I presented this evidence by showing codes with exemplars and descriptive evidence. Hsieh (2005) indicated that this study design is unlikely to result in coded data that could be meaningfully analyzed using statistical texts of difference; however, the frequency of references to the societal beliefs in the peace agreements could be summarized in a tabular format.

Bar-Tal's concept guided the discussion of findings. The presence of previously defined societal beliefs supported the current concept; concurrently, the absence of the three beliefs known to be absent in an ethos of peace also supported Bar-Tal`s current concept. Newly identified categories extended or enriched the concept to the new context. The limitation of this research approach is that it has the potential to steer the researcher more toward support rather than nonsupport for the theory. This overemphasis on the theory could cause the researcher to miss important contextual aspects of the text (Hsieh, 2004).

The five main processes in content analysis are to determine the level of analysis, identify the different concepts to code for, determine whether to code for existence or frequency of the concepts, decide on the level of generalization, develop coding rules, decide what to do with uncoded text, code the text, and analyze the results (Colorado State University, 2014). First, I needed to determine the level of analysis. More specifically, I had to determine whether to code for phrases, words, or even a single word. This study used a content analysis so it hinged upon an existing concept, which identified the key phrases identified by Bar-Tal (1998) as themes of societal beliefs known to be functional to people coping with an intractable conflict. Three of these beliefs are not functional in an ethos of peace (the justness of one's own goals, the adversary's delegitimization, and one's own victimization), and so would not appear in a peace agreement if Bar-Tal's concept was correct. Because the goal was to validate Bar-Tal's concept, I expected the remaining beliefs to be present in the agreement and used them as a guide in the initial coding.

This result led the me to answer the second step in the data analysis plan: how many concepts should the researcher code for. The answer is eight: (a) security, (b) positive self-image, (c) patriotism, (d) unity, (e) one's own wish for peace; (f) the justness of one's own goals; (g) the adversary's delegitimization; and (h) one's own victimization.

I created a categorization matrix (Schreier, 2012) based upon the eight themes identified in Bar-Tal's research. Space was provided for additional themes because this second step requires the researcher to decide whether or not to add other categories not initially included. I decided to add new material to the coding process if it appeared that it

could have a significant bearing on the results. This approach is congruent with a potential goal of a directed content analysis, which is to not only validate an existing concept but to extend it (Hsieh, 2005).

The third step in the analysis plan is to decide whether to code for existence or frequency of concepts. I coded for existence because peace agreements are documents where every word has been carefully thought about and has enormous potency. For example, one theme, like homeland security, could be mentioned only once but be extremely valid in its importance to the meaning of text.

The fourth step was to decide on the level of generalization (Colorado State University, 2014). This meant determining whether exact words were necessary to be recorded or if words in a different form could be coded as belonging to a particular theme. Bar-Tal (1998) identified words and phrases that communicate societal beliefs. For example, societal beliefs about creating a positive self- image are often described in terms of morality, fairness, and trustworthiness. I needed to determine if different words meant the same thing and the level of implication (Colorado State University, 2014).

The fifth step was to code the text. I needed to consider levels of implication, as noted in the fourth step, and create translation rules, which helped me to organize the coding process (Colorado State University, 2014). The coding rules enhanced the validity of the research because they lessen the likelihood of inconsistency and coherence. For example, if a researcher codes fairness as positive self-image in one paragraph and then codes it as security in another, the data would be invalid.

The sixth step involved knowing what to do with irrelevant information. Words like *the* and *and* should be ignored (Colorado State University, 2014); but words like

reconciliation or *forgiveness* could not be disregarded without compromising the analysis. The seventh step was to code the text. I coded the text by hand and noted occurrences of societal beliefs rather than use a computerized program. I needed to watch for implicit information that a computerized program could miss. As well, computerized programs are most useful when a researcher is examining large amounts of data. This study did not involve such massive amounts of data that the use of a computerized program was justified. I wanted to catch all the nuances in the text so the results would validate and enhance Bar-Tal's concept. I read the agreements and highlighted the text that appeared to represent the societal beliefs. Then I classified the highlighted text using the predetermined codes. All remaining text that was not categorized was given a code, which could be a new belief or an irrelevant word or phrase.

The final step was to analyze the data. Once the coding was completed, I read over the data and attempted to interpret the findings. I described the findings by reporting the incident of codes that represented the five beliefs identified by Bar-Tal (1998) and the incident of newly identified beliefs. In Chapter 5, I discuss whether or not the results enrich Bar-Tal's concept.

Issues of Trustworthiness

A well known criticism of qualitative research is that it lacks credibility and rigour compared with quantitative work (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013). This weakness calls into question the trustworthiness of the findings, so the aim of trustworthiness in qualitative research is to demonstrate that the findings can be taken seriously (Schreier, 2012). This study used four methods of supporting the

trustworthiness of the findings: credibility, transferability, dependability, and

confirmability.

Credibility

Credibility refers to how confident the researchers are in the degree to which the

data address the intended focus of the research (Vaismoradi et al., 2013) With qualitative

research, credibility begins by ensuring the researchers have identified and described

accurately the participants or documents chosen (Schreier, 2012). In this study, there

were no human participants but rather documents under study. These peace agreements

must have met two important criteria: they must have been derived out of a conflict

lasting no less than twenty years and rated with an implementation score of at least 90%.

Researchers at the Kroc Institute assigned implementation scores to the peace agreements

based upon the extent to which the country met the provisions of the agreement.

Another popular method of improving the credibility of qualitative research is to

use intercoder reliability, which refers to the extent to which more than one person codes

the data with similar results between them (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). However, there is

growing skepticism surrounding the value of intercoder testing: does it establish that the

same code is applied similarly by a different researcher or does it establish that it is

possible for one person to train another person to apply a code with similar results? A

more practical approach to improve the reliability of direct content analysis is for the

researcher to create a personal memorandum or diary alongside the field notes. Self-

awareness of the researcher is important in improving credibility. I kept a diary as I coded

the data as it demonstrates a conscious awareness of the practical application of the

codes. I periodically reflected upon questions such as, "did I manipulate the coding and findings?"

Transferability

Transferability in qualitative research refers to the potential for the findings to be extrapolated to other settings or groups (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Rich, detailed descriptions of the information enables readers to discern whether or not the findings can be transferred to other settings. I provided a detailed description of the themes found in the peace agreements, so that readers would be able to identify shared characteristics between this study and the settings of other studies.

Dependability

Elo et al. (2014) indicated that dependability refers to the extent to which data are considered stable over time and in different conditions. Therefore, it was important that the criteria for selecting the peace agreements was clear so that the findings could be transferred to other contexts. For example, would another researcher be able to replicate the findings of this inquiry if he or she repeated this study to similar peace agreements? In this study, only peace agreements arising out of known intractable conflicts and having achieved at least a 90% implementation score were considered. Bar-Tal's concept provided the criteria by which the agreements were classified as intractable. In short, the agreements included in this study are highly homogenous because they all fit the criteria noted above. This homogeneity provided more dependability of the findings (Elo et al., 2015).

Dependability also increased the rich, vivid, and detailed descriptions of the findings (Elo et al., 2015). The reporting section includes robust descriptions and tables

and figures as appropriate to illustrate the findings. Finally, the discussion that follows is logical and flows from the pre-set criteria given by Bar-Tal to understand intractable conflicts as described in the literature review.

Conformability

Conformability refers to the assurance of objectivity in the data's accuracy and interpretation (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Eto et al. (2015) elaborated by specifying that conformability means that the data represent the information provided by the participants. This study explored documents so the question of conformability was concentrated on assurance that the interpretation of the data was not manipulated and invented by the researcher. I kept a diary of my thoughts to increase my awareness of my interpretation.

Ethical Considerations

This study consisted of archived information available on a publicly accessible web site, housed at the Kroc Institute. There were no ethical considerations with respect to privacy, informed consent, and potential for harm. The privacy issue concerning material available on the web hinged upon whether or not the individuals who created it perceive it to be public or private (Markham, 2012). Markham wrote that researchers need to consider more than just the individuals' expectations of what the information would be used for, but also their perception of whether or not the information is public or private. Societies are aware of the nature of their own agreements because they are pronounced by the leaders, broadcast in the media, integrated into their institutions, and discussed in public spaces such as coffee shops or restaurants. Consequently, the use of peace agreements in research is easily distinguishable as a public space. Furthermore, it is

not possible to identify any individuals involved in the formation of the clauses of the peace agreement.

Informed consent was easily addressed because it was impossible to meet the participants who forged those peace agreements, especially if they occurred many decades ago (Markham, 2012). As well, when information is clearly intended to be made available to the public using the internet, it is not necessary to obtain consent (Markham, 2012).

The potential for harm question also is readily addressed in that no individuals were identified in agreements, except possibly for the leaders who negotiated them; this information is widely known anyway and so using the agreement did not pose any additional risk to them.

<div align="center">**Summary**</div>

This chapter included a detailed description of the qualitative research design, the directed content analysis and rationale, and data analysis procedures that will be implemented to explore themes found in peace agreements. Also included is a summary of the premise of Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept and how it may be useful for leaders who negotiate agreements. The protocol for the design was to: (1) select a homogenous sample of peace agreements from the Kroc Institute; (2) create a categorization matrix based upon the eight themes identified in Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept; (3) code the peace agreements and gather common ideas into themes, and (4) analyze the coding and determine the distribution of themes.

Chapter 4 begins with a summary of the purpose of this study and the research questions, followed by the method of data collection. I explain the data analysis used to

move from coded units to larger themes. Evidence of trustworthiness, including

credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, is summarized. The results

are presented in a table and address each research question. It concludes with a summary

of all the answers to the research questions.

Chapter 4: Results

This study explored the themes present in the narratives of three peace agreements that arose out of intractable conflicts: Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement, Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor, and South Africa's Interim Constitution Accord. Most agreements arising out of intractable conflicts do not achieve a high implementation rating and are not fruitful in transitioning societies into peace (Bar-Tal, 2013). If leaders understood how to construct effective agreements, then the length of conflicts would shorten and human suffering resulting from conflict would diminish. This study used a qualitative research method to explore the distribution of themes in the selected accords by examining the textual information within them. This research design permitted an indepth examination of the content of multiple accords and an analysis of their content.

The main research question was the following: What is the distribution of functional and dysfunctional themes in the selected peace agreements? The subquestions consisted of the following:

RQ1. What are the general categories that emerged in a first review of the peace agreements?

RQ2. What are the major themes in the peace agreements?

RQ3. Which of the themes can be classified as functional and dysfunctional societal belief as defined by Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept?

RQ4. Do any of the dysfunctional beliefs appear in any of the peace agreements? What is their frequency?

RQ5.   Do any of the functional beliefs appear in any of the peace agreements? What is their frequency?

Chapter 4 includes an explanation of the data collection process and data analysis. It elaborates on evidence of trustworthiness, presents the results, and summarizes the answers to the research questions. The chapter then provides a transition to Chapter 5.

Data Collection

The sampling process required the selection of accords representing conflicts that lasted for at least one generation or 20 years. Furthermore, the process indicated further refinement of document selection to those which achieved a 90% or greater implementation rating. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Kroc Institute houses accords dating back to 1989 within an interactive database. The Institute classifies them on 51 different types of provisions, and the web user can search the Peace Accords Matrix for accords that meet specific criteria. In addition, the Institute designed the Matrix Implementation Database, which shows all of the accords and the frequency of the provisions within each accord, the length of the conflict, the date the accord was signed, and the implementation rating. Upon request, the database sorts the documents by length of conflict. Because the database included the implementation rating for each agreement, a scan of the resulting table revealed those agreements that had achieved the required implementation rating. Only those accords that had achieved at least a 90% implementation rating were chosen. This task was much easier than anticipated because there were only three accords that met this criterion, and the next most successful one, the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement, achieved only a 75% implementation rating. Because the spread between the top three agreements and the next highest rated one was

15%, I had confidence that the 90% cut-off was indicative of a high achieving group of accords. Table 1 shows that names of the three agreements, the duration of the conflicts, and the implementation ratings:

Table 1

Peace Accords Chosen for Study

Name of peace accord	Duration of conflict	Number of fatalities	Implementation rating
Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement	354 months	3,568	95.2381
Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor	285 months	100,000–200,000	93.93939
Interim Constitution Accord, Nov. 17, 1993	365 months	8,500	92.0

Note. Adapted from Peace Accord Matrix, by Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2015 (https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/search?search_api_views_fulltext=all& =Search).

I began data collection on October 28, 2016, by accessing websites that included the three accords. The document data originated from the following two websites: The Kroc Institute for International Peace and the United Nations' Library. The Institute's version of the peace accords was used because it assigned an implementation rating to them, which was integral to this analysis. The accords stored at the United Nations' Library were used only to ensure authenticity. Table 2 summarizes the source and parameters for the sample data collected.

Table 2

Data Collection Parameters

Source	Kroc Institute for International Peace https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/search
Time period	1989–2012
Duration of conflict	At least 20 years
Implementation rating	90% or greater

From an HP laptop computer, I downloaded the three accords, which the Institute stored in pdf format, onto a hard drive. For comparability purposes, accords downloaded from the Kroc Institute website were compared to the same accords housed online at the United Nations' Peacemaker website. The Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreements were identical to each other. The United Nations' version of The Interim Constitution of South Africa was only in French, so I found another English version housed online at the Republic of South Africa website (http://www.gov.za). It is identical to the English version found at the Kroc Institute. The Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor accords housed at the Kroc Institute and the United Nations' website were identical. The three peace accords were printed to facilitate the coding process, which is described in the data analysis section below.

Data Analysis

This study used a content analysis to identify societal themes used by leaders to write the three successful peace accords. Content analysis has three distinct approaches: conventional, directed, and summative. As discussed in Chapter 3, the type of content analysis used was a directed content approach because it began with a specific concept,

Bar-Tal's (1998, 2000, 2013) psychological infrastructure theory, for determining the initial codes. I created a categorization matrix based upon the eight societal themes discovered by Bar-Tal to be present in societies struggling with intractable conflicts. The original matrix consisted of eight columns, each one labeled with one of the societal themes: security, positive self-image, unity, patriotism, peace, justness of one's own goals, and delegitimization of the opponent. Additional columns were added to allow for the expansion of themes. In addition, the matrix consisted of three rows, one for each accord: Northern Ireland's Good Friday Agreement, South Africa's Interim Constitution Accord, and the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor. The intention was to record the frequency of each theme for each accord. This approach was consistent with the goals of a directed content analysis, which is to extend, not just validate, an existing theory.

An important step is to decide on the level of generalization of each theme. To begin this process, I referred to Bar-Tal's (1998) original work wherein he used key phrases to characterize each theme. While reading the accords, I identified words and phrases that communicated a societal belief by reflecting upon the meaning of each sentence in the accord. As part of this process, similar words that meant the same thing were classified under one theme. I created a table that summarized the words and phrases within the three accords that corresponded to the eight societal beliefs. This coding table enhanced the validity of the research because it lessens the likelihood of different coders assigning the codes inconsistently. Part of this process involved deciding which words were irrelevant and could be ignored, such as *the* and *and*.

I began coding the text by hand, noting occurrences of societal beliefs in the right margin beside the corresponding text. Coding by hand was more appropriate than computerized coding because implicit information was important and could not be dismissed. Moreover, the accords were not that lengthy and so did not involve the analysis of large amounts of data. Coding by hand allowed me to catch the nuances and implicit meanings within the text.

It became apparent after reading the three peace accords that they had similar provisions. For example, they began with a declaration of support followed by constitutional issues and human rights. It occurred to me that a more refined analysis by provision within each accord, rather than an analysis strictly by the accord alone, would be more beneficial to leaders who write peace accords. With an understanding of which societal themes to emphasize in each provision, leaders could use the results to write accords more expeditiously by drawing upon the words and phrases from the provisions in these accords. As a result, the categorization matrix was modified in such a way as to reflect the frequency of the societal themes within each provision. By showing theme frequency by provision for all three accords, the resulting table provides the users of these data the opportunity to see quite easily which themes are most appropriate for each provision. Furthermore, a summary of the words and phrases assigned to each theme may help them to write successful provisions expeditiously.

After reading through the accords, I began to code the text. This process entailed consideration of the levels of implication with every sentence. Important words in the sentences were highlighted. Beside each sentence, the societal theme represented by the words and phrases was written in the right margin. Additionally, words or phrases

corresponding to the themes were recorded on separate tables, one for each theme. In this way, if another coder wanted to verify the results, the coder would understand how I classified specific words and phrases.

All of the accords contained a high frequency of a theme not accounted for in the original coding categories. This theme was labelled as *procedural issues*. Most of these procedural clauses were devoid of any societal themes; rather, they contained entirely neutral language describing regulations and procedures. As a result, a new category and corresponding column was added to the matrix entitled *procedural.* Although this category is not a theme, it appears in all of the accords, and an understanding of its presence could be beneficial to those who write accords.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

This study used four methods of supporting the trustworthiness of the findings: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility

Credibility refers to how confident researchers are in the degree to which the data address the intended focus of the research (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Because the purpose of this study was to explore themes leaders used to construct peace agreements arising out of intractable conflicts, it was important that the research design isolate those accords that qualified as stemming from such conflicts. Bar-Tal (1998, 2000, 2013) defined *intractable conflicts* as conflicts that take place between races, states, or societies that are violent in nature, are highly resistant to peaceful settlements, and last at least one generation. A *generation* refers to a parent-child relationship and is considered to be

about 20 years in duration. The Kroc Institute provided a measurement of the length of all of the conflicts associated with the accords housed in its database.

In order to improve reliability, I kept a record of the various phrases coded for each theme so that if another researcher were to code the data, he or she would apply the codes similarly. This is a practical approach to improving reliability of direct content analysis. The evolving table of coding phrases ensures a higher degree of reliability, as it provides the blueprint for theme coding. Another coder could work through the accords and yield the same result with the aid of the table.

Transferability

The transferability strategies stated in Chapter 3 provided for the inclusion of a detailed description of the themes found in the accords. These descriptions comprised a summary of Bar-Tal's (1998) concept of societal beliefs and their characteristics. To improve the transferability of the findings of this study to other settings or groups, these descriptions were expanded to include the words and phrases categorized under each theme throughout the three accords. The enhanced descriptions increase the transferability of this work to settings in other studies because the phrases provide a detailed description of each theme.

Dependability

This analysis provided clear criteria for choosing the accords so that the findings could be transferred to other contexts. More specifically, only peace accords that arose out of intractable conflicts and achieved at least a 90% implementation score were considered successful and used. Unexpectedly, three accords emerged, and the next best accord achieved only a 75% implementation score. This wide gap between the top three

accords and the next best one bolstered the dependability of the study. It is probable that if the findings here were to be applied to other accords that achieved at least a 90% implementation rating, they would be repeated.

Conformability

The original design included a personal researcher diary as a way to increase trustworthiness. Early entries included the idea that a more vigorous way to increase trustworthiness would be to create a table that contained the words and phrases classified with each theme. The table provided the full description of the themes according to Bar-Tal's original research in addition to including the words and phrases found in all three accords that pertained to each theme.

<div align="center">

Results

</div>

The enhanced analysis of the content of the three accords by provision is summarized below, following answers to the research questions.

Research Question 1

Research Question 1 was as follows: What are the general categories that emerged in a first review of the peace agreements?

The first review of the peace agreements revealed that they contained nine provisions, with the exception of the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor, which did not have a reconciliation provision. The accords did not necessarily use the same headings for the provisions, but the themes of the provisions were homogenous and labeled as follows: declaration of support, constitutional issues, human rights, legislation and commissions, reconciliation, economic/financing issues, security/policing issues, judicial powers, and

implementation/transition. In general, the functions contained within the narratives of the provisions provided for how members of society would live together, work together, and grow together. Some of the provisions contained personally involving functions. Table 3 shows the names of the provisions, an assigned set name for each provision, and the corresponding general function. I assigned each accord a set name, which represents its own universe.

Table 3

Provisions and Set Names

Provision	Set name	General function
Declaration of support	A	Personal involvement, live together, grow together
Constitutional issues	B	Personal involvement, live together, grow together
Human rights	C	Personal involvement, live together, work together, grow together
Legislation/commissions	D	Live together, work together, grow together
Reconciliation	E	Personal involvement
Economic/financing issues	F	Grow together
Security/policing	G	Personal involvement, live together
Judicial powers	H	Personal involvement, live together
Implementation/transition	I	Work together, grow together

Research Question 2

Research Question 2 was the following: What are the major themes in the peace agreements?

The major themes in the agreements were as follows: security, positive self-image, unity patriotism, and peace. A new theme emerged, procedural issues, which contained neutral language related to organizing committees and was devoid of sensitive or societal themes. The three dysfunctional themes were absent in all three agreements: justness of one's own goals, delegitimize the opponent, and victimization. The universe for each of the accords contains all of the above themes, some of which may be absent. I assigned numbers to each of the major themes as shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Themes and Their Assigned Numbers

Theme	Number
Security	1
Positive self-image	2
Unity	3
Patriotism	4
Peace	5
Procedural	6
Justness of one's own goals	7
Delegitimize the opponent	8
Victimization	9

Research Question 3

Research Question 3 was as follows: Which of the themes can be classified as functional and dysfunctional societal beliefs as defined by Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept?

Bar-Tal (1998) classified the following themes as constructive to transitioning a society away from an ethos of conflict and into an ethos of peace: security, positive self-image, unity, patriotism, and peace. He classified the following three themes are harmful in transitioning a conflict laden society into a peace: justness of one's own goals, delegitimize the opponent, and victimization. Although Bar-Tal (1998) did not use the terms functional or dysfunctional, these terms describe in a general way their degree of helpfulness in transitioning a society away from conflict and toward peace. I added the new theme, *procedural*, after reviewing the peace accords and assigned it a *neutral* functional classification because these clauses were devoid of societal themes. Table 5 summarizes the themes and their functional classifications:

Table 5

Themes and Their Functional Classifications

Theme	Number	Functional Classification
Security	1	Functional
Positive Self Image	2	Functional
Unity	3	Functional
Patriotism	4	Functional
Peace	5	Functional
Procedural	6	Neutral
Justness of One's Own Goals	7	Dysfunctional
Delegitimize the Opponent	8	Dysfunctional
Victimization	9	Dysfunctional

Research Question 4

Research Question 4 was as follows: Do any of the dysfunctional beliefs appear in any of the peace agreements? What is their frequency?

None of the dysfunctional beliefs appear in any of the three peace agreements.

Research Question 5

Research Question 5 was the following: Do any of the functional beliefs appear in any of the peace agreements? What is their frequency?

All five of the functional beliefs appear in the three peace agreements. Their frequency is summarized in Table 6.

Table 6

Frequency Table for the Occurrence of Themes by Provision

				Theme			Justness of one's own	Delegitimize the	
Provisions	Security	Positive self-image	Unity	Patriotism	Peace	Procedural	goals	opponent	Victimization
Declaration of support	(4, 1 ,0)	(3, 7, 4)	(5, 2, 3)	(3, 0, 1)	(0, 2, 1)	(0, 7 ,0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)
Constitutional issues	(0, 2, 0)	(1, 1, 13)	(6, 2, 3)	(0, 0, 3)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)
General human rights	(1 ,3, 17)	(12,15, 82)	(1, 0, 1)	(1, 0, 0)	(10, 1, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)
Legislation/commissions	(4, 14, 0)	(24, 7, 15)	(52, 7, 6)	(0, 2, 0)	(11, 0, 0)	(43, 7, 506)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)
Reconciliation	(0, 0, 2)	(0, 0, 26)	(0, 0, 8)	(3, 0, 0)	(2, 0, 7)	(0, 0, 226)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)
Economic/financing issues	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 6)	(0, 1, 0)	(0, 0, 2)	(0, 0, 0)	(1, 6, 98)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)
Security/policing	(32, 6, 71)	(2, 2, 7)	(5, 0, 0)	(1, 0, 0)	(2, 0, 0)	(4, 0, 50)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)
Judicial powers	(5, 1, 0)	(7, 1, 16)	(1, 0, 7)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 17, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)
Implementation/transition	(0 ,4, 0)	(1, 1, 0)	(22, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(4, 0, 0)	(4, 34 ,150)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)	(0, 0, 0)

Note. Order of agreements within parentheses: Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement, Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993.

Table 6 shows the nine provisions of the three accords and the frequency of each societal theme within each provision. A summary of the table follows.

Security. The Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement showed 46 occurrences of the security theme. It appeared most often in the security/policing provision with a frequency of 32. The security theme was also present in the human rights (f=1), the declaration of support (f=4), the legislation/commissions (f=4), and the judicial powers provisions (f=5). The Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor showed 31 occurrences of the security theme. It appeared most often in the legislation/commissions provision with a frequency of 14. The security theme was also present in the declaration of support (f=1), the constitutional issues (f=2), the human rights (f=3), security/policing (f=6), judicial powers (f=1), and implementation/transition (f=4) provisions. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa showed 90 occurrences of the security theme. It appeared most often in the security/policing provision. The security theme was also present in the human rights (f=17), and reconciliation (f=2) provisions.

Positive self-image. The Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement showed 50 occurrences of the positive self-image theme. It appeared most often in the legislation/commissions provision with a frequency of 50. The positive self-image theme was also present in the declaration of support (f=3), constitutional issues (f=1), human rights (f=12), legislation/commissions (f=24), security/policing (f=2), judicial powers (f=7), and implementation/transition (f=1) provisions. The Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor showed 34 occurrences of the positive self-image theme. This theme appeared most frequently in the human rights

provision (f=15). The positive self-image theme also appeared in declaration of support (f=7), constitutional issues (f=1), legislation/commission (f=7), security/policing (f=2), judicial powers (f=1), and implementation/transition (f=1). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa showed 169 occurrences of positive self-image. It occurred with the most frequency in the human rights provision (f=82). Positive self-image also appeared in the declaration of support (f=4), constitutional issues (f=13), legislation/commissions (f=15), reconciliation (f=26), economic/financing (f=6), security/policing (f=7), and judicial powers (f=16).

Bar-Tal (1998, 2000, 2013) described the positive self-image societal theme using five distinct characteristics. Three of the descriptors were present in the accords: maintain beliefs that support their own positive self-image; characterize society with positive traits, values, and skills; and emphasize positive contributions to mankind and civilization. Two of the descriptors were noticeably absent in all of the accords: reiterate intense self-justification, glorification, and praise; and contrast *we* and *they* using morality, fairness, courage, endurance and trustworthiness. Consequently, the frequency of the two descriptors of positive self-image is zero (f=0).

Unity. The Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement showed 92 occurrences of the unity theme. It appeared most frequently in the legislation/commission provision. This theme also appeared in the declaration of support (f= 5), constitutional issues (f=6), human rights (f=1), security/policing (f=5), judicial powers (f=1), and implementation/transition (f=22) provisions. The Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor showed 12 occurrences of the theme. It appeared most frequently in the legislation/commissions provision (f=7). This theme

also appeared in the declaration of support (f=2), constitutional issues (f=2), and economic/financing issues (f=1) provisions. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa showed 28 occurrences of the unity theme. It appeared most frequently in the reconciliation provision. The theme also appeared in the declaration of support theme (f=3), constitutional issues (f=3), human rights (f=1), legislation/commissions (f=6), and judicial powers (f=7) provisions.

Patriotism. The Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement showed eight occurrences of the patriotism theme. It appeared most frequently in the declaration of support (f=8) and reconciliation provisions (f=8). The theme also appeared in the human rights (f=1), and security/policing (f=1) provisions. The Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor showed 2 occurrences of the patriotism theme. It appeared most frequently in the legislation/commission provision (f=2) and in no other provision. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa showed six occurrences of the patriotism theme. It appeared most frequently in the constitutional issues provision (f=3). The theme also appeared in the declaration of support (f=1) and economic/financing (f=2) provisions.

Peace. The Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement showed 29 occurrences of the peace provision. It appeared most frequently in the legislation/commissions provision (f=11). The peace theme also appeared in the human rights (f=10), reconciliation (f=2), security/policing (f=2), and implementation/transition (f=4) provisions. The Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor showed three occurrences of the peace provision. It appeared most frequently in the declaration of support provision (f=2). It also appeared in the human rights provision (f=1). The

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa showed eight occurrences of the peace theme. It appeared most frequently in the reconciliation provision (f=7). It also appeared in the declaration of support provision (f=1).

Procedural. The Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement showed 52 occurrences of procedural themes with the most frequency appearing in the legislation/commissions provision (f=43). The theme also appeared in the economic/financing (f=1), security/policing (f=4), and implementation transition (f=4) provisions. The Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor showed 64 occurrences of procedural themes. It occurred most frequently in the implementation/transition provision (f=34). The procedural provision also occurred in the legislation/commissions (f=7), economic/financing (f=6), and judicial powers (f=17) provisions. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa showed 1030 occurrences of procedural themes. It occurred most frequently in the legislation/commissions provision (f=506). The procedural provision also occurred in the reconciliation (f=226), economic/financing (f=98), security/policing (f=50) and implementation/transition (f=150) provisions.

In summary, the five functional societal themes appeared with varying frequencies in all three accords. The positive self-image theme appeared with the most frequency of the five themes; however, two of the five descriptors of it were absent from all three accords. Those two descriptions are divisive in nature. Additionally, the three dysfunctional societal themes were absent in all accords.

The results were refined to include the frequencies of the societal themes not only in the accords as a whole, but also within the major provisions contained within the accords. A summary of the distribution of themes by provisions follows.

Distribution of Themes by Provisions

Set notation and Venn diagrams illustrate the distribution of themes by provision. Each provision consists of its own set as follows: A = Declaration of Support; B= Constitutional Issues; C= Human Rights; D= Legislation/Commissions; E = Reconciliation; F = Economic/Financial Issues; G = Security/Policing; H = Judicial Powers; I = Implementation/Transition. The universe contains the nine themes: The following table summarizes the provisions sets for each of the three accords. The sets show the frequency of each of the themes whose orders correspond as follows: {security, positive self-image, unity, patriotism, peace, procedural, justness of one's own goals, delegitimize the opponent, victimization}. Table 7 shows the provisions sets for the three accords.

Table 7

Provision Sets for Each Accord

The Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement	The Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor	The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa
A1 = {4, 3, 5, 3, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0}	A2 = {1, 7, 2, 0, 2, 0, 0, 0, 0}	A3 = {0, 4, 3, 1, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0}
B1 = {0, 1, 6, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0}	B2 = {2, 1, 2, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0}	B3 = {0, 13, 3, 3, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0}
C1 = {1, 12, 1, 1, 10, 0, 0, 0, 0}	C2 = {3, 15, 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0}	C3 = {17, 82, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0]
D1 = {4, 24, 52, 0, 11, 43, 0, 0, 0}	D2 = {14, 7, 7, 2, 0, 7, 0, 0, 0}	D3 = {0, 15, 6, 0, 0, 506, 0, 0, 0}
E1 = {0, 0, 0, 3, 2, 0, 0, 0, 0}	E2 = {0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0}	E3 = {2, 26, 8, 0, 7, 226, 0, 0, 0}
F1 = {0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0}	F2 = {0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 6, 0, 0, 0}	F3 = {0, 6, 0, 2, 0, 98, 0, 0, 0}
G1 = {32, 2, 5, 1, 2, 4, 0, 0, 0}	G2 = {6, 2, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0}	G3 = {71, 7, 0, 0, 0, 50, 0, 0, 0}
H1 = {5, 7, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0}	H2 = {1, 1, 0, 0, 0, 17, 0, 0, 0}	H3 = {0, 16, 7, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0}
I1 = {0, 1, 22, 0, 4, 4, 0, 0, 0}	I2 = {4, 1, 0, 0, 0, 34, 0, 0, 0}	I3 = {0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 150, 0, 0, 0}

Note. Each of the three peace accords consists of its own universe. Nine provisions emerged: A = declaration of support; B = constitutional issues; C = human rights; D = legislation/commissions; E = reconciliation; F = economic/financial issues; G = security/policing; H = judicial powers; and I = implementation/transition. The sets show the frequency of the themes in the following order: {security, positive self-image, unity, patriotism, peace, procedural, justness of one's own goals, delegitimize the opponent, victimization}.

The Venn diagrams that follow show the distribution of themes by provision. The provisions contain themes with varying degrees. None of the agreements contained dysfunctional themes and so those themes are entirely absent.

Declaration of support. Figure 1 shows that all three agreements contained themes related to positive self-image and unity.
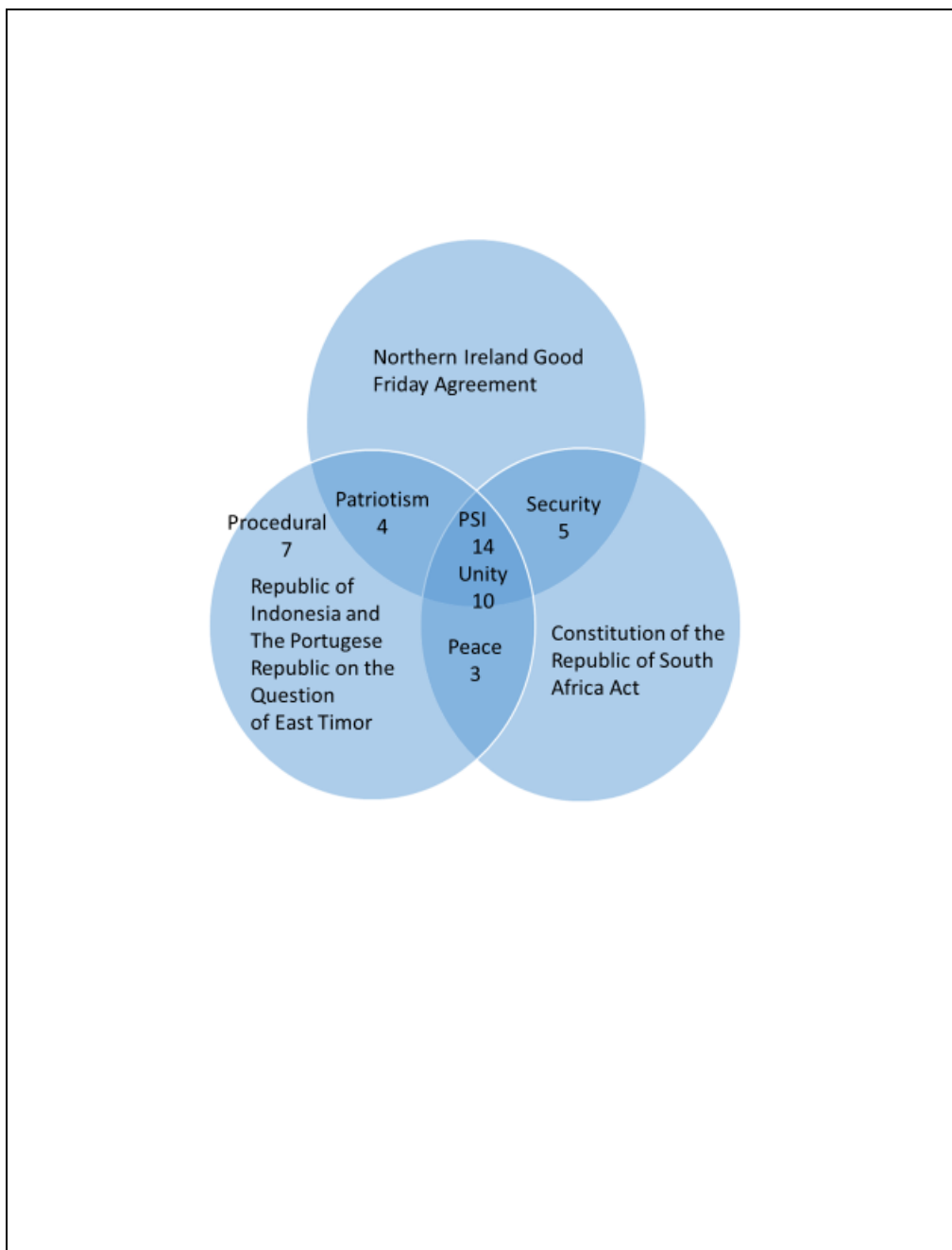
Figure 1. Declaration of support clauses. Declaration of support clauses in all three peace agreements contain themes related to positive self-image and unity. This clause within the Irish and the East Timor agreements contain themes related to patriotism. Within the Irish and South African agreements, the clauses contain themes related to security. These clauses within the East Timor and South African agreements both contain the theme of peace. The East Timor agreement contains procedural language in this clause. None of the three agreements contain the themes of justness of one's own goals, delegitimization of the opponent, or victimization. PSI = positive self-image.

Constitutional issues (general). All three agreements contained constitutional issues clauses pertaining to key societal themes. All three sections within all agreements referred to themes related to positive self-image and unity. Figure 2 illustrates that only two other societal themes were mentioned in these clauses – patriotism and security. The other themes were not mentioned.
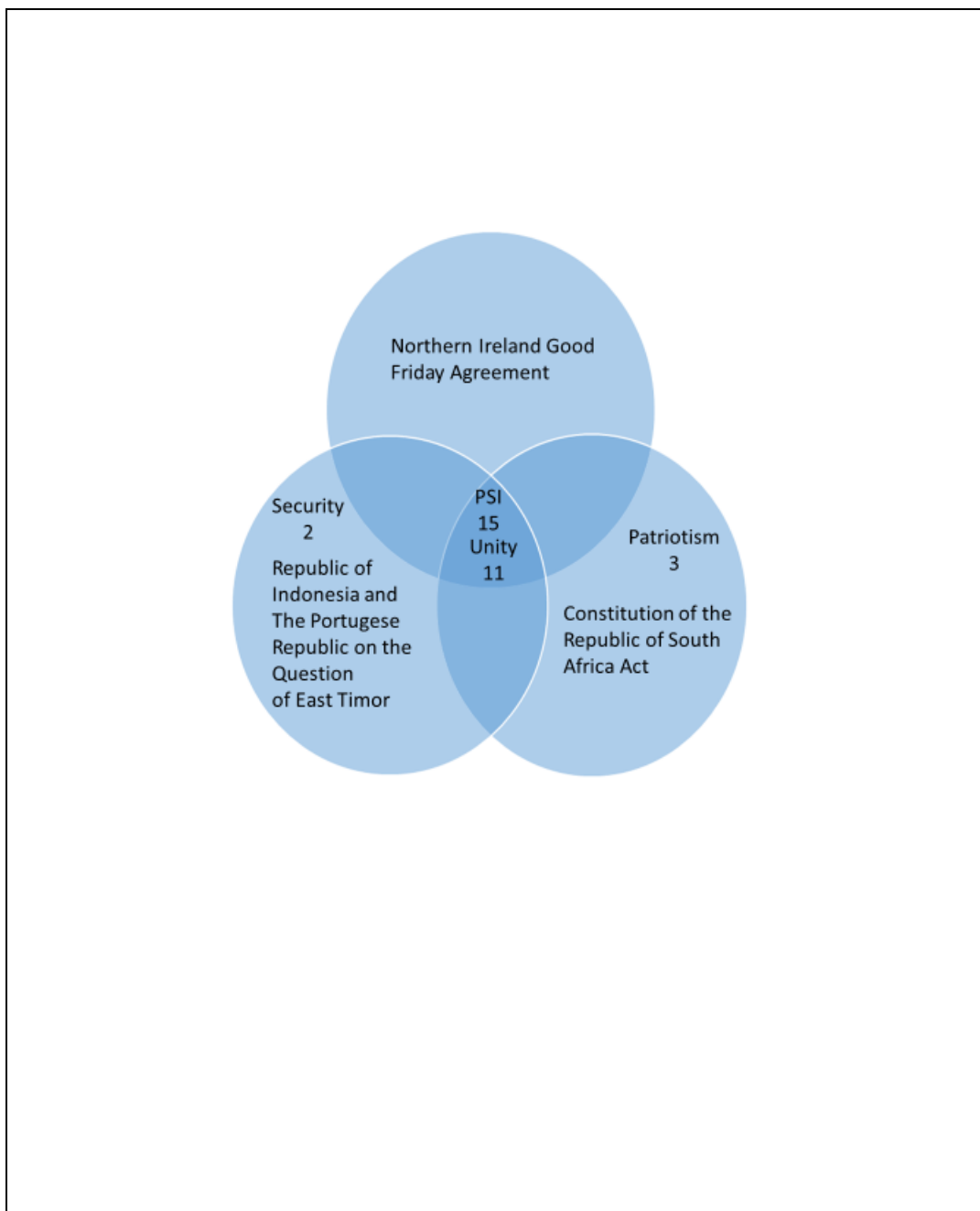
Figure 2. Constitutional issues clauses. Clauses dealing with constitutional issues in all three peace agreements contain themes related to positive self-image and unity. Only the Indonesian agreement contains themes related to security, and only the South African agreement contains themes related to patriotism. None of the clauses containing general constitutional issues contain procedural language, justness of one's own goals, delegitimize the opponent, or victimization. PSI = Positive self-image.

Human rights. Figure 3 shows that all agreements contained themes pertaining to security and positive self-image within their human rights clauses. Within the human rights clauses, the peace theme was mentioned ten times in the Good Friday agreements, once in the Indonesian agreement, and not at all in the South African agreement.
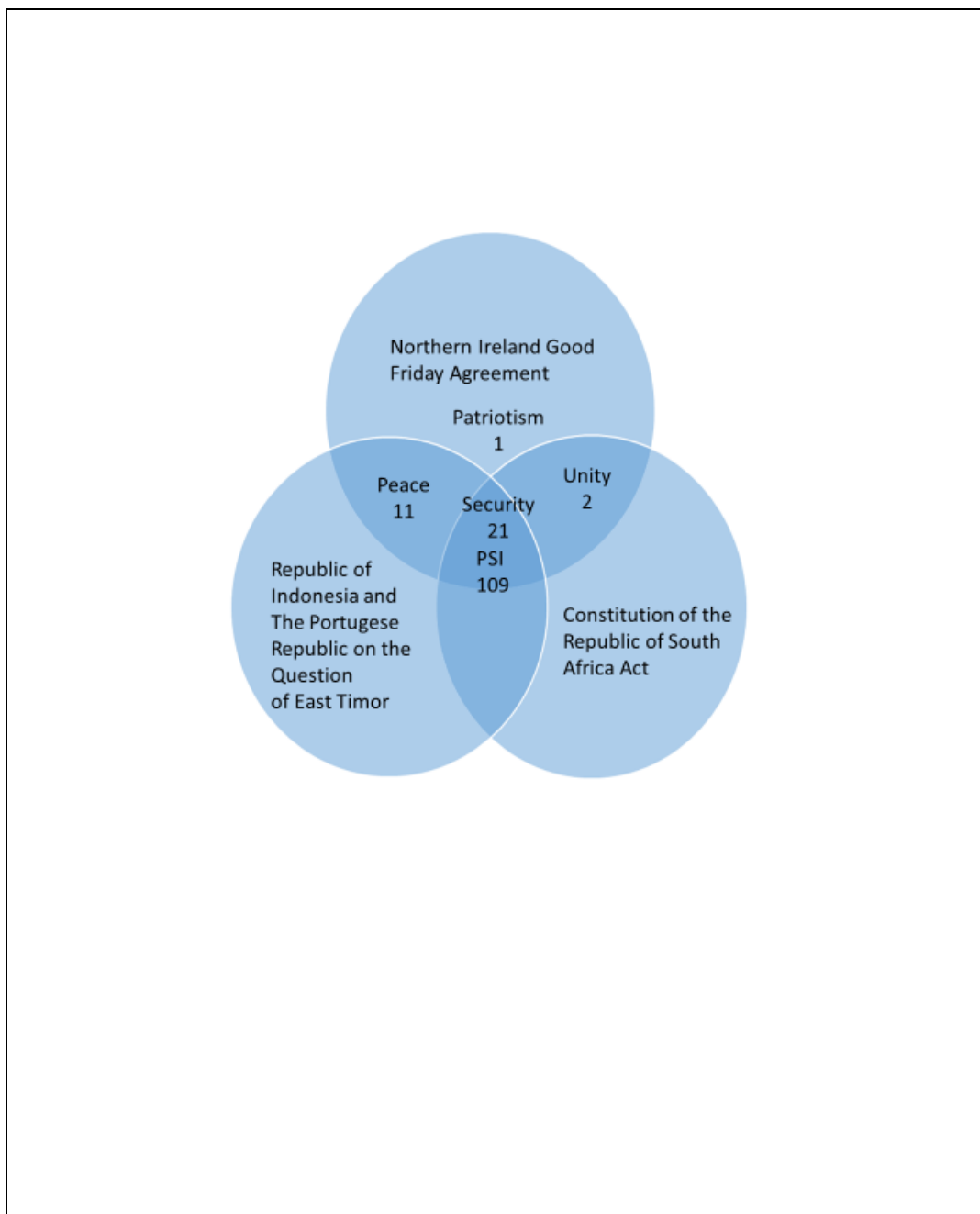
Figure 3. Human rights clauses. Human rights clauses in all three peace agreements contain themes related to security and positive self-image. Only the Good Friday agreement referred to patriotism while only the South African agreement referred to unity., and only the Indonesia agreement referred to peace. None of the agreements referred to procedural, justness of one's own goals, delegitimize the opponent, or victimization. PSI = Positive self-image.

Legislation/commissions. Figure 4 shows that all three agreements contained themes of positive self-image, unity, and procedural language within the legislation/commissions clauses. These clauses contained the theme of security in the Good Friday agreement and the Indonesian agreement. The peace theme appeared only in the security clause in the Good Friday Agreement.
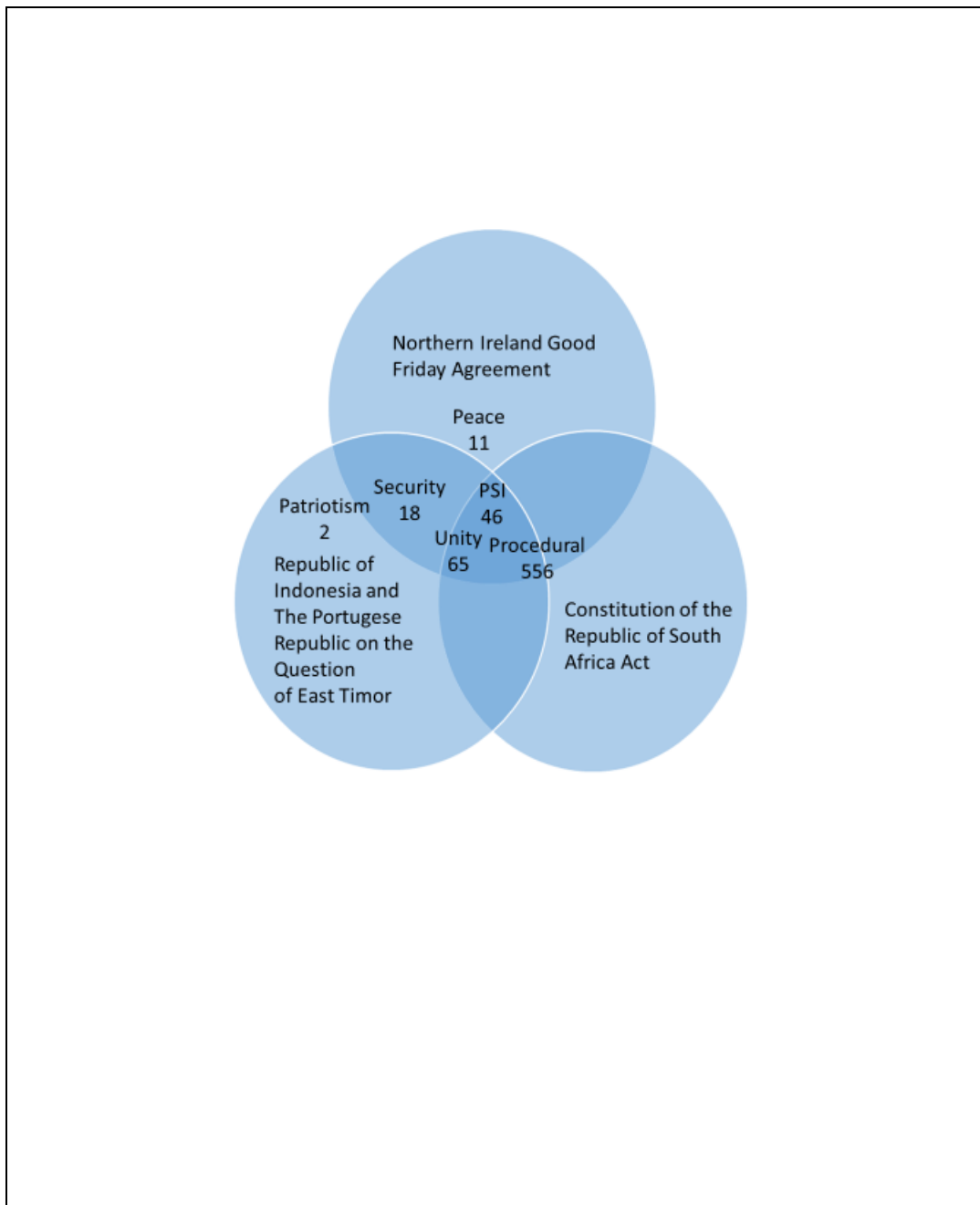
Figure 4. Legislation/commission clauses. Legislation/Commission clauses in all three peace agreements contain themes related to positive self-image, unity, and procedural. These clauses contain the security theme in the Good Friday and Indonesian agreement. The peace theme emerges 11 times in this clause in the Good Friday agreement. The patriotism theme appears twice in this clause in the Indonesian agreement. PSI = Positive self-image.

Reconciliation. Figure 5 shows that the South African agreement contained the themes of positive self-image, security, unity, and procedural language. The Good Friday Agreement contained the theme of patriotism with in the reconciliation clauses. Both the Good Friday and the South African agreements contained themes related to peace. The Indonesian agreement did not have any reconciliation clauses.
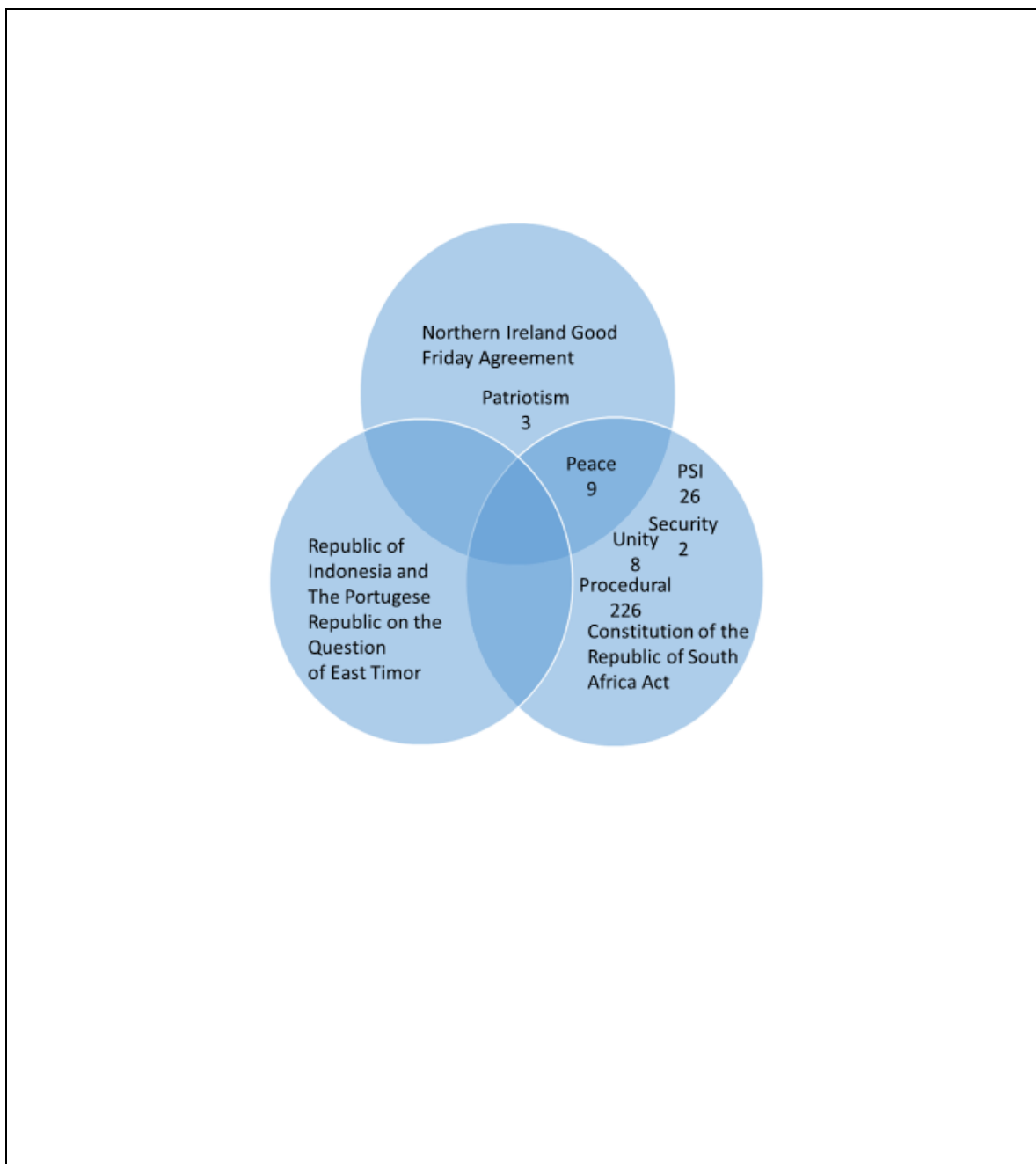
Figure 5. Reconciliation clauses. Reconciliation clauses in the Good Friday and South African agreements contain themes related to positive self-image, security, unity, and procedural language. Both the Good Friday and the South African agreements contain themes related to peace. Only the Good Friday agreement contains the theme related to patriotism within the reconciliation clauses. The Indonesian agreement did not have any reconciliation clauses. PSI = Positive self-image.

Economic/financing. The procedural theme appeared 105 times combined in the economic/financing clauses in all three agreements with 98 occurrences in the South African one. Other themes appeared intermittently as shown in Figure 6.
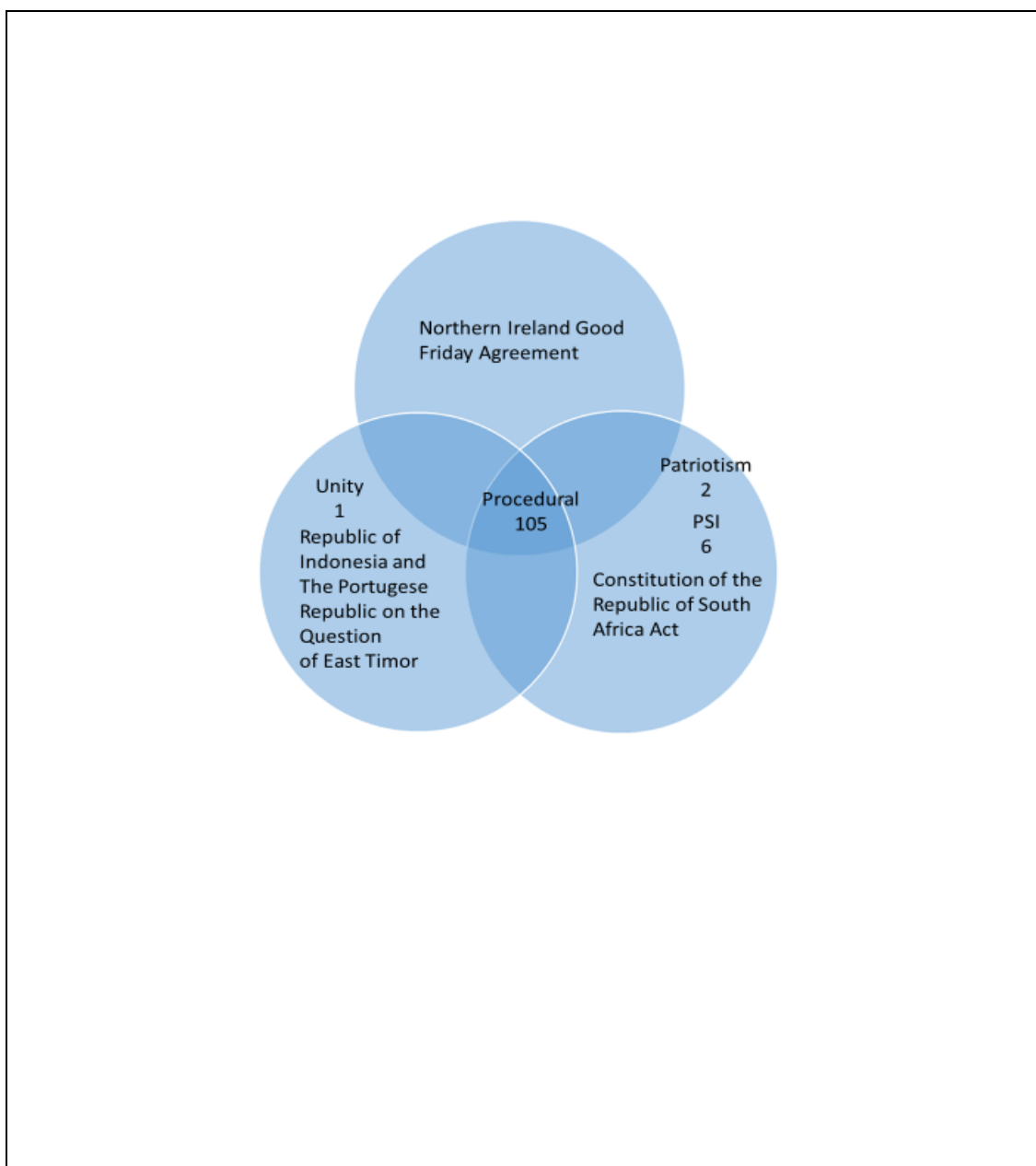
Figure 6. Economic/financing clauses. Economic/Financing clauses in all three peace agreements contain themes related to procedural matters. These clauses contain themes related to patriotism and positive self-image within the South African agreement. The Portugese agreement contains the unity theme within this clause. Security, peace, justness of one's own goals, delegitimize the opponent, and victimization are absent. PSI = Positive self-image.

Security/policing. Figure 7 shows that all three agreements contained themes related to security and positive self-image within the security/policing clauses. The themes of unity, patriotism, and peace appeared within the security/policing themes within the Good Friday Agreement. Procedural language appeared within the security/policing clauses only in the South African and Good Friday agreements.
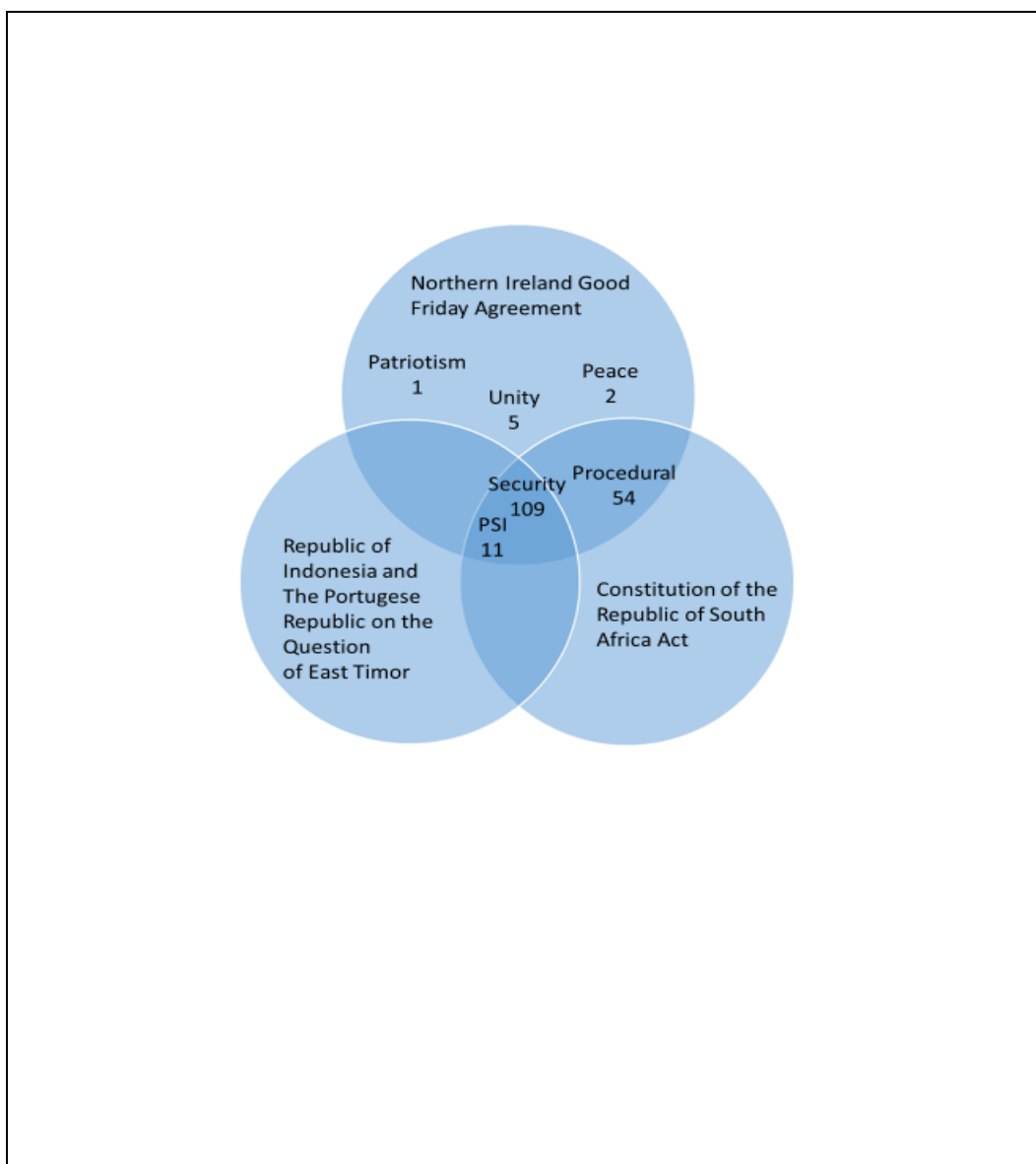
Figure 7. Security/policing clauses. Security/policing clauses in all three peace agreements contain themes related to security and positive self-image. Procedural themes appear in these clauses in the Good Friday and South African agreements. The Good Friday agreement contains themes related to patriotism, unity, and peace within the security/policing clauses. PSI = Positive self-image.

Judicial powers. Figure 8 illustrates that the judicial powers clauses only

contained themes related to security, positive self-image, unity, and procedural language.
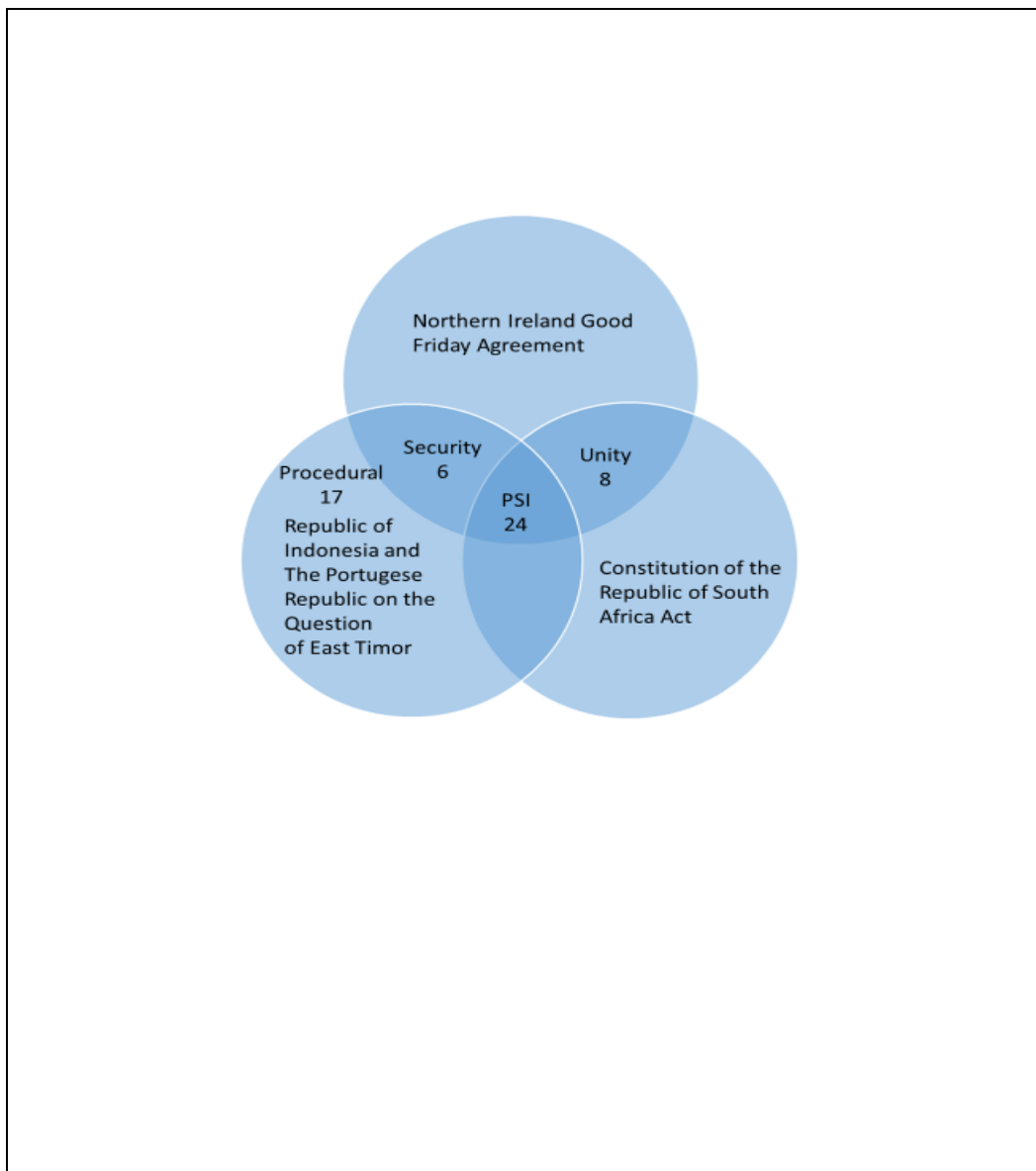
Figure 8. Judicial po*we*rs clauses. Judicial Powers clauses in all three peace agreements contain themes related to positive self-image. These clauses contain themes related to unity in the Good Friday agreement *and* the South African one. Both the Good Friday agreement and the Indonesian one contain themes related to security within the judicial powers clauses. Only the Indonesian agreement contains themes related to procedural issues within these clauses. PSI = Positive self-image.

Implementation/transition. Figure 9 shows that the implementation/transition clauses within the three agreements contained themes related to security, positive self-image, unity, peace, and procedural language.
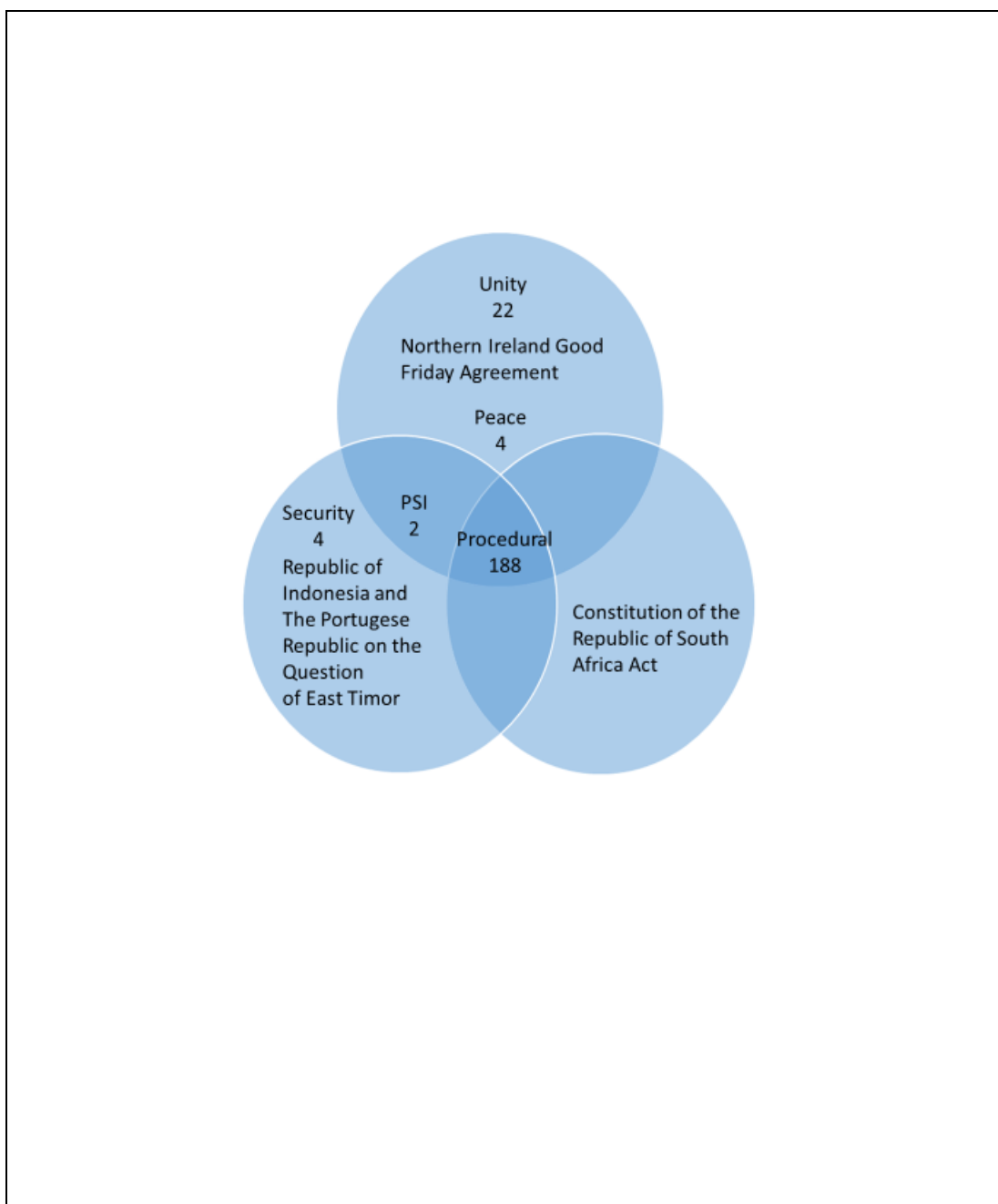
Figure 9. Implementation/transition clauses. Implementation/Transition clauses in all three peace agreements contain themes related procedural issues. Only the Good Friday agreement contains themes related to unity and peace within these clauses. Both the Good Friday and the Indonesian agreement contain themes related to PSI in the implementation/transition clauses, and only the Indonesian agreement contains themes related to security. PSI = Positive self-image.

Summary

The results show that, in general, nine provisions emerged from the three peace accords. The content of the provisions focused on how the members of society would live together, work together, grow together, and get involved with the new peace ethos on a personal level. Six themes emerged from the accords: security, positive self-image, unity, patriotism, peace, and procedural issues. The themes appeared with varying frequencies in all three accords; however, of Bar-Tal's (1998) five societal themes, the positive self-image theme appeared with the most frequency intersecting all provisions within all of the accords. Furthermore, two of the five descriptors of it were absent from all accords. Those two descriptors were divisive in nature. Additionally, the three dysfunctional societal themes were absent in all three accords.

Chapter 5 provides an interpretation of these findings, the limitations of the study, recommendations for further research, and implications of this research for positive social change.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

This study explored how leaders can infuse their narratives with appropriate themes in peace accords so as to achieve high implementation ratings. The social impact of this issue is that if leaders understand how to write successful peace agreements, then human suffering arising from conflict will diminish. Intractable conflicts are protracted, violent, and highly resistant to resolution. Bar-Tal (2013) asserted that the key to resolving these protracted disputes lies in the leaders' ability to inspire members of society through the proper use of words, narratives, and symbols to create a worldview of peace rather than conflict.

Bar-Tal (1998, 2000, 2013) identified eight societal themes known to exist within societies caught in perpetual conflicts in his psychological infrastructure concept: (a) concern for security, (b) positive self-image, (c) patriotism, (d) unity, (e) one's own wish for peace, (f) delegitimization of the opponent, (g) victimhood, and (h) justness of one's own goals. His research indicated that the first five themes need to exist in order to transition a society out of conflict and into peace, but the latter three themes need to diminish or disappear if the leaders hope to have a successful transition.

Bar-Tal (1998) tested his concept on the narratives found in school textbooks during a relatively calm period in Israel following decades of conflict. He used content analysis to show that the five functional beliefs were present and the three dysfunctional beliefs were diminished in most, but not all, of the textbooks. This study extended Bar-Tal's (1998) psychological infrastructure concept from school textbooks to peace

accords. Additionally, it explored how principles of transformational leadership may assist leaders in writing successful peace accords.

The Kroc Institute collects comprehensive peace agreements signed since 1989 and compares them on 51 themes. Its researchers have assigned an implementation score for each accord that reflects the degree to which the society has implemented the provisions contained within it. Using the Institute's Peace Accords Matrix, I extracted accords that arose out of intractable conflicts and had achieved at least a 90% implementation rating. Three accords emerged and were chosen for study: The Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement, the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor, and South Africa's Interim Constitution Accord.

The first key finding was that the three accords contained similar provisions but not necessarily the same headings for the provisions. The content analysis showed that nine homogenous provisions emerged from the accords: declaration of support, constitutional issues, human rights, legislation and commissions, reconciliation, economic and financing issues, security and policing, judicial powers, and implementation and transition. The nine provisions contained four general functions: how societal members can live together, work together, grow together, and get personally involved with requirements of the provisions.

The second key finding was that five functional themes, as defined by Bar-Tal (1998, 2000, 2013), were present in all of the accords to various degrees, and none of the dysfunctional themes were present in any of the accords. One additional theme, procedural, emerged, with consistently neutral language contained within it. The five

functional themes were security, positive self-image, unity, patriotism, and peace. The additional neutral theme was procedural. The three absent dysfunctional themes were justness of one's own goals, delegitimization of the opponent, and victimization. The third key finding was that all three accords used only partial elements of Bar-Tal's (1998) positive self-image theme. They excluded the two phrases that contrast *we* versus *they* and words that reiterate intense self-justification. The frequency of the divisive use of *we* versus *they* was zero ($f = 0$) in all three agreements.

Interpretation of the Findings

Findings and the Conceptual Framework: Bar-Tal's Psychological Infrastructure Concept

The findings of this study confirmed the basic premise of Bar-Tal's (1998, 2000, 2013) psychological infrastructure concept. Bar-Tal (2000) identified eight functional beliefs that members of society hold onto during periods of intractable conflict: security, positive self-image, unity, patriotism, peace, justness of one's own goals, delegitimization of the opponent, and victimization. He identified these beliefs as psychological instruments used by societal members to strengthen their resolve to perpetuate conflicts. The beliefs provide societal members with the motivational basis to continue on their path to perpetual violence because they enable people to cognitively process extreme violence and hatred through selective processing and biasing of information (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014). The more intense the violence, the more intense the cognitive processing. Eventually, the beliefs form thematic clusters and become prevalent in the narrative of the society by appearing frequently in leaders'

speeches, public forums, everyday language, forms of art, and even the collective memories of societal members. They become the ethos of society, and that is why Bar-Tal (Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2014) described the spirit of these societies as having an ethos of conflict.

Bar-Tal (1998, 2000, 2013) asserted that some of these beliefs are functional during times of intractable conflicts and during the peace process. The helpful beliefs are security, positive self-image, unity, patriotism, and peace. The three remaining beliefs, justness of one's own goals, delegitimization of the opponent, and victimization, are prevalent during times of conflict as a way for people to cope with immense violence and suffering but are not helpful during the peace process. This study confirmed Bar-Tal's concept of the presence of the functional societal beliefs during the peace process and the necessary absence of the dysfunctional ones. All three peace accords showed that the functional beliefs were present: Security occurred 46 times in the Northern Ireland agreement, 31 times in the Indonesian agreement, and 90 times in the South African agreement; and positive self-image occurred 50 times in the Northern Ireland agreement, 34 times in the Indonesian agreement, and 169 times in the South African agreement.

While Bar-Tal used five descriptors to define the positive self-image theme, two of those phrases were absent in all three accords: *reiterate intense self-justification, glorification, and praise;* and *contrast* we *and* they *using morality, fairness, courage, endurance, and trustworthiness*. Unity appeared 92 times in the Northern Ireland agreement, 12 times in the Indonesian agreement, and 28 times in the South African agreement; patriotism appeared eight times in the Northern Ireland agreement, two times

in the Indonesian agreement, and six times in the South African agreement; and peace appeared 29 times in the Northern Ireland agreement, three times in the Indonesian agreement, and eight times in the South African agreement. Furthermore, none of the three dysfunctional themes appeared in any of the three agreements.

In the results section of this study, the Venn diagrams showed that the provisions within the three agreements mentioned the five functional themes to various degrees; however, one of the five functional themes occurred most frequently as intersecting all three agreements—positive self-image. This theme occurred 216 times as intersecting all three agreements within a variety of provisions. The procedural theme occurred more frequently than any; however, it was void of societal themes and was necessary for implementation and organizational purposes. Positive self-image was used in three different accords representing three different cultures as the most frequently used intersecting theme of the three agreements, and two of the five phrases used to define this societal theme by Bar-Tal (1998, 2000, 2013) were absent in all three accords.

To understand the significance of this occurrence, I re-examined the phrases and words used by the leaders in the narratives of the accords to communicate the theme of positive self-image. In his original research, Bar-Tal (1998) indicated that the narratives of societies communicate positive self-image using phrases containing the following ideas: maintain beliefs that support their own positive self-image; characterize society with positive traits, values, and skills; emphasize positive contributions to mankind and civilization; reiterate intense self-justification, glorification, and praise; and contrast *we* and *they* using morality, fairness courage, endurance and trustworthiness. The three

accords contained 253 occurrences of the first three ideas in the list noted above and no

ideas containing intense self-justification and language contrasting *we* and *they*. In fact,

none of the accords contained any traces of language contrasting *we* and *they* on any level

or in any provision. The provisions linked functions and societal themes to unifying

words such as *all* and *everyone* in all three accords. For example, Figure 10 shows the

presence of inclusive words and their relationship to the positive self-image theme in the

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993.
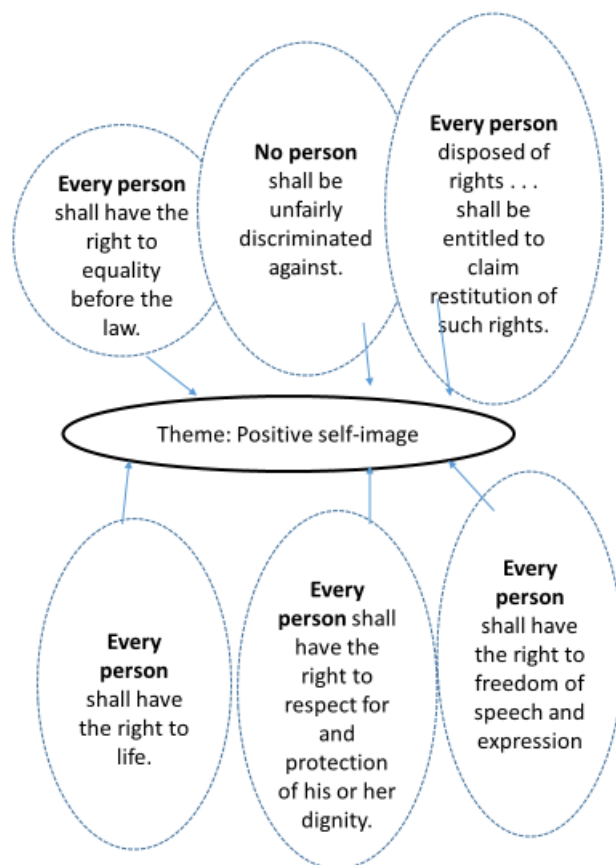
Figure 10. Relationship between inclusive language and positive self-image theme.

The narratives related to the other themes in all three accords demonstrated the presence of inclusive language as well. For example, Figure 11 shows that in the Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement, the theme of security was linked with inclusive words such as *all* and *community as a whole*.

Total disarmament to **all** paramilitary organisations

Police service capable of attracting and sustaining support from the **community as a whole**

Police service that can enjoy widespread support from, and is seen as an integral pat of the **community as a whole**.

Theme: Security

A new political dispensation which will recognize the full and equal legitimacy and worth of the identities, sense of allegiance and ethos of **all** sections of the community.

The development of a police service representativ e in terms of make-up of the **community as a whole** and which, in a peaceful environment, should be routinely unarmed.

A police service, in constructive and inclusive partnerships with the **community at all levels.**
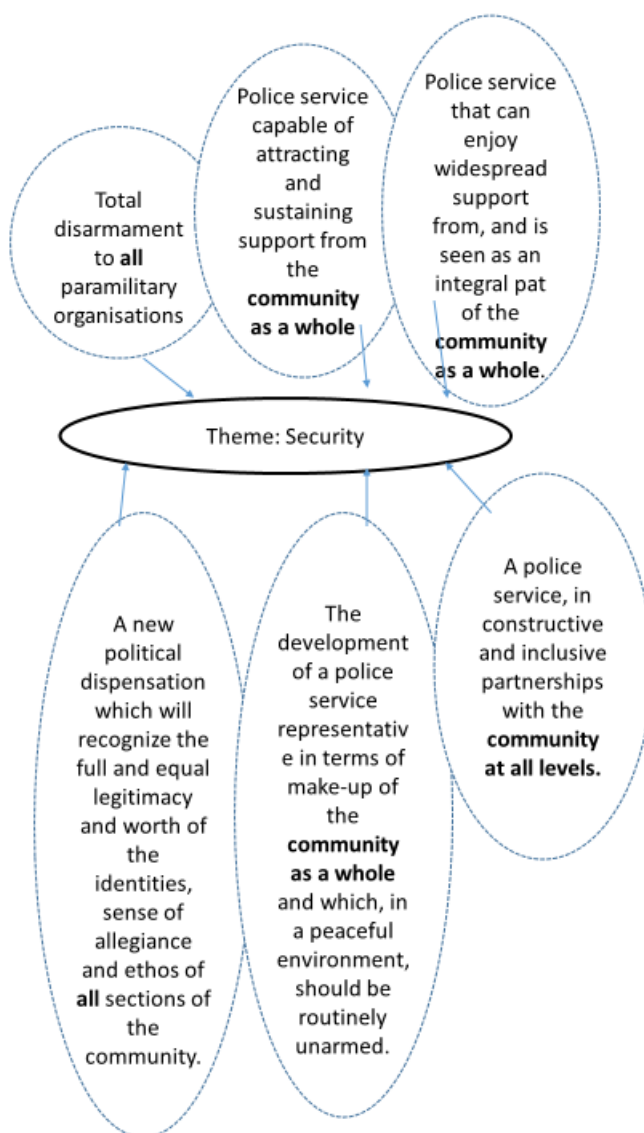
Figure 11. Relationship between inclusive language and security theme.

These results concur with Bar-Tal's (1998) findings. He indicated that people are motivated by societal beliefs and that when these beliefs are shared in narratives, speeches, and institutions, they have the power to inspire people to behave accordingly.

The awareness of sharing beliefs, attitudes, or emotions turns sharing into a

powerful socio-psychological mechanism that has crucial effects on a group or a

society. Shared beliefs, attitudes, and emotions are known to have important

cognitive, affective, and behavioral consequences both for the group's members as

individuals and for the group as whole, especially when their contents concern

themes related to the group's life. (p. 725)

Transformational leadership may offer a clue as to how leaders can write accords in such

a way as to make the contents relative to the lives of societal members.

Findings and the Conceptual Framework: Transformational Leadership

The leaders who wrote these accords, which ended decades of intense violence

and achieved over a 90% implementation rating, crafted narratives devoid of contrasting

and dehumanizing language. They broke through decades of narratives containing *we*

versus *they* and intense self-justification and crafted complex accords involving warring

factions using language to inspire the followers of both and all sides to achieve common

goals. Burns (1978) developed the idea of transformational leadership as a style whereby

leaders appeal to higher order morale and motivational needs. When the leaders who

wrote these three peace accords broke with norms and expressed their ideas of peace

between opposing parties with language of unity, peace, and positive self-image and

traits, they raised the consciousness of the societal members on all sides to "a higher level

of motivation and morality" (Burns, 197, p. 20). As a near perfect blueprint of Burns's

style of transformation leadership, they fused "the common but initially separate purposes

of leaders and followers into an enduring effort of mutual support" (Burns, 1978, p. 15).

The mutual support of warring factions was enduring, as indicated by the Kroc Institute's assigned implementation ratings of over 90% for these peace accords.

As noted in the literature review of this study, Bass (1985) developed four components of the leadership style: (1) idealized influence, (2) inspirational motivation, (3) intellectual stimulation, and (4) individualized consideration. This research showed that leaders wrote successful accords arising out of intractable conflicts with components that aligned with four components (Morhart, Herzog, & Tomczak, 2007):

1. *Idealized influence*: The narrative of the peace accords articulated a compelling new reality of *personal involvement* whereby the provisions described terms using unified positive self-images rather than one-sided ones. They were successful in connecting societal members' self-concept to the collective mission of the country by eliminating the pronoun *they* and connecting the pronoun *we* with positive self-images.

2. *Inspirational motivation*: The narratives of the provisions of the accords consisted of high frequencies of positive self-images motivating both groups to authentically *live together,* rather than using one-sided phrases supporting one group and dehumanizing the other.

3. *Intellectual stimulation*: The narratives of the provisions consisted of inclusive phrases of positive self-image in a way that stimulated the imagination of members of society to rethink the way in which they would *work together* in harmony with rival parties.

4. *Individualized consideration*: Phrases containing positive self-images and procedural rules teach societal members how they can *grow together* in their new roles as representatives of their group in a harmonious way with their rivals.

The sections below contain specific examples in which the narratives of the peace accords enhanced a new ethos of peace using the four components.

First, the idealized influence component emerged in the accords in the way the narratives described the new reality by arousing emotionally positive values without distinction between *we* and *they*. For example, the narratives repeated phrases describing positive self-images frequently with equal weight or credit given to both sides rather than contrasting the two parties. These phrases contained emotionally arousing language to instill personal feelings of pride, harmony, and fairness in a unified way to instill personal involvement of every citizen in the new reality of peace between rivals. For example, within the Declaration of Support clause of the Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement, the narrative gave equal credit to people of the North and South for coming to an agreement: "Accordingly, in a spirit of concord, we strongly commend this agreement to the people, North and South, for their approval" (Declaration of Support section, para. 6). Similarly, in the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese Republic on the Question of East Timor, the clause calling for the protection of human rights indicates, "The Central Government of the SARET shall promote, protect and respect human rights and fundamental freedoms without discrimination of any kind" (Promotion and Protection of Human Rights section, Article 46). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

indicated in the fundamental rights section, "Every child shall have the right to a name and nationality as from birth" [Fundamental Rights section, para. 30(1) (a)]. The inclusive language described a compelling, new unified society and aroused emotions of personal involvement in the peace process.

Second, the inspirational motivation component was manifested when the narratives articulated a vision of how the rivals could live together harmoniously. For example, within the intergovernmental provision in the Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement, the language emphasized equality in how disagreements would be resolved: "All decisions will be by agreement between both Governments. The Governments will make determined efforts to resolve disagreements between them. There will be no derogation from the sovereignty of either Government" (British Irish Intergovernmental Conference section, para. 4). These agreements used unifying language to show how the two sides could live together authentically.

Third, the intellectual stimulation component emerged when the text convinced societal members that they could work together in peace with their rivals. For example, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa indicated in the section on national unity and reconciliation that those who work toward political objectives shall be granted amnesty, essentially paving the way for rivals to work together peacefully toward political goals:

In order to advance such reconciliation and reconstruction, amnesty shall be

granted in respect of acts, omissions and offences associated with political

objectives and committed in the course of the conflicts of the past. (National

Unity section, para. 4)

In a society with decades of inequality between races, this powerful clause would make

every member rethink how they will work together in the future.

Fourth, the individualized consideration component describes how members of

society can grow together in their roles with their rivals. In particular, the agreements

contain sections that described procedural matters to help governmental departments

enact the provisions of the new agreements. All three agreements provided the

mechanisms in which representatives of the community could grow in their individual

roles as committee members, governmental leaders, or public service representatives.

When these clauses contained positive self-images, they were coaching the workers to

grow in their new roles. For example, the Republic of Indonesia and the Portuguese

Republic on the Question of East Timor Agreement indicated in the establishment of

executive powers section that the government shall ensure that new programs are

administered by those employed to enact them faithfully:

The Government of the SARET shall have the competence to design, guide and

implement policies and programmes and issue executive decrees and regulations

within the scope of the laws of the SARET. It shall also be responsible for

ensuring that all laws and regulations applicable in the SARET are faithfully

administered and enforced. (Executive Powers section, Article 27)

The writers used an emotionally arousing term, *faithful*, with the concept of how

employees will grow together in their new roles.

In short, the peace accords enabled societal members to internalize their new reality using role-based language that redefined their own self-concepts in a way that would change their behavior to work toward a common goal of peace for all. The procedural provisions helped the leaders practically by creating an environment that would allow for a new ethos of peace. But procedures are not enough. The bulk of the accords were resplendent with themes of positive self-image, which allowed for the satisfaction of people's needs for relatedness, personal involvement, and pride in their new reality. Essentially, the narratives of the accords developed an expanded concept of self-image to include not only one's own social group but rivals too. The insight drawn from this study merges Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept and Bass's (1985) transformational leadership style to form a new model of negotiating peace in intractable conflicts. Figure 12 illustrates a new peace accord transformational leadership model emerging from this research:
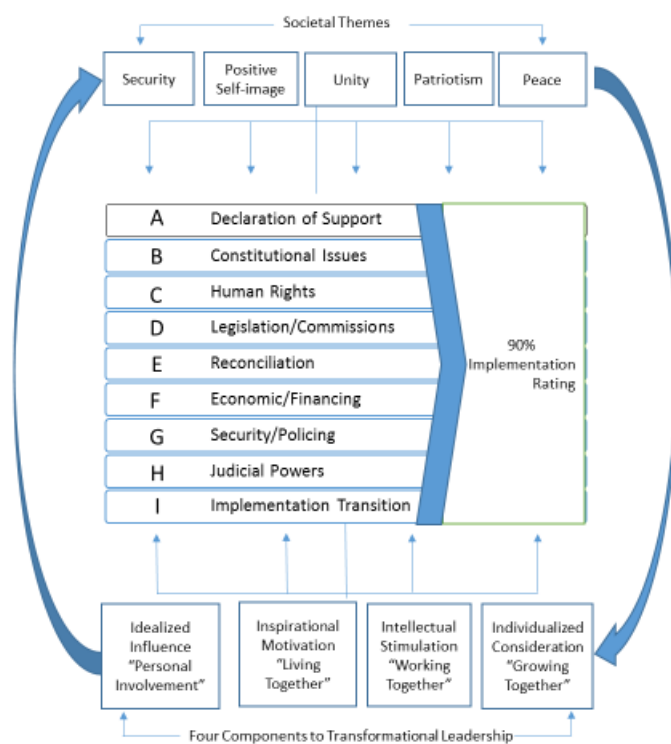
Figure 12. Peace accord transformational leadership model.

The peace accord transformational leadership model shows how the five functional themes derived from Bar-Tal's (1998, 2000, 2013) psychological infrastructure concept, together with the four pillars of transformational leadership, can work together to help leaders write accords arising out of intractable conflicts so that they may achieve a 90% or greater implementation rating.

Transformational leaders who cultivate a positive affective tone can inspire the group to work towards a common goal at a high level of performance (Wu & Wang, 2015). They do this by creating mood of enthusiasm and excitement and avoiding distressing language. All three accords contained positive themes related to peace, unity, and positive self-image and were completely devoid of distressing themes such as victimization and negative language to describe opponents. They demonstrated the effectiveness of language in creating a positive affective tone. Furthermore, just as transformational leadership inspires members of organizations to work toward the good of the whole, as a global leadership style, transformational leadership can be effective in getting members of societies to sacrifice self-interests for the good of the country (Trma, 2015). Because all three accords were derived from intractable conflicts, the societal members in the corresponding areas had suffered high degrees of violence for long periods of time. In order to convince them to shift their thinking away from conflict and toward peace, the leaders had to inspire them to sacrifice their own interests in seeking vengeance for the good of the country.

Hoxha (2015) indicated that transformational leadership refers to a style whereby the leader influences employees' behavior in a positive direction. Is it possible to find

more starkly contrasted examples of changed follower behavior than those moments in

history where warring factions transform from decades and generations of hatred and

violence into enduring peace? The leaders who wrote the three accords changed the ethos

of broken societies from those of conflict to peace. They accomplished this feat by

transforming the goals and values of people in a very significant way. The narratives

expanded every person's concept of *self* from including not only one's own group

members but also rivals. It is this type of change that Burns wrote about in defining

transformational leadership (1978, p. 425). Burns (1985, 1999) believed that if leaders

could change their thinking away from a transactional one and into an empowerment one,

they could affect entire paradigm shifts. These three accords demonstrated how

transformational leadership can be applied in writing the narratives of agreements in

intractable conflicts and affect a paradigm shift away from conflict and toward peace.

Findings and Other Literature Review Studies

As indicated in the literature review, Firer (1985) analyzed the content of Jewish

history textbooks during period of heightened conflict between 1948 – 1984. During this

period of intractable conflict, the school textbooks showed a presence of both functional

and dysfunctional societal beliefs because the books helped the children cope with the

unending violence. This study did not analyze narratives occurring during the height of

the conflict, but rather narratives written during the peace process with the peace accords.

The accords indicated that none of the dysfunctional beliefs were present within them.

This finding is congruous with Bar-Tal's (1998) subsequent study of textbooks used in

the Israeli educational system in 1994 – a period of relative calm – where he found that

the presence of dysfunctional beliefs diminished significantly in the texts. The two

textbook studies demonstrated that during periods of intractable conflict, societal

narratives contained all eight societal themes, but during periods of peace only the five

functional ones largely remain. This study captured the narratives contained within peace

accords written during the peace process and the results concur with Firer's and Bar-Tal's

studies.

     Mayer et al. (2012) created a structural equation model to determine the

relationship between ethical leadership and unethical employee behavior. They found that

if leaders behave ethically, they are more likely to have positive follower citizenship.

This finding concurs with the results here because the successful accords all achieved an

implementation rating of 90% or greater. The implementation rating indicates the degree

to which members of society complied with the terms of the agreements. The agreements

demonstrated qualities of ethical leadership because the narratives are absent of

inflammatory rhetoric that incites violence like themes related to justness of one's own

goals, delegitimization of the opponent, and victimization.

     Güleç (2015) examined the role of language and other factors in the creation of

ideation structures that affect societal members' identities. He found that social identities

can be transformed though constructs such as ideas. If leaders emphasize common

interest between rivals, they can engage opposing factions into constructive dialogues.

The findings of this study support Güleç's premise because they include images of

positive self-image that are inclusive and not divisive. Because all of the selected peace

accords achieved at least a 90% implementation rating were devoid of dysfunctional

themes, the leaders crafted narratives using respectful and inclusive language that expanded social identities to include all rival groups and ended decades of violence.

Tebboth's (2014) research indicated that leaders who build constructive dialogue around issues, by reframing contentious issues using positive language, are able to find consensus among warring factions. This work supports Tebboth's findings because all of the peace accords used here achieved a 90% implementation rating or greater. As well, accords were devoid of dysfunctional themes and contained only functional themes. It showed that positive language can be used to discuss contentious issues with excellent results.

Schiff (2014) conducted a directed content analysis on narratives contained societies engaged in serious conflicts. He found that external pressures, such as a tsunami disaster, contributed to bringing opposing parties to the negotiations table. Similarly, this study used a directed content analysis on accords to provide clarity on the presence of functional themes, and the absence of dysfunctional themes, in highly successful accords arising out of intractable conflicts.

Curless and Roth's (2013) study of the Sudanese civil war showed that leaders can have a transformative effect on followers if they negotiate a successful accord during an intractable conflict. Similarly, this research revealed that the leaders who negotiated the three accords successfully transformed societies away from conflict and toward a new ethos of peace. Both studies demonstrated that transformational leadership may be a useful approach when negotiating agreements arising out of intractable conflicts.

Limitations of the Study

The sample data met the requirements of the research design. First, the documents met the credibility test because all of the selected accords arose out of conflicts lasting no less than twenty years and were assigned an implementation rating of at least 90%. As well, in place of intercoder testing, I kept careful notes alongside the documents indicating which phrases within the documents were ascribed to the various themes. This note taking process brought to my attention the need to include a thematic analysis by provision. It demonstrated my conscious awareness of the practical application of the codes and satisfied any suspicions that the codes were manipulated.

A limitation of this research is that the Kroc Institute keeps track of accords signed in 1989 or later. Consequently, the limitation of using this database is that it may not be exhaustive and may be missing important peace accords, such as interstate ones and those written prior to 1989. Some of these accords may contain valuable insights into the research questions of this study. This limitation has potential for future research in that older accords could contain information that addresses the research questions of this study. As well, the small sample size is a methodological limitation but justifiable because all of the accords achieved high implementation ratings.

Another limitation of this study is that none of the research questions addressed sentence syntax. A finding of this study is that none of the accords used divisive language but rather all of the accords used inclusive language. It was shown that the sense of positive self-image was expressed in all accords using pronouns, like *we*, and was absent of contrasting pronouns such as *we* versus *they*. The implications for future research are

that research questions could explore the narratives of successful accords in more detail to determine specific sentence syntax used to communicate the inclusive positive self-image.

Recommendations

Research in the area of transformational leadership within organizations addresses ways in which leaders can inspire cooperation and trust from the other party. Pradhan and Pradhan (2015) recommended further work is needed to examine specific ways leaders can call upon followers and subordinates to exhibit extra-behavior above normal expectations. Certainly, expecting members of society to switch their thinking from conflict-based interactions to peace-based ones is above the ordinary. Pradhan and Pradhan indicated that future research is needed to understand the role mediators play in helping leaders achieve super-ordinate results from followers. Mediator research could assist leaders in their efforts to negotiate peace between warring parties. Secondly, Wu and Wang (2015) researched how positive affective tone energizes an organizational team and motivates them to achieve higher performance targets. They recommended that researchers investigate complex multilevel processes used to identify the opportunities of the team and to inspire their performance. Peace negotiators could benefit from research that examines the bargaining process between warring leaders. Thirdly, de Oliveira Rodrigues and Ferreira (2015) studied the impact transformational leadership has on organizational citizenship behavior with a specific emphasis on effective communication. They recommended more investigation be done to understand how leaders can use programs, workshops, and lectures as a way to garner trust and cooperation among

employees. Similarly, leaders operating within intractable conflicts could benefit from research that examines how they could use such meetings as a way to build cooperation between diverse groups within conflict laden societies.

Transformational leadership has been studied in the context of political arenas around the world. Ghasabeh et al. (2015) examined how leaders can activate intellectual stimulation in a way that stimulates new ideas. They suggested that further empirical investigations be conducted into how transformational leadership operates within local organizations operating globally. Such research could be useful to leaders negotiating peace accords because their constituents are local people. By understanding how they can be inspired, they could apply that knowledge to motivating them to adhere to the terms of peace agreements. Secondly, Trmal et al. (2015) studied how transformational leadership transverses borders and religions. They suggested that future research examine the processes that leaders use to activate high performance employees. Similarly, leaders who negotiate peace agreements could benefit because complex negotiations involve complex processes so they may gain insight from the research suggested above. Thirdly, Haperin (2015) studied emotional processes during intractable conflicts. They suggested that future studies examine how social media helps people regulate their emotions during conflict. This research could benefit leaders who negotiate peace agreements because they would have a better understanding of the language and expressions that incite and heal emotions within specific societies. Finally, Nets-Zehngut and Bar-Tal (2014) studied the official memory of Israel during a specific conflict. They suggested that researchers look at how collective memory of conflict changes. This research could help leaders

because they could draw upon key themes and use the constructive ones to win cooperation and trust among societal members.

This dissertation explored how three peace accords, each achieving a 90% or greater implementation rating, contained narratives related to five functional themes and absent three dysfunctional themes. Furthermore, it found that the societal theme, positive self-image appeared with a higher degree of frequency than any other societal theme. Furthermore, it was found that narrative of the accords in this study used this theme with a unified *we* rather than a *we* versus *they* approach, so it appears the rival groups were able to identify with the values in the accords. Consequently, it may be helpful for leaders who write accords to understand the common, positive values of the rival groups and to incorporate those values in their narratives. Future research exploring the values of rival parties could help leaders develop a lexicon of functional words and phrases most likely to appeal in a positive way to the emotions of warring factions.

This study found that all three peace accords contained functional themes with high frequency, especially the theme of positive self-image. These images were coupled with the *we* pronoun rather than with the *we* versus *they* pattern, and they communicated an expanded sense of *self* beyond one's own group and encompassing rivals as well. This affective tone used throughout the narratives connected society members to a collective goal. Future research exploring the frequency of the functional themes in the least successful peace accords may shed light on the importance of repeating the positive social themes. As well, research exploring the sentence structure and use of contrasting

pronouns in the least successful peace accords may shed light on the importance of syntax.

Implications

Intractable conflicts are vicious, prolonged conflicts that last at least 20 years and sometimes even centuries (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000, 2013). They are notoriously difficult to resolve because they involve disputes over issues such as religion, land, natural resources, human rights, self-determination, and power. Bar-Tal noted that they are difficult to resolved because they "are accompanied by intense socio-psychological forces" (2013, p. 1). Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept may help leaders understand that their narratives used in speeches and peace agreements contain the power to incite violence and the power to end it. By using the five constructive societal themes and avoiding the three destructive ones, leaders might be able to accomplish their goals and avoid massive human suffering triggered by words of hate.

This study found that highly successful peace accords arising out of intractable conflicts stemming from three different cultures had three important commonalities. First, the narratives contained five functional societal themes defined by Bar-Tal (2013) as helpful in transitioning a society out of an ethos of conflict and into an ethos of peace, and they were absent three dysfunctional themes known to be present during and ethos of conflict. Second, the accords exhibited a high frequency of the positive self-image theme. The accords coupled the themes with group-related words such as *we* and *all* and avoided contrasting pronouns, such as *we* versus *they*. The narratives of the accords connected with society members in such a way as to help them expand their own narrow sense of

self-concept beyond their own group to include the collective self. This new inclusive concept was linked with the greater mission of sustaining peace.

Third, this study showed how the four pillars of transformational leadership emerged from the compelling narratives of the accords. The narratives incorporated four functions within their provisions: living together, working together, growing together, and getting involved with a personal commitment. The three dimensions – nine provisions, five societal themes, and four transformational leadership components – were interconnected in three peace accords emerging from three different cultures in such a way as to create a paradigm shift for society members expanding their narrow sense of self into a new collective self, encompassing rivals and all. As a result, a new *peace accords transformational leadership model* was developed to help leaders understand the interrelatedness of these three dimensions.

As a way of describing the potential impact for positive social change, it may helpful to review the number of casualties resulting from a few conflicts in the world in order to press upon the readers the importance and urgency in negotiating successful peace accords. The brief analysis below provides a quantitative way of understanding the human cost of war with the aim of illustrating the positive social change that could (or could have) potentially resulted from expediently negotiating successful peace accords in war. The narrative below provides a short summary of the conflict, the total number of fatalities, and, in some cases, an annualized average per year. The fatalities do not occur in an even distribution through the years; however, this average number of deaths per year enumerates the war dead and humanizes the cost of war (Stec, 2016).

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict began at the start of the 20th century but reached its climax from 1936 – 1939 with the Arab rebellion against the British rule (Bar-Tal, 2013). More violence broke out in 1947 following the UN decision to divide the contested territory between the two groups. Subsequently, at least four additional wars ensued between the two groups. The Arab-Israeli War from 1948-49 resulted in 21,111 deaths alone (Polynational War Memorial, 2016). In other words, using the annualized average death rate, for every year the leaders were unsuccessful in negotiating a peace agreement, 21,111 more people were killed.

World War II lasted from 1939 to 1945 and involved most of the world's powers in which they employed every aspect of their nations' resources in the war effort ("*All the wars of the world*," 2016). Germany invaded Poland, parts of Europe, Russia, and North Africa; Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, Asia, and the Pacific; the Soviet Union annexed European countries and invaded Germany; the Western Allies fought against Germany; and the United States ended the war by dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, forcing Japan to surrender. Experts estimate the number of casualties of this war to be over 50,000,000 including the extermination of four million Jewish people in the Holocaust, the democide of 5,424,000 Japanese, and the death of 20,365,000 civilians (Gruhl, 2007; Rummel, 1998). The average annualized casualty rate indicates that for every year the leaders failed to negotiate successful peace agreements, 8,333,333 additional people died.

On June 25, 1950 war broke out between North and South Korea and lasted until July 27, 1953 ("*All the wars of the world*," 2016). The roots of this war lie in the division

of the peninsula by the Americas after World War II following the fall of the Empire of

Japan, which ruled the Korean Peninsula until then. The Americans designated the

northern half to be occupied by the Soviet military and the southern half to be occupied

by U.S. military. Shortly thereafter, the two regions began their dispute following the

failure to hold democratic elections in 1948. On June 25, 1950, the North invaded the

South and the battle for territory began. The Americans supplied over 300,000 soldiers to

the South while the Chinese and Soviet Union supplied the North. Following the death of

995,025 people, the two regions restored the original border at the 38th Parallel. If leaders

had been able to negotiate a successful peace agreement, nearly one million lives would

have been saved in this three year period.

The Vietnam War began on November 1, 1955 and ended with the fall of Saigon

on April 30, 1975 (Polynational War Memorial, 2016). It was a battle between North

Vietnam, supported by communist countries such as the Soviet Union and China, and

South Vietnam, supported by anticommunist countries such as the United States,

Australia, South Korea, and Thailand, who saw their involvement in this war as a fight

against the spread of communism. Additionally, a South Vietnamese force, the Viet

Cong, engaged in guerrilla warfare against the South Vietnamese and their

anticommunist allies. When the U.S. population rallied for their government to withdraw

troops, the American's gradually passed onto the South Vietnamese the task of

combatting the North. Twenty months later, the North Vietnamese captured Saigon and

the country was reunified. Estimates of casualties in this war reach as high as 3.8 million

people. For every year the leaders failed to negotiate a peace agreement, 190,000

additional people were killed.

Guatemala was involved in a violent civil war lasting 36 years, from 1960 to 1996

(Bar-Tal, 2013). When a new president was elected democratically in 1945, the

government instituted a new agrarian land reform plan. With help from the US

government, the economic elite overthrew his successor in 1954 to protect their own

interests. After years of repression, racism, and economic discrimination, left wing

political groups organized guerilla groups who fought in bloody battles to try to win back

their democratic rights. Eventually, the groups realized that the only way to achieve a

peaceful resolution was through negotiations leading to the reinstatement of democracy.

The 36 years of civil war resulted in the deaths of 200,000 civilians and the

disappearance of another 40,000. Using the average annualized death rate for this

conflict, for every year the leaders were unsuccessful in negotiating a peace agreement,

6,666 more deaths occurred.

On November 28, 1975, political leader, Fretilin, announced a unilateral

declaration of independence of East Timor from Indonesia (Polynational War Memorial,

2016). Although the leaders signed a declaration, shortly thereafter, the Indonesian

military invaded East Timor in a massive attack. The initial invasion lasted

approximately two months and killed 60,000 Timorese and resulted in the rape of an

uncounted number of women. Twenty four years later, international pressure resulted in

Indonesia relinquishing control of East Timor, ending the conflict. It is estimated that

between 100,000 to 350,000 people died in this conflict. The total population of East

Timor was only 800,000. Using the annualized average date rate, for every year the leaders were unable to negotiate a peace agreement another 14,583 deaths occurred.

The Iran-Iraq War (i.e. the First Persian Gulf War) began in 1980 and lasted until 1988 (Polynational War Memorial, 2016). The origins of this war can be found in territorial disputes between the two sovereign countries. The roots of this war extend back to 1975 when hostilities arose between Iran and Iraq over the Shatt al-Arab waterway, and the Iranian Revolution in 1979 when oppressed Shi'ites in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait felt empowered to turn against their local governments. It is estimated that the number of deaths from the First Persian Gulf War are approximately 644,500. Using the annualized average death rate, for every year the leaders were unsuccessful in negotiating a peace agreement, 80,562 more people were killed.

The Syrian Civil War began on March 15, 2011, when civilians began protesting against the ruling regime and demanding more democracy (Polynational War Memorial, 2016). Civilians soon turned their protests against the then president Bashar al-Assad. Soon thereafter, the Syrian Army moved on the civilians causing the death of thousands and the defecting of soldiers to form their own coalition to oust the ruling government. Rebel forces got involved and the fighting spread across Syria. As of the writing of this study, the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights reports total casualties since the start of the civil war to be 437,363, or 11.5% of the population. Severe human rights violations include mass killings, the besieging of civilians, starvation, the death of children, and the rape of approximately 6000 women ("*Syria conflict*," 2013). Using the annual averaged numbers in this conflict, for every year leaders are unsuccessful in negotiating a

successful peace accord, 87,472 more people are being killed, and another one hundred

children and 1200 women are being raped.

The obvious question is if negotiating peace in conflict is as straightforward as

creating proper narratives, then what prevents leaders from using them so they can avoid

all this misery? Bar-Tal (2013) indicates that it is difficult to get the local leaders to

change their narratives for the following reasons: (a) sometimes conflict is needed in

order to change deplorable situations; (b) sometimes the leaders' moral norms come from

a different era and those values conflict with contemporary values; (c) often the society

has entrenched and unjustified deprivation between groups and the leaders do not want to

change the status quo; and (d) some leaders incite conflict to keep impoverished

segments of society from developing. Despite these factors, leaders have the power to

resolve intractable conflicts. By understanding the effect of their own narratives, they can

change the emotions of the public from those that fuel the violence to those that wish to

create peace.

Recommendations for leaders governing within intractable conflicts include not

only negotiating terms of peace with the principles of functional narratives in mind, but

also influencing the wider narrative in society to create the idea among the public that

peace is possible. "Only when society members begin to question its basic assumptions

and start to create an alternative narrative is there a possibility that the conflict may be

resolved " (Bar-Tal, 2013, p. 439). Specific recommendations to leaders for practice

follow:

1. Influence the master narrative of the society by reinforcing the five functional themes and avoiding the tendency to engage in hateful narratives that dehumanize the enemy, justify the violence, and refer to themselves as victims.

2. Negotiate and communicate with rivals reinforcing the five functional themes and avoiding narratives that dehumanize them, justify the violence, and accuse them as the perpetrators of the violence. Dovetail the functional themes with unifying pronouns, like *we*, and avoid contrasting syntax.

3. Ensure that provisions address the spirit of the four pillars of transformational leadership by repeating and reinforcing the societal members' personal involvement in the mission, how they can live together with their enemies, how they can work together with their rivals, and how they grow in their new roles alongside their rivals.

Leaders could be educated on available research with workshops, coaching, peace education, and white papers.

Bar-Tal (2013) indicates that in cases where it is either impossible for the societies to negotiate peace, or when they simply choose not to, then it may be advisable for the international community to step in. He suggests that just as the United Nations established the International Court of Justice to resolve legal disputes, it could establish a new international organization with enforcement powers to resolve conflicts.

Conclusion

A most critical challenge for the world today is to determine how to resolve intractable conflicts. This study extrapolated Bar-Tal's psychological infrastructure concept from his research on the presence of eight societal themes found within Israeli textbooks during a period of relative calm to three successful peace accords arising out of intractable conflicts. This research shows that these highly successful peace accords contain a strong presence of the five functional themes identified by Bar-Tal as being present both during the conflict and after its resolution and a complete absence of the three dysfunctional themes known to be present during the conflict, but thought to be counterproductive during and after the peace process. Furthermore, this study indicates that carefully crafted narratives using inclusive words together with the societal themes, especially positive self-image, have the power to expand its members' concept of self beyond their own social group to include rivals. Finally, the content of the accords contained four practical functions for societal members, which align with the four pillars of transformational leadership: personal involvement in the mission (idealized influence), living together (inspirational motivation), working together (intellectual stimulation), and growing together (individualized consideration).

The implications for social change are that if leaders begin to recognize that their narratives have the power to both fuel the violence and end it, they would be empowered to end the cycle of violence and negotiate peace accords that could transition their societies out of an ethos of conflict and into an ethos of peace. In cases where the leaders are powerless to end the violence, or lack the will to do so, the international community

could mediate peace agreements with a new international organization equipped with enforcement powers and founded upon universal moral principles of protection of the vulnerable, justice, human rights, and peace (Bar-Tal, 2013).

This study demonstrates that agreements are possible between rivals after decades of violence and mass destruction. It provides a three dimensional model interconnecting nine provisions, five societal themes, and four functions together with inclusive language to narratives proven to successfully transition societies away from conflict and into a lasting peace. Figure 12 illustrates these three dimensions in a new peace accords transformational leadership model. The next step involves educating leaders on the power of their narratives, motivating them to create master narratives of peace not war, and the development of a new, international organization with the power to intervene and negotiate peace. One thing is clear from the results of this study: only unity can stop the terrible ravages of war. The time of excluding and dehumanizing rival groups is past. Societal members need to take on a new identity -- one that expands each member's concept of self to include the collective self, both friends and foes. Humanity has perfected the art of hate; perhaps it is time for us to perfect the art of love.

Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate;

only love can do that.

Martin Luther King

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