CHAPTER XII

COPING WITH CHANGE:
ADAPTING PEACEKEEPING TRAINING
TO A CHALLENGING WORLD

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United Nations (UN) peacekeepers have been delivering security and stability to war-torn zones for more than seven decades. Peacekeeping forces were conceived to support ceasefires after the inter-state conflicts that erupted after World War II (Day 2020, 1). They consisted of unarmed military officers deployed in buffer zones between opposing states to supervise peace agreements (Goulding 1993, 452). The end of the Cold War and the widespread intra-state conflicts demanded modern peace operations to adapt to new asymmetric conflict settings involving state actors and non-state actors, such as violent extremist groups, terrorist organizations, and organized crime networks (Abdenur, Kuele, and Francisco 2018, 3). The challenges brought by an evolving scenario required the redesign of UN peacekeeping to make it more effective in fulfilling increasingly broad demands. This need became clearer after the Rwanda and Bosnia massacres when peacekeepers "stood by and watched genocide" (Autesserre 2019, 104). Amongst the many initiatives aimed at improving the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping, the Brahimi Report, presented in 2000, was the turning point in framing peace operations in a challenging contemporary world (UN Peacekeeping 2000). The report, which offered explicit and implicit recommendations for making peacekeeping successful (Banerjee 2005, 24), was followed by other high-level initiatives that gave rise to documents, such as the Capstone Doctrine (UN Peacekeeping 2008), and reports, such as the High-Level Independent Panel on Peacekeeping Operations (2015) and Improving the Security of UN Peacekeepers (2018a), which aimed at making UN peacekeepers able to effectively and safely carry out its tasks in the field.

The history of UN peacekeeping has shown, and the Brahimi Report emphasized, that a lack of training and preparedness can jeopardize

missions and cost the lives of those whom peacekeepers should protect. Peacekeeping, particularly in the third millennium, requires skills other than those that soldiers typically develop through basic military training (Cutillo 2013, 2). Therefore, more comprehensive and more specific training are needed for UN peacekeepers who, despite the critiques of their failures (Autesserre 2019, 102, 104; Fortna 2004, 269), provide peace and security throughout the world with the second largest military force deployed abroad. Nevertheless, as the correlation between training and efficacy in the field is often underestimated (Cutillo 2013, 1), many UN peacekeeping military units still lack adequate capabilities (Smith, and Boutellis 2013, 3; Jett 2019, 142) to face the complex security and protection tasks posed by the contemporary world.

The chapter explores the evolution of the peacekeeping training delivered by member states to their uniformed personnel, how it has been adapted to the changing world scenario and how training could adapt to follow peacekeeping trends and deal with the increasing challenges UN peace operations have been facing in the new millennium.

Training for peace: adapting to evolving UN Peacekeeping

Established in 1948, the UN Truce Supervision Organization, which was comprised of a group of unarmed military observers who were deployed in Palestine to help monitor a truce between Israel and the surrounding Arab countries (Goulding 1993, 452), marked the origin of UN peacekeeping. This peacekeeping model, often called traditional peacekeeping, remained in place until the end of the Cold War and was characterized by observers or lightly armed forces deployed in buffer zones without an interventionist intent (Wedgewood 1995, 635). During this phase, specific training for UN peacekeeping was almost non-existent due to the limited scope and narrow security tasks of the mandates (Gledhill, Caplan, and Meiske 2021, 207; Cutillo 2013, 3) and the scenario's moderate levels of complexity and risk that required only regular military-like skills from the peacekeepers. The UN did not have a specific body that established training standards for troop-contributing countries (TCCs) to comply with (UN Peacekeeping, Department of Peace Operations); therefore, what to train on and how to train peacekeepers was at the discretion of the TCCs. With the end of the Cold War, the world saw the emergence of a new peacekeeping operations phase known as the second generation (Banerjee 2005, 18, 20), which distinguished the 1990s with a significant increase in the number of UN

peacekeeping operations and the scope and complexity of the missions assigned to peacekeepers, who became engaged, for example, in the protection of human rights and state-building tasks (Kondoch, and Howe 2017, 2).

The Srebrenica genocide in 1995 and other peacekeeping setbacks in Africa demonstrated that the "one-size-fits-all peacekeeping" approach would not work to end regional conflicts, which were unique and involved multiple non-state actors (Banerjee 2005, 18, 20-21). This understanding gave rise to what may be called the third phase of peacekeeping (21) or "third-generation peacekeeping," when there was an attempt to take advantage of the expertise of local organizations that would possibly be better suited to keep peace in their respective territories. An overlapping fourth phase characterized by many interventions launched in failing states until the end of the decade, mainly for humanitarian reasons (21), might be called the fourth generation of peacekeeping. A new model of peacekeeping operations, called multidimensional, was launched in Kosovo, East Timor, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo (21), and Eritrea/Ethiopia with a broader scope that required peacekeepers to tackle war crimes and massive human rights violations, support disarmament and demobilization campaigns (Mackay 2003, 218; Briscoe et al. 2015, 24), and protect mass movements of people, all while coping with state reconstruction efforts. More importantly, these operations broadened the array of skills required from peacekeepers (Cutillo 2013, 2) and stimulated ways to correct the limitations of the earlier approaches and improve the efficacy of UN peacekeeping. Although all the continents had seen peacekeepers' boots on the ground during this period, the UN still had not formally recognized the importance of training for successful peacekeeping (1) nor established a structure to develop training standards and guide the TCCs on their implementation.

In 1995 (UN 1995), the UN and member states recognized their responsibility to provide pre-deployment training to peacekeepers (Abdenur, Kuele, and Francisco 2018, 4) and the need for UN-approved procedures and materials to guide the TCCs to undertake them. Also, the presentation of the "Brahimi Report" (Curran 2017, 12) at the Millennium Assembly in 2000 marked the start of changes in UN peacekeeping training structures. Nevertheless, even though the report stressed the importance of peacekeeping training and offered recommendations for the production of training material, the implementation of practical measures to standardize peacekeeping training only started in 2007 when a formal structure for training was implemented as part of the restructuring process

of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and inception of the Department of Field Support (DFS). Moreover, the Integrated Training Service (ITS) was created under a new Division for Policy, Evaluation and Training (DPET) designed to centralize all peacekeeping training activities (Abdenur, Kuele, and Francisco 2018, 4). Since then, ITS has overseen peacekeeping training activities; developed training standard operations procedures, policies, and materials; and supported TCCs in the peacekeeping training process (4). Following these initiatives, in 2008 the DPKO issued the document known as the "Capstone Doctrine," which, among other objectives, would serve as a guide to the personnel training to integrate UN peacekeeping operations (UN Peacekeeping 2008; Cutillo 2013, 1). The creation of a specific structure dedicated to training represented a significant step towards the improvement of the performance of the peacekeepers by establishing minimum individual and collective capacity standards and providing guidance and assistance to TCCs to conduct training for peacekeeping operations.

UN Peacekeeping Training and Preparation

Since the creation of the ITS and the advent of the Capstone Doctrine, the UN has undertaken many initiatives to improve the performance and preparation of peacekeepers for peace operations. The organization recognized that training for all the field personnel involved with peacekeeping operations is critical for the mission's success (UN 2010, 4). Training for peacekeeping was defined as any activity aimed at providing peacekeeping personnel, individually and collectively, whether military, police, or civilian, the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to effectively and professionally meet the challenges of the operations and demonstrate the values and competencies cultivated by the UN. Further, a methodology was designed, and the responsibilities for the peacekeeping training and preparation were clearly defined (5-14). Training refers to the process whereby personnel achieve or improve the necessary skills and behaviours to properly perform their duties in the field. In contrast, preparation refers to being ready for deployment in a peacekeeping operation. Although the concepts intersect, the Department of Peace Operations ITS prepared a comprehensive set of policies, guidance documents, and instruction manuals, which are constantly updated (UN Peacekeeping "Policy") and guide the delivery of training to future peacekeepers (Curran 2017, 10).

Training for peacekeeping targets military, police and civilian personnel and is divided into three main phases: pre-deployment training

(PDT), induction training, and ongoing training, depending on whether it respectively takes place prior to the deployment in operation, upon arrival in the field or during the operation (Cutillo 2013, 5). However, as military peacekeepers represent 88% of the UN personnel deployed in peacekeeping operations (UN Peacekeeping 2023), this chapter focuses on the PDT of military personnel preparing for UN peacekeeping.

PDT is the critical component of peacekeeping training (5) as it prepares field personnel to be "fully operational and ready to face their assignments from day one" (5). This training is delivered in the TCCs by their trainers and based on the Core Pre-deployment Training Materials (CPTM) elaborated on by the ITS. It has generic and specialized components and aims to complement military training with mission-specific skills (Curran 2017, 11), internalizing UN principles and standards. Indeed, even though the ITS provides extensive guidance materials, the vast array of tasks the complex contemporary conflicts impose on peacekeepers, which often encompass the protection of civilians, monitoring of elections (UN Peacekeeping "Military"), and dealing with asymmetrical warfare, require TCCs to go beyond military training (Cin 2001, 3) to prevent flaws that can jeopardize the operation and put at risk the lives of civilians or their peacekeepers (De Sylva 2017, 47, 54, 61, 70; UN Peacekeeping "Improving Security of United Nations Peacekeepers" (Independent Report), 2018). Yet, the UN guidance is limited to skills specific to the UN, as military training is the TCCs' responsibility (Cutillo 2013, 7).

Preparation, in turn, comprises the process whereby the military, trained under national standards and regulations, reaches operational readiness to apply the knowledge and skills acquired and exercised during the training phase. At the end of the preparation, they will be capacitated to accomplish their tasks according to mission-specific concepts, rules, and operations orders (UN Peacekeeping 2018b, 2-3). The guidelines for operational readiness describe in detail the knowledge, skills and respective standards the various ranks of a military contingent must achieve (6-10). Further, they present a sample of individual and collective PDT to guide the TCCs through the preparation for deployment (11-15).

The high number of peacekeeper fatalities stemmed from aggression, their general underperformance in the field, deficiencies in protecting civilians, and misconduct related to sexual exploitation and abuse. These factors compelled the UN Security Council to adopt a resolution urging TCCs to provide more and better PDT for the military personnel deployed (Wilén 2018, 1) to meet the standards set by the UN (UN 2018, 2-4, 6).

Cooperation To Better Prepare Peacekeepers

The importance of training and preparation to equip peacekeepers with a diversified range of military and non-military skills required by the increasingly complex conflict scenarios the UN is called to stabilize is evident. The expansion of peacekeeping and the increasing participation of TCCs, even with reduced contingents, led to the creation of peacekeeping training institutions and centers worldwide (Cutillo 2013, 9). This trend continues to this date, and many training institutions have gone further, creating associations to establish cooperation strategies (Abdenur, Kuele, and Francisco 2018, 10), which usually involve the exchange of instructors and students, lessons learned, information, and teaching practices (10).

The associations of training centers are structured at regional and world levels and are comprised of military, police, and civilian organizations (Cutillo 2013, 9). In addition to the International Association of Peacekeeping Training Centers, regional associations (Cutillo 2013, 9) comprised of military, police and civilian providers of peacekeeping training have been created: the African Peace Support Training Association in Africa, with 15 members and partners; Association of Asia-Pacific Peace Operation training Centers, with 27 members and observers; European Association of Peace Operations Training Centers, with 33 members; and Latin America Association for Peacekeeping Training Centers (ALCOPAZ), with 32 members and observers. Regional partnerships are not limited to exchanges of personnel. They are effective mechanisms to promote synergy between centers, for example, through mobile training teams (MTTs), which are small groups of training experts from one country sent to a partner training center in the initial structuring phase or are newly created to improve their expertise in a specific area. In Latin America, Brazil has sent MTTs to its ALCOPAZ partners, Mexico and Colombia (Abdenur, Kuele, and Francisco 2018, 10). In the same token, since the 1990s, Scandinavian countries have continually revised a common catalogue of peacekeeping training courses under the Arctic Cooperation Agreement so that their peacekeeping training institutions offer different courses, better allocate resources and avoid the unnecessary duplication of efforts (NORDEFCO 2023). Further, training institutions can focus on certain themes to become regional centers of excellence in specific subjects (Cutillo 2013, 2; BIPSOT 2023; KAIPTC 2023).

Training For Peace: Matching Military
and Peacekeeper Skills

To become a good peacekeeper, a regular soldier, irrespective of their origin, must acquire essential knowledge and skills that only specific peacekeeping training provides (Cutillo 2013, 1). Therefore, peacekeeping training generally follows similar curricula and levels of performance worldwide, which aligns with the objective the UN has pursued since the creation of specific training bodies at the DPKO: that all TCCs meet minimum training and preparation standards before deployment in peacekeeping operations. Nevertheless, the focus each TCC applies to the training depends on national methods of instruction, past experiences, and the specific mission context (Cutillo 2013, 7). The array of courses offered, whether in peacekeeping training organizations in Africa, Asia, Europe, or Latin America, encompasses subjects far beyond the CPTM. They often involve the protection of civilians, training for staff officers and military observers, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, negotiation, conflict management, languages training, civil-military coordination (Curran 2017, 104-105), humanitarian assistance, mine awareness training, UN logistics, conflict management, and women, peace and security (ALCOPAZ 2023; BIPSOT 2023; KAIPTC 2023). The changes in the world context, with local and regional impacts, are increasingly demanding peacekeepers to develop enough empathy to protect unassisted populations and understand the unique needs of women and children (Mackay 2003, 218). Future peacekeepers achieve this level of understanding when they internalize training and skills beyond those of military combat.

Although training schools incorporate UN-provided training materials, training and preparation for peacekeeping are constantly updated according to the contextual evolution of the mission area (Cin 2001, 5) to keep it dynamic and realistic. To this end, teachings include political, social, economic, ethnic and cultural features of the mission zone and conflict background (5). Further, to be vibrant and stimulating, they use methodologies that create simulated scenarios based on real cases (Curran 2017, 66-67, 98, 106) and role-playing drills. This allows trainees to match their combat skills with the peacekeeping knowledge they acquired during the pre-mission training stage, putting into practice conflict resolution and negotiation techniques, UN-specific expertise, lessons learned, and language skills (5). Training, as it is a TCC responsibility, can be undertaken by national peacekeeping training centres, foreign MTTs that

offer specific types of support, or by divisions of national Armed Forces institutions (Abdenur 2018, 8). Preparation, however, is usually carried out through collective exercises planned and conducted by the TCCs' defence ministries. Also, training and preparation are executed in the months preceding the deployment in the mission as member states typically allocate enough time (often around six months) to prepare their contingents to begin their participation in the mission or to replace rotating contingents (Cutillo 2013, 7).

The Critical Role of Peacekeeping Training: Lessons from the Field

UN peacekeeping, despite the criticisms it has received for several painful debacles, particularly in Bosnia and Rwanda (Nsia-Pepra 2019, 470), has been, since its inception, an effective mechanism for bringing security and stability to conflict zones and encouraging warring parties to negotiate an agreement. Despite some failures, peacekeeping has had a history of successes for more than 70 years, of which training is a significant component. During the Yugoslav wars, the use of roadblocks by groups of armed men was the principal impediment to the UN Protection Force's (UNPROFOR) effective delivery of humanitarian aid (Curran 2017, 68). As the mission's mandate relied on the consent of all parties in conflict, peacekeeper convoys usually got their way through the roadblocks after applying negotiation techniques (68). Negotiation, indeed, is one of the backbones of modern peacekeeping training, which UNPROFOR peacekeepers learned and internalized during PDT. Another compelling example of the relevance of peacekeeping training comes from the UN Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo. One of the mission's reports highlighted training as the most effective way to prevent sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) (96). Although SEA prevention is included in the mandatory peacekeeping training, the UN secretariat has been supporting TCCs in improving the delivery of SEA training for peacekeepers through train-the-trainers courses and the creation of new mandatory SEA training programmes for all uniformed personnel (UN "Preventing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse").

Another example of the positive impact of peacekeeping training comes from the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA). As Howard (2019) maintains, "Despite many challenges, MINUSCA has undoubtedly helped to protect civilians." As previously discussed, the curricula adopted to train

peacekeepers worldwide includes the protection of civilians, which became one of their critical tasks and is therefore significantly emphasized throughout the training. Considering this, the effective protection of vulnerable populations is expected to be the outcome of a modern peacekeeping operation. Also, as Bernath (2003) elaborates, training is also connected to the success of the UN Mission in Sierra Leone: "UNAMSIL was successful because… the mission had the strong support of the UN Security Council and the international community…. translated into a strong mandate and a force with sufficient strength, logistics, and training to carry out its mandate" (136).

Peacekeeping Trends and Challenges: The Impact on Training

The changes in conflict over the past 30 years have dictated the trends and challenges of future peacekeeping. To be effective and continue to deliver peace to war-torn zones worldwide, peacekeepers have to adapt to constantly evolving scenarios. They must be prepared to tackle armed groups connected to sophisticated transnational crime networks, human rights abuses targeting vulnerable people, terrorism, and unconventional threats posed by small-scale groups capable of inflicting unthinkable collateral damage to civilians and peacekeepers (Mackay 2003, 218; Day 2020, 4-6). Indeed, the high number of UN peacekeeper fatalities in the past 11 years after asymmetric warfare attacks has emphasized the need to train peacekeepers for conflict scenarios that are increasingly different from past conventional warfare missions where opposite parties were well-defined and easily identifiable (UN Peacekeeping 2018a; Tuvdendarjaa 2022, 4). In such a context, it is essential to redesign peacekeeping training by adding innovative approaches and new technologies to protect civilians who are often victims of terrorist groups, criminal gangs, and extremism (Challenges Annual Forum 2022, 12; Tuvdendarjaa 2022, 4). More importantly, to enable peacekeepers to protect civilians better, which is one of the foundations of the UN's credibility and thus should continue to be a central theme of their peacekeeping operations' mandates in the years to come, training must teach soldiers how to develop people-centred strategies that rely on the community's knowledge (Autesserre 2019, 103; Challenges Annual Forum 2022, 11-12). In other words, peacekeepers must train to "place people at the center" of their initiatives (Challenges Annual Forum 2022, 11-12).

Safety and stability are not enough to stop conflict. The success of peacekeeping entails the sustainable transition to peacebuilding, which implies that development activities will probably remain a significant mechanism of UN peacekeeping (Glendhill 2021, 214). Consequently, peacekeepers will be required even more to act as "early peacebuilders" by engaging in small-scale, fast-implemented development activities known as quick impact projects (Curran 2017, 42-43). In this regard, training must enable peacekeepers to plan and implement small-scale projects in collaboration with local and international agencies to benefit the community. Civilian actors have had their roles significantly expanded since the advent of multidimensional peacekeeping operations, and their presence will increasingly grow in importance in UN peacekeeping in the long term, requiring peacekeepers to communicate effectively and cooperate with diverse actors (55, 62). As a result, training for peacekeeping operations must emphasize the development of varying levels of communication skills.

The proliferation of armed groups in complex settings where peacekeeping operations are established, besides contributing to weakening state authority, also increases the risks for vulnerable populations and undermines the path to sustainable peace. The resulting threat to civilians and peacekeepers and the predictable protraction of conflict has required the UN to begin the trend of robust peacekeeping mandates. Endorsing this trend, the "Force Intervention Brigade," an offensive military force that was added to the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to undertake attack operations to neutralize and disarm groups considered a threat to the state and civilians, was established in 2013 (Curran 2017, 138; Day 2020, 2-3). Peacekeeping training must enable troops to use a more extensive and robust range of military tactics during field operations. Another growing trend in contemporary peacekeeping is the weaponization by armed groups of modern technologies that are often accessible and controlled from handheld devices. This allows these groups to activate hidden explosive artifacts, disrupt digital systems, recruit extremists, spread mis- and disinformation, and stimulate societal division and polarization, making it highly difficult for peacekeepers to address these challenges (de Coning 2021, 9; Day 2020, 4; Challenges Forum Annual Report 2022, 11). Peacekeepers need to train to use intelligence and adequate technological tools to be more effective in deterring, identifying, and neutralizing threats that stem from electronic and digital devices and to be capable of matching the physical and cyber domains during operations (de Coning 2021, 9; Challenges Forum Annual Report 2022, 11).

Climate change, which is characterized by long-term shifts in weather patterns and their harmful environmental impacts, is expected to increasingly affect human life. Although it is not a direct ignitor of conflict, climate change side effects like floods and the destruction of arable land can give rise to large-scale displacement, exacerbation of the competition for natural resources, and stimulate people to join armed groups, thereby aggravating conditions favourable to conflict (Day 2020, 4). Hence, peacekeepers must accurately adapt their planning and analysis processes and operational and logistics standards to risks and threats related to climate change effects. Moreover, they will have to be extremely careful in reducing their environmental footprint to demonstrate to the host nation the peacekeepers' commitment to practices that minimize the human impact on the environment (de Coning 2021, 9). Peacekeepers must adopt practices to reduce gas emissions and adequately manage water and energy use and waste disposal from the training and preparation stages. In addition, they have to conduct simulated drills of environmental disasters.

Lastly, women's participation in peacekeeping operations is a vital goal that the UN has been pursuing by urging TCCs to increase female personnel in their contingents (Bridges, and Horsfall 2009, 1). The rationale for expanding the rate of women in peacekeeping, a trend for the future of such missions, is the increase in the success and effectiveness of these operations when there are more females in the contingents (8). Increasing the number of women in peacekeeping inhibits sexual exploitation-related misconduct on the part of peacekeepers, helping to build trust with the host nation (2). Also, female peacekeepers have better access to people who do not trust or do not feel comfortable with men for cultural or religious reasons, amplifying access to community members and consequently helping to minimize risks and get better intelligence in support of operations (Wilén 2018, 7). For that reason, training must extensively use female peacekeepers to enable them to develop intelligence, negotiation, and psychological skills and to practice case exercises that require females for specific tasks.

Despite criticisms for past failures, UN peacekeeping is the best resource available to bring stability to war-torn zones worldwide and protect vulnerable groups against abuses. The better peacekeepers are trained, the more effective their performance and the peacekeeping operation will be, minimizing risks to the safety of the populations and UN troops. The changing contemporary world, however, presents challenges that make more flexible and adaptable peacekeepers increasingly more relevant and

needed in the future. Peacekeepers must train to tackle asymmetric combatants and implement early development projects simultaneously. Training that teaches peacekeepers to place locals at the core and provides instruction on how to use new technologies to protect people is more important than ever to increase trust with the host nation and facilitate the successful implementation of mandates. Further, peacekeeping training must teach peacekeepers to comply with rigorous environmental standards and extensively use females to increase the efficacy of the mission.

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