Shifting Practices of Peace: What is the current state of Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping?

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Abstract

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Unarmed civilian peacekeeping (UCP) has grown in recognition and practice in the past several decades.   Evidence suggests that UCP is as effective as traditional military peacekeeping operations, but is more cost-effective and more likely to assist local civil society organizations to build long lasting peace. However, a comprehensive account of the state of UCP, including location, organizations, activities, training and risks remains elusive. This paper offers a description and analysis of unarmed civilian peacekeeping activities from 1990 to the present, by gathering information from the literature, organizational websites and from a survey sent to organizations. Notable findings include: UCP has grown significantly since 1990, as evidenced by widening geographical presence and growth of UCP organizations. Additionally, while there have been injuries and fatalities, the rate is lower than for traditional military peacekeeping. Finally, information regarding training, principles and activities prompts reflections on issues such as appropriate and best practices, challenges in defining UCP, and the implications of core values.

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Introduction

Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping (UCP) is a concept that has grown in theory and practice over the past several decades. Perhaps known best by the activity of providing protective accompaniment to civilians in situations of potential violence, UCP has evolved from several small organizations to a large array of groups that implement a wide spectrum of sophisticated and evidence-based activities with international influence. UCP represents a conscious shift away from perpetuating the cycle of violence by utilizing nonviolent interventions to reduce violence in both local and global conflicts. It is a response to the call to go beyond simply condemning war, to also engage in effective strategies to reduce global reliance on military operations, and to engage in processes that create and nurture authentic cultures of peace.

Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping has been touted as "the next generation of peacekeeping" (Tshiband, 2010) and has been showcased as "transforming the world's response to conflict" (Nonviolent Peaceforce, 2014a) because it is effective (Mahoney, 2006; Schirch, 2006) and likely much less costly than traditional military peacekeeping missions (Schweitzer, no date; Tshiband, 2010). Thus in many ways, UCP represents a transformative shift in how we respond to violence both at the local and global levels. However, In spite of the increase in activity, a common definition of UCP remains elusive, as does a comprehensive account of the number and size of operations, nature of strategies, length of training for personnel and risks associated with the work. The purpose of this study is to describe the current state of UCP in terms of these aspects. Information presented represents UCP activities from 1990 to the present. By attempting to compile all UCP activities over the past several decades, it is hoped that progress can be made to achieve an accurate and common understanding of activities and trends, method of defining UCP, and to document the scope, breadth and trends of its practice globally. A systematic description of current practices will also hopefully identify gaps in terms of information on UCP as well as variations and inconsistencies in ways organizations, practitioners and researchers interpret the role of UCP.

Background Information

Unarmed Civilian peacekeeping has already been described with great detail in the literature (see Schweitzer, 2010; Schirch, 2006; Mahoney & Eguren, 1997), but nonetheless remains a term not well-recognized outside humanitarian and activist circles (Godbout, 2012).

Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping (UCP) utilizes non-military (civilian) personnel to perform various roles traditionally conducted by armed soldiers. The goal is the same: to prevent or reduce direct violence between warring factions.   Whereas traditional peacekeeping operations, best known by United Nations Blue Helmets, seek to reduce violence through the implicit or explicit threat of using violence or military force against those who do not comply, unarmed civilian peacekeepers utilize nonviolent strategies to influence parties to refrain from violence. Nonviolent forms of influence include the power of moral authority, economic and political leverage, media attention, specialized training in nonviolent strategies (such as

mediation, de-escalation and relationship building), the power of numbers and specialized communication strategies such as rumor control (Schirch 2006).

Peacekeeping, whether traditional or unarmed, is often juxtaposed against the concepts of peacebuilding and peacemaking, whereby peacebuilding involves addressing the political, economic and social determinants of violence in order to create positive peace, and peacemaking involves diplomatic efforts such as mediation and negotiation to resolve conflict before it becomes violent. Peacekeeping is a more specific activity, typically involving a third party preventing groups in conflict from harming each other, and thus ideally creating the space for peacebuilding and peacemaking to occur (Galtung, 1996).

Peacekeeping has evolved greatly over the past 60 years and is now more often implemented with complimentary peacebuilding and peacemaking activities, often blurring the lines among these three interrelated activities. Peacekeeping, however, is still primarily viewed as a military endeavor. While traditional military peacekeeping has demonstrated effectiveness in reducing violence between warring parties and protecting civilians in the process (Koko & Essis, 2012), unarmed civilian peacekeeping is touted as going beyond the goal of reducing violence (negative peace) to actively building cultures of peace, by engaging and building local capacity, and by challenging the belief that arms and violence are the most effective deterrents to violence.

Utilizing unarmed civilians to reduce violence between warring parties probably goes back for centuries, and was popularized by Gandhi's vision of a peace army or "shanti sena" (Weber, 1996), which created a nonviolent effective force in curtailing violence between groups, and influenced current groups engaged in UCP. Following Gandhi's example, the number of UCP organizations has greatly expanded since the early 1990's (Mahoney and Eguren, 1996). When UCP organizations sprouted up in the eighties and nineties, often faith based western responses to human rights crises in the global south (such as Central America), organizations relied upon volunteers with minimal training and shoe string budgets. UCP has evolved since that time, both in scope and in sophistication, as evidenced by the conceptual framework developed by Nonviolent Peaceforce (2014b) outlining key principles, skills, methodologies and sources of guidance for UCP, and by the development of a comprehensive curriculum to educate students of UCP. UCP has now found its way into the discourse of the United Nations by tying its principles and actions to current nomenclature of humanitarian work, including the concepts of protection of civilians (POC), responsibility to protect (R2P), human rights law and the building of cultures of peace (Nonviolent Peaceforce, 2014b).

Further evidence of UCP's expanding scope can be demonstrated by the creation of domestic UCP programs that target violence in urban neighbourhoods (for example, Cure Violence) and in schools (for example Chicago School Project), grounding UCP in the broad rubric of nonviolence and building cultures of peace.

With this seemingly rapid expansion of both scope and application of the practices of UCP, it seems timely to take stock of where and how UCP is occurring around the globe. Specifically, this project has undertaken the quest to describe the following:

What organizations are engaged in UCP?
Where is UCP occurring?
What does UCP look like?
How are UCP practitioners trained?

What are the outcomes?
What are the risks to UCP practitioners?

Methodology

Because no standardized definition of unarmed civilian peacekeeping exists, developing inclusion criteria for UCP organizations erred on the side of inclusion, using broad criteria, hoping to ensure all organizations and projects engaged in UCP would be captured by this study. As Carriere states (personal communication, December 6, 2013) "UCP is like a harmonica... you define it one way, you get a lot of projects; but defining it another way, you get much less". For the purposes of this project, organizations were included if a) they engaged in one of the main strategies of UCP (accompaniment, protective presence, monitoring and reporting), b) the organization had an "on-the-ground" presence in the area they were working, and c) the organization utilized nonviolent principles and strategies. Utilizing these criteria excluded organizations whose main purpose is to gather information on human rights issues (such as Amnesty international). Although monitoring and reporting is a key component to UCP, in itself is not comprehensive enough to be considered peacekeeping. The criterion of nonviolence excluded some large organizations such as the United Nations, who do have civilian teams engaged in peacekeeping. However, current data on UN operations made it difficult to separate their unarmed peacekeeping from their conventional military operations, and also from other United Nations civilian staff whose work would more typically fall under peacemaking or peacebuilding activities.   The list of organizations and projects (for simplicity, referred to as "organizations" henceforward) was gathered through literature search and consultation of UCP practitioners. Ultimately, a list of 50 organizations that engaged in UCP activities from 1990 to the present was formulated. Organizations that did not meet the criteria included organizations that stopped UCP activities before 1990, and organizations whose activities primarily focussed on peacebuilding (for example Friends Peace Teams) or did not have a long standing presence on the ground (for example Bahrain Witness).   Arriving at a precise number of UCP organizations was complicated by the fact that organizations often collaborated to form coalitions with new names. For example, in Haiti, a number of UCP organizations coordinated their efforts under this new name of Cry for Justice. Another collaboration example is ACOGUATE, which is a coalition of up to eleven organizations from around the world, who coordinate UCP efforts in Guatemala. Table One lists the fifty organizations that were included in this study.

Table One: Fifty Organizations that have engaged in UCP Activities since 1990

AAPGuatemala
ACOGUATE
Balkan Peace Teams(Otverene Oci)
Beati I Construttori di pace
Breaking the Silence
Cadena para un retorno accompanado (CAREA)
Christian Peacemaker Teams
Collectif Guatemala
Cry for Justice Coalition
Cure Violence
Ecumenical Accompaniment Program in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI)
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Forum Civil Peace Service
Guatemala Solidarity Network
Gulf Peace Team
International Action for Peace
International Checkpoint Watch
International Federation for East Timor
International Monitoring Team
International Peace Observatory
International Solidarity Movement
International Women's Peace Service
Iraq Peace Teams
Irish Parades international Committee
La Platforma de Solidaridad con Chiapas, Oaxaca y Guatemala
Marin Interfaith Taskforce
Meta Peace Team
Mideast Witness
Mir Sada^
Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala (NISGUA)
Nonviolent Peaceforce
Operation dove
Palestinian Solidarity Project
PASO international
Peace Brigades international
Peace Monitoring Group
Peace Watch Switzerland
Presbyterian Peace Fellowship
Proyecto de Acompanamiento internacional en Honduras (PROAH) or Honduras Accompaniment Project
Project Accompaniment
Projet Accompagnement Quebec – Guatemala
Projet Accompagnement Solidarite Colombie
Program for Ecumenical Accompaniment in Colombia
Red de Hermandad y Solidarid con Colombia
Servicio Internacional para la Paz (SIPAZ)
Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation
Temporary international Presence in Palestine
Truce Monitoring Group
UDEFEGUA
Witness for Peace

Next, information gathered on the activities of these 50 organizations was gleaned using the following methodologies: literature review, review of organizational websites and a written survey sent out electronically to the 39 organizations that were thought to be currently operating.

Utilizing these sources, information was gathered on the following topics: locations of activities, length of operations, length of training, number of UCP staff/volunteers, types of UCP activities, organizational principles, risks to UCP personnel, and mission outcomes.   Twenty-two organizations responded. Of those who did not respond, it is unclear in some cases whether the organization (or at least the website) was still operational. In one case, the website URL disappeared and was replaced with a dating service. Of the 22 organizations that did respond, the overwhelming majority commented that the questions were difficult to answer, as organizational records were either non-existent, incomplete or were kept in numerous sites; a common theme among these responses was that organizational capacity was stretched in order to complete the survey. One organization stated that their records no longer existed as their computers had been seized by the police.

By the end of the data collection phase, some organizations had been contacted up to four times with no response. Nonetheless, all of the 22 organizations that responded acknowledged that they considered themselves an organization conducting UCP, thereby validating that the criteria used for this study were sufficiently specific.

Results and Discussion

Growth and Distribution of UCP

The map in Figure One highlights the countries and regions where UCP organizations have operated since 1990, as well as cumulatively showing how many organizations have operated in each country or region.

**Figure One: Number of UCP Operations by Country/Region since 1990**
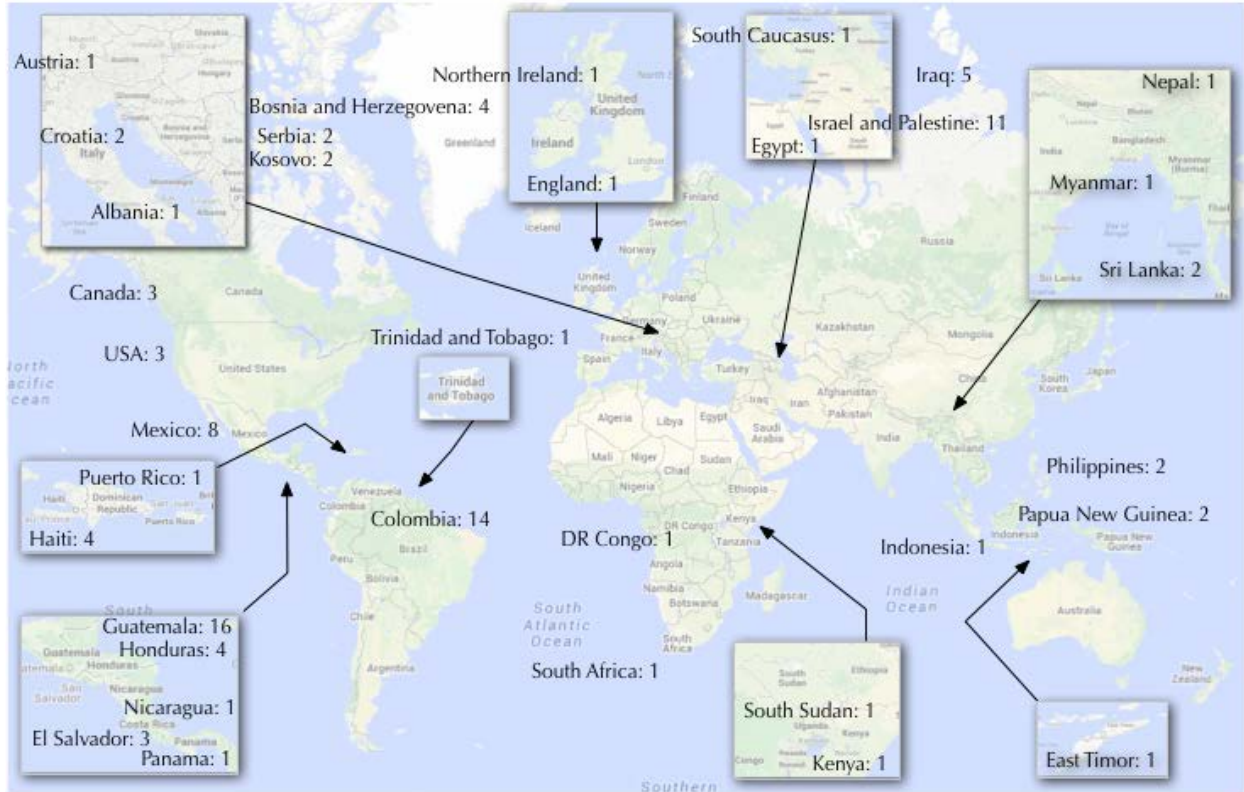
It is worthy to note the wide distribution, including implementation of projects on six continents. The number of organizations per region, however, indicates that some countries and regions, such as Colombia, Guatemala and Israel/Palestine, support a proportionally high number of UCP activities. In total, 35 countries and regions have engaged UCP missions, by a total of 50 organizations since 1990.

Table Two highlights the growth of the number of UCP organizations by way of a timeline. The overall growth from 1990 to 2014 is fivefold: an increase from 7 to 35 organizations.

Table 2: Number of UCP Organizations in Operation, 1990-2014
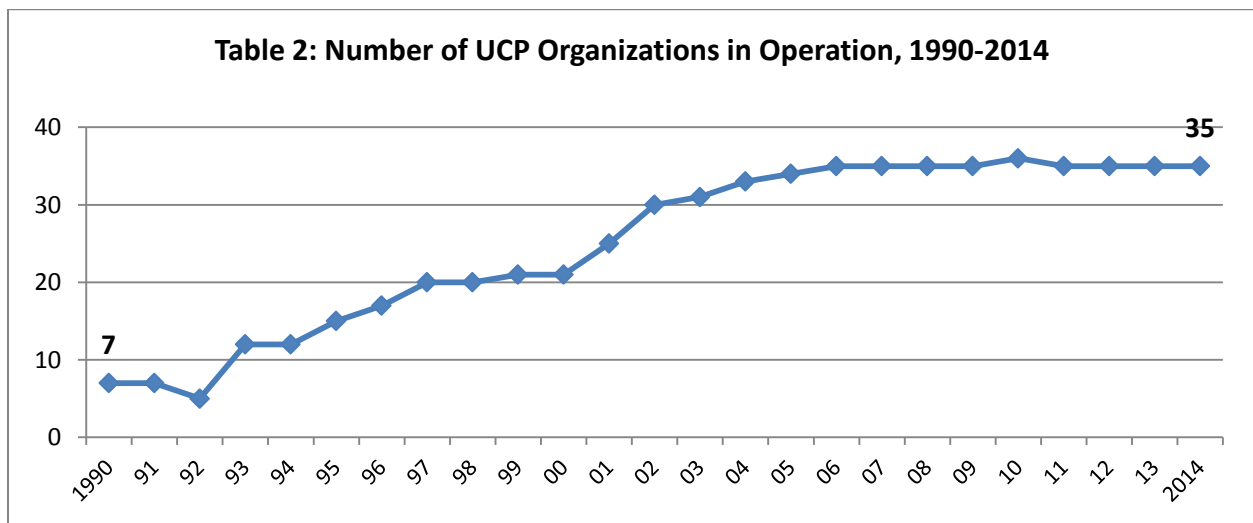
This study intended to measure the growth of UCP by utilizing number of UCP practitioners. However, very few organizations had sufficiently reliable statistics to be able to determine overall numbers of UCP practitioners, let alone temporal trends. Therefore, the data allowed only for highlighting the growth in number of organizations.

Table Three displays the spread of UCP over time, to increasingly larger number of countries and regions.

Table 3: Number of Countries/Regions Where Organizations Engage in UCP, 1990-2014
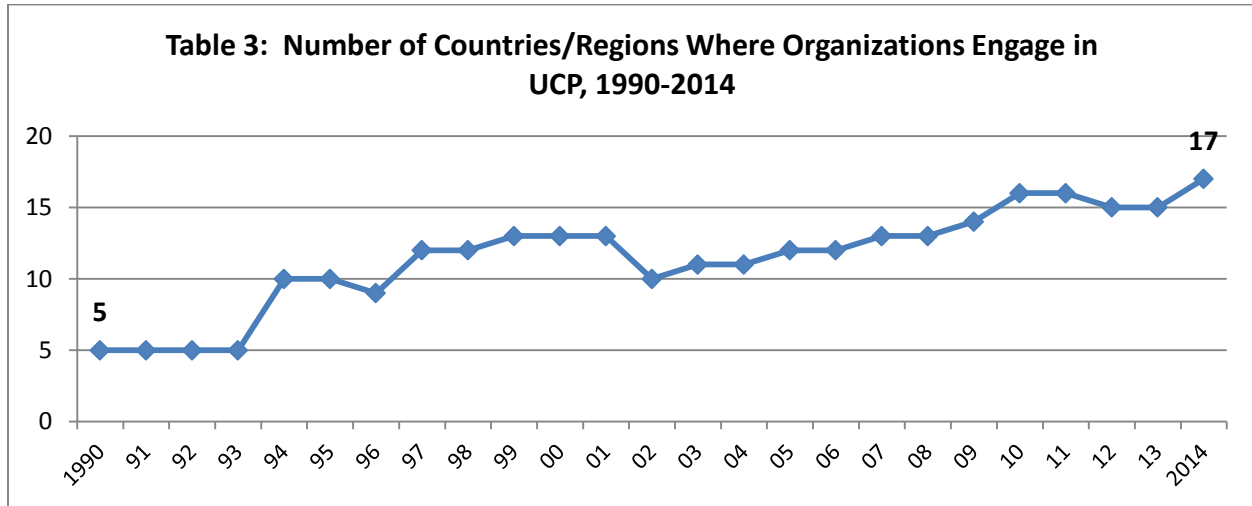
A comparison of the information presented in Tables One and Two demonstrates that the geographical growth is less than the growth of organizations. In other words, more organizations have been practicing in similar regions. Colombia represents a good example; by 2014, fourteen organizations were engaged in UCP in that country, an increase from just one organization in 1994.

Most of the 50 organizations included in this study do not publicize their annual budgets. However, several of the larger organizations, such as Peace Brigades International, include this financial information on their website. For example, the Peace Brigades International annual budget increased from $282,406 in 1992 to 2,611,301 in 2013 – an increase of over nine times, not accounting for inflation. It is not possible to interpret whether Peace Brigades growth is typical; nonetheless, the data suggest that UCP has grown in the past 24 years in many ways: in quantity of organizations, in growth within organizations, and in geographic proliferation.

The significant rise in UCP does raise important issues. Firstly, it implies that UCP is gaining in popularity, perhaps due to its effectiveness and/or due to growing popularity. It is not clear from these figures whether the increase in supply of UCP is in response to an increase in demand. If there is an increase in demand, it is also unclear if this is due to increased awareness, increased need, or both.

Additionally, as the number of organizations practicing UCP increases, there is potential for great disparity in understanding, philosophy and practices of UCP. However, there has been a great deal of coordination among organizations, as evidenced by groups collaborating under an umbrella group (as with Cry for Justice in Haiti) or groups from various countries recruiting and training volunteers where they are coordinated in the target country by another organization (as with ACOGUATE in Guatemala).

Training for UCP Practitioners

The training of UCP practitioners has an important impact on the overall work of UCP operations. Training Information was gathered on 13 or the organizations. Table Four highlights the length of training for individuals who are commissioned to do UCP.

Table 4: Length of Training for Unarmed Civilian Peacekeepers by organization (N=13)
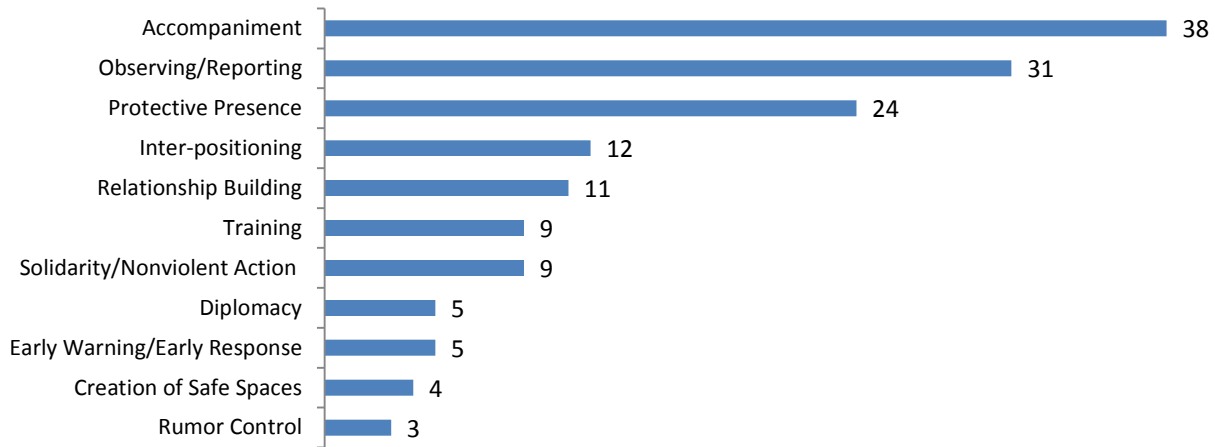
■ # of Days
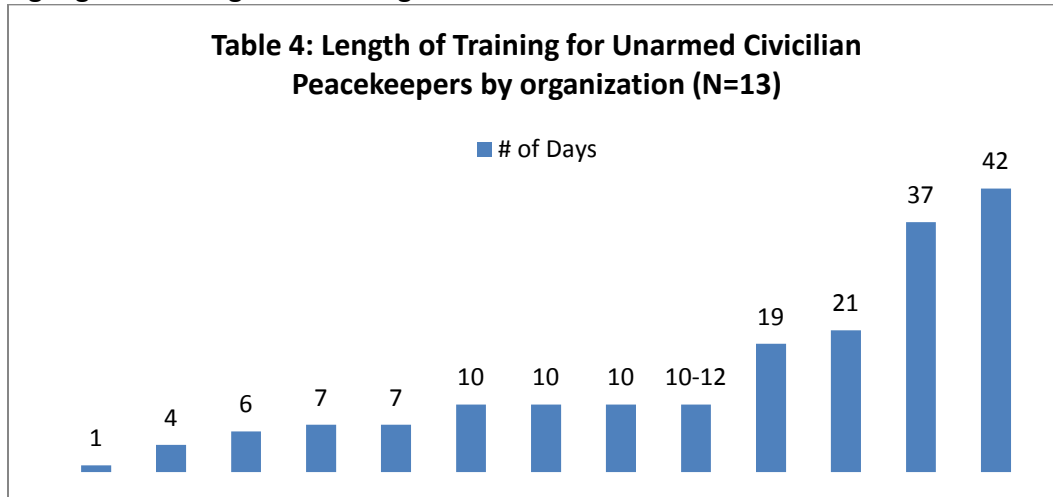
The table describes a range of 1 to 42 days for UCP training, with a median training period of 10 days. Training consisted of a variety of delivery methods, including online self-study and small group workshops. Typically, organizations provided initial training in the practitioner's country of origin, followed by more training in the country of the operation.

Although length and quality of training were not used as criteria in this study to determine whether an organization's activities qualified as UCP, quality and content of curriculum may be something that will be considered for inclusion criteria in the future, as UCP continues to grow, mature and increase in legitimacy and stature. The scrutiny to which foreign UCP personnel in Guatemala were subjected is described by Mahoney and Egan (1997), where North American and European accompaniers were often stereotyped by government officials as having naïve analysis coupled with questionable training. Considering the critical situations in which UCP personnel are placed, and the scrutiny and potential mistrust that are inherent in working with parties in conflict, it stands to reason that training will continue to be an issue at the forefront of UCP evolution.

UCP Activities and Principles

An intention of this study was to systematically describe the specific activities of UCP that were utilized by the individual organizations. Data from 49 organizations, utilizing definitions of eleven activities of UCP (such as protective accompaniment, information gathering and reporting), was gathered. Definitions were adapted from the work of Nonviolent Peaceforce (2014b) and were included in the surveys to assist participant organizations in categorizing their work with consistency. Table Five displays the frequency in which organizations engaged in various activities.

Table 5: Number of Organizations Engaging in Various UCP Activities

Activity	Number
Accompaniment	38
Observing/Reporting	31
Protective Presence	24
Inter-positioning	12
Relationship Building	11
Training	9
Solidarity/Nonviolent Action	9
Diplomacy	5
Early Warning/Early Response	5
Creation of Safe Spaces	4
Rumor Control	3

Not surprisingly, the two most frequent activities reported were accompaniment and observing/reporting of human rights abuses. However, a notable limitation in interpreting this data is that the organizations who completed the survey reported engaging in many more activities than those organizations whose information was taken from their website. It is possible, therefore, that complete information of activities is not articulated on organizational websites. Additionally, although clear definitions for the activities were provided, it is likely that due to some overlap in not only the definitions but also the activities themselves (such as protective presence and inter-positioning), respondents may have varied in their interpretation of their organization's activities. Further research in this area is necessary to better understand the frequency and breadth of activities among the various organizations engaged in UCP.

Nine UCP organizations reported engaging in solidarity activities or nonviolent direct action. Christian Peacemaker Teams, for example, expressly positions itself in solidarity with oppressed groups, such as Palestinians in the West Bank and First Nations communities on the North American continent. Additionally, International Solidarity Movement, which works exclusively in Palestine, has engaged in accompaniment of Palestinian civilians to trials, for example (which could be considered a neutral or nonpartisan activity), but also has directly engaged in nonviolent action and civil disobedience, alongside and in solidarity with Palestinian activists. This raises the related issue of the organizational principle of non-partisanship, which, according to Coy (2012) has significant ramifications for the organization's goals and impact, and for the safety of those engaged in UCP. Coy contends that members of those organizations engaged in solidarity activities are likely more prone to arrest and injury.

The issue of non-partisanship is not only important but also complex. According to Coy (2012), non-partisanship implies dealing with all parties with an open mind, objective reporting, refraining from nonjudgmental responses when voicing concerns. Sixteen of the 50 organizations represented in this study declared themselves as nonpartisan. It is interesting to note, however, that for several of these organizations, website information and campaign letters include highly charged terms in their campaigns to raise awareness on human rights issues that, in the opinion of this writer, placed them in close solidarity with the people whom they are accompanying. One might add that it may be nearly impossible to remain strictly

nonpartisan when working in situations where the power differential is substantial or when a specific group who is requesting protection is engaged in activities that might be considered extremely crucial, such as protecting fundamental human rights of vulnerable groups.

Deaths and Injuries among UCP Practitioners

The following table highlights the number of deaths, injuries and kidnappings that have been reported by UCP organizations since 1990. Of the six UCP deaths, one was due to a car accident and thus not directly related to UCP activities.

Table Six: Fatalities and Injuries among Peace Keeping operations

	Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping				United Nations Peacekeeping**	
	Nonpartisan organizations	Organizations engaged in Solidarity	Total	Fatality rate	total	Fatality rate
Fatalities	1	5	6	0.2%*	3243	2.8%
Injuries	5	15	20	-------		-------

*this figure is an overestimate as its denominator is comprised of data from only 13 of the 50 UCP organizations.
**source: United Nations, 2014

It is interesting to note that certain danger "hotspots" exist, such as Palestine (where four of the six fatalities, and eighteen of the twenty injuries occurred) and to a lesser extent, Iraq. It would be interesting to speculate on the reasons for this but in reality it may be difficult to confidently suggest any statistical correlation. It is noteworthy, however, to consider that five of the six deaths occurred in organizations that do not self-define as nonpartisan, but rather have clearly declared solidarity with an oppressed group. Only one death occurred in an organization that was considered nonpartisan. With regards to serious injuries, 5 occurred in organizations considered nonpartisan, while 15 occurred in organizations that engaged in solidarity-based activities. This perhaps supports Coy's premise that partisanship places UCP practitioners at risk for injury and death.

Another speculation is that the deaths and injuries are more correlated to the local context of the operation rather than the values of the UCP organization. For example, Christian Peacemaker Teams incurred two injuries among their practitioners in Palestine, but none in Canada. In both locations, Christian Peacemaker Teams has been very publicly engaged in advocating for the groups they are accompanying. Their informal slogan of "Getting in the way" attests to their assertive tactics, which, worthy to note, have led to physical injuries in one region but not another. As mentioned previously, eighteen of the twenty reported UCP injuries occurred in Palestine, with five of the eleven organizations with presence in Palestine reporting injuries to its members. The high fatality and injury rates among UCP practitioners in Palestine raise the issue of whether UCP does not lend itself to working in certain social or

political contexts, such as the current situation in Palestine where powerful extremist influences oppose UCP activities (Schirch, 2006).

A comparison of UCP fatality rates with the fatality rates of traditional military peacekeeping operations is also noteworthy. According to a survey of the Canadian public's opinions on UCP (Janzen, 2014), a main reason for public reticence in supporting UCP was the belief unarmed peacekeeping was too dangerous – more dangerous than traditional peacekeeping as UCP staff have no weapons for protection. It is important to determine whether this perception is supported by the data.

At the outset of this study, a goal was to collect data in order to make a reliable comparison between UCP deaths and deaths among UN peacekeepers. Unfortunately, an accurate comparison was not possible with the data, as an accurate denominator (total number of actors engaged in UCP) could not be determined from the data. However, considering that the fatality rate among all UN peacekeeping staff (including civilian staff) is 2.7 percent (United Nations, 2014) and considering there are six documented deaths among UCP actors, for the risk of fatality to be equal (2.8 percent fatality rate), the cumulative number of UCP actors would only need to be 259. While the data does not give us an accurate total number of UCP participants, we can create a denominator using data from the thirteen organizations which reported accurate staffing numbers since 1990. The number of UCP practitioners from these thirteen organizations is 3065. Using this incomplete (underestimate) number, the fatality rate for UN peacekeeping mission staff is more than twelve times as high and UCP front line staff. Although this is a rather crude comparison, it certainly provides a benchmark for further investigation, and challenges public perception. Thus, utilizing the statistics available, it can be suggested that unarmed civilian peacekeepers have been at significantly less risk of fatality than conventional UN (armed and civilian combined) peacekeeping staff.

Outcomes of UCP Operations

The positive impact that UCP has achieved has been thoroughly documented by others (Schirch, 2006; Schweitzer, 2009; Nonviolent Peaceforce, 2010, Mahoney and Eguren, 1997). Although Mahoney and Eguren document many examples of human rights worker testimonials from many global contexts who believe their lives had been spared as a direct result of international accompaniment, much of the UCP evaluative data relies upon either human rights actor perceptions of safety or reports that quantify organizational activities. As Hoffman (2014) points out, the ability to accurately measure the success of violence prevention activities remains unmet, as the goal is essentially attempting to measure something (violence) that ostensibly was prevented and thus is nonexistent. Therefore, our best indicator often defaults to documenting and quantifying violence prevention activities. Nonetheless, some organizations described the impact of their programming. Their descriptions have been divided into the following categories: immediate benefits, long term benefits, and capacity building/empowerment.

Many organizations describe how their protective presencing strategies, such as physical accompaniment, resulted in immediate benefits to human rights workers. These benefits included protection from murder, rape, and injury due to the presence of unarmed civilian

peacekeepers. The benefits were further described by ability of the human rights workers to carry out their critical work in conditions that would have otherwise been impossibly unsafe.

One organization describes the immediate effects of their civilian peacekeeping work as follows:

> Before our arrival in the village of At-Tuwani, in the South Hebron Hills (Palestine), shepherds could not graze sheep on their land; children at risk of settler attacks could not get to the school; houses were demolished. Today, thanks to (our) presence . . . shepherds graze sheep every day, children go to school in safety and many families are returning to the area.

In addition to these tangible immediate benefits of UCP, other organizations describe longer term benefits that result from their work in documenting and reporting on human rights abuses. One organization wrote that their advocacy work and awareness-raising has led to governmental policy changes in countries such as Canada (with regards to Aboriginal communities and indigenous rights) and the United States (treatment of Iraqi detainees held in American prisons). Another organization attests that their education campaigns have made it more difficult for large corporations to take advantage of lax enforcement of environmental and human practices in countries such as Guatemala and Colombia.

A third category of impact is capacity building. Nine organizations stated they engage in activities to empower and train local groups and individuals. Typically, these workshops focus on the theory and practice of nonviolence and conflict resolution. However, empowerment has also come to local human rights groups more indirectly. When UCP actors model nonviolent strategies, local organizations and their adversaries may sometimes come to model this behavior (as reported by one group working in Sri Lanka), or at least, take advantage of the improved safety to carry on with their work in human rights and social justice. One Colombian group states the following:

> The physical accompaniment and the protection provided by the peace observers in the communities have been important, but essentially the political support for our struggle has been the key element. (They) were active during the final phase and had a great impact with the political accompaniment which finally led to the recognition of Cocomopoca as a collective owner of the land in Alto Atrato.

We can interpret from this that an important outcome of UCP is the creation of safe spaces so that local actors can complete their mandates to their greatest existing capacities. Testimonies such as these support the premise that UCP is able to go further in building cultures of peace in ways that conventional military peacekeeping operations cannot.

Conclusion

Unarmed civilian peacekeeping may well be shifting the practice of peacekeeping by moving beyond the reliance on military frameworks to reduce violence. Unarmed civilian peacekeeping has been growing in practice and in recognition since 1990, as evidenced by the geographical

expansion, the increase in organizational budgets, and the growing number of participating organizations. The study has highlighted gaps in information, notably, accurate statistics on the number and deployment trends of UCP practitioners.   This study has also described the variety in length of training of UCP practitioners which highlights the importance of standardized education as well as the establishment of best practices.

Although the impact of UCP has been described here, significant literature has already detailed the positive sequelae of UCP activities. More research is needed to demonstrate, not only to academics and practitioners but also to policy makers and the general public, that UCP is effective, economical and likely goes further than conventional peacekeeping operations in working toward building cultures of peace.

This study also highlighted the relative safety of UCP in relation to conventional peacekeeping operations, by demonstrating that fatality rates for UCP practitioners appear to be significantly lower than rates among members of conventional UN operations.

Because no agreed-upon definition of UCP exists, determining inclusion/exclusion criteria is inherently problematic. It is hoped that this paper will further the cause to develop specific criteria and guidelines, with regards to practices, training, principles, so that UCP can mature and improve. Issues such as training, values (particularly non-partisanship) will continue to mold the scope of UCP in the future.

This study is limited due to the fact comprehensive information on many organizations was not available. The descriptions provided here nonetheless can be considered a starting point for further inquiry and discussion as to what constitutes UCP, what training should look like, what best practices should be adopted by UCP organizations. It is evident from this paper that UCP is being considered a legitimate strategy to reduce violence in many different settings and is legitimately transforming the world's response to conflict. For those who seek a world that is free from war and violence, unarmed civilian peacekeeping is an increasingly evidence-based strategy to address conflict non-violently, thus pragmatically building cultures of peace on a global scale.

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