CHAPTER I
RESEARCH BACKGROUND

1.1 Background of the Study

Theoretically, the emergence of the interdisciplinary field of conflict and resolution in the 1950s embarks and fascinates many researchers to develop theories aimed at "studying the phenomenon of conflict and to analyze ways to bring it under control, bringing their insights and concepts to bear on actual conflict – domestic or international – in order to foster better and more effective relations among states and people" (Bercovitch et al., 2009, p. 1). Such theories concern various issues related to conflict and resolution such as history and methods of study, issues and sources of conflict, methods of managing conflict, and current issues and dilemmas in the study of conflict resolution. In its sociological approach, the theory of conflict has been initiated by Karl Marx in the early to mid-1800 by which he concerned with the class and dialectics of capitalism. However, his theory of dialectics and capitalism received criticism by some theorist such as Max Weber who emphasis the scheme of "the notion of legitimation". (Corwin, 2006, p. 212). Based on these initial theories, there have been an effort for combining these perspectives by some theorists to understand conflict; how conflict starts, varies, and the effects it brings. Among the most pioneer significant discussions in conflict that centralized unequal distribution of scarce resources and power on their frameworks are Lewis Coser, Ralf Dahrendorf, and Randall Collins. Building on their theories this research is supposed to bring insights on the complexity of the Yemeni conflict by

determining the reasons of conflict, the persistence of the conflict, and its consequences.

One of the affective ways in exploring the Yemeni conflict is to define its types, degree of intensity, and phases. Theorists have identified two types of conflict, namely, High Intensity Conflict (HIC) and Low Intensity Conflict (LIC), the first is characterized by major wars, whereas the second by much more limited and irregular uses of force (Gibloa, 2009) and escalated conflicts, suppressed conflicts, and managed conflicts (Hinterleitner & Sager, 2022) as well as internal vs external conflict (Ross, 1986). In addition, Gibloa (2009) developed a framework by which he divided conflict into three main phases called "phases of conflict" include pre-conflict, conflict, and post-conflict or resolution and conciliation, each of which passes through revision stage and ends by different outcomes (for more information, see chapter 2). This framework might help the researcher in categorizing the conflict in Yemen where major and minor as well as internal and external factors contribute military and non-military in the conflict. Research argues that "military conflicts are among the most dangerous and intractable types of conflicts" (Victor Kremenyuk in Bercovitch et al., 2009, p. 630). Yet, due to this complexity, the research seeks to explore the role of the international mediation for the sake of conflict resolution.

Another major theoretical issue that has dominated the field of conflict is research on conflict management (CM) and conflict resolution (CR). These two crucial approaches have been used as a negotiation tools by peacemakers in interactable conflicts such as the "Israeli-Palestinian conflict" (Ben-artzi et al.,

2015). However, some criticize the process of Conflict Management (CM) by claiming that "CM is not a prerequisite for the resolution of the conflict nor is it necessary a stepping-stone on the way of resolution". Meaning that in deep-rooted conflicts such as the Israeli-Palestinian, CM might lead to paradoxically to the escalation of conflict, making peace even harder to take place because it shifts the interests of the parties and changes their mutual interests to resolve the conflict (Ben-artzi et al., 2015, p. 56). Conflict resolution, on the other hand, concerns with reduction, elimination, and/or termination of conflict (Rahim, 2002, p. 207).

Others believe that policy design is a major area of interest within the field of conflict analysis. For example, Sager and Hinterleiner (2022) has developed a framework that contribute to a successful conflict management in two ways; first, governments can play a crucial role in shaping and reshaping conflict through policy design, second, policy must be an independent variable in conflict management whose post legislative effects influence societal conflicts. Building on the aforementioned contradiction about CM, this research is integrating and implementing the *policy design framework,* a recent framework by (Hinterleitner & Sager, 2022) and the traditional *policy cycle* (Cairney, 2012) in analyzing the Yemeni conflict.

Mediation on the other hand, plays a significant role in conflict resolution in different types of conflict, such as "conflict between states, within states, between groups, organizations, and between individuals" (Corwin, 2006; Gibloa, 2009; Glosemeyer, 2011; Rahim, 2002; W. Zartman, 2013). Wall and Dunne (2012) enlarged this categorization to include not only standard labor-

management, commercial, international, and marital conflicts, but also in environmental as well as community, civil court, interorganizational, peace-keeping, civil war, land claim, criminal, and child rights disputes. Mediation occurs due to several factors such as higher conflict intensity, internationalization, longer duration of conflict, and the presence of territorial disputes. A comprehensive framework for mediation has been developed by James Wall (1981) and James Wall and Ann Lynn (1993) by which they provide critical strategies for mediators to mediate in the aforementioned types of conflicts. A recent review of these works (Duursma, 2014) came up with the conclusion that research is highly needed on the effects of mediation on armed conflicts that fails to achieve peace making as well as extensive research is required on the different phases of mediation process. The Yemeni intractable conflict is one of these armed conflicts by which many national and international mediations have failed to reach peace agreement, and yet. This research attempts to implement and extend the aforementioned approaches on the Yemeni case.

1.2 Research Authenticity

1.2.1 Yemeni Conflict: past

Before the establishment of the current state of Yemen (The Republic of Yemen), Yemen has acknowledged a long-term conflict in both sides, north and south, the state of Imamate of Hamid ad-Din monarchy in the north and the British sultanates in the South. The fact is that "Yemen has acknowledged instability, internal tensions, and civil wars" (Group et al., 2015, p. 208). To synthesize the Yemeni conflict and make it understandable, it is essential to

categorize it into periods. The first period is the conflict before the Yemeni revolution in 1962 and the independence in 1964. The second is the conflict between north and south before the unification of Yemen in 1990. The third is the conflict in the northern parts of Yemen from 2004 till 2011. The fourth is the conflict after the Arab spring in 2011 till now. Each of which will be discussed briefly.

To begin with, since ages, Yemen is known as a tribal complex structure and division between these tribes took place due to foreign interventions. The northern parts of Yemen were ruled by the Ottoman rulers then defeated by Imam Yahia, "an Adnani family descended from the Prophet through Hasan b. Ali b. Abi Talib, as spiritual leader of the Zaidi sect" (Gandy, 1998, p. 247), was able to unite some tribes and got their support against the Ottoman rulers and eventually they forced to "sign a treaty acknowledging his sovereignty in the northern parts of Yemen" (Manea, 1996, p. 3). Imam Yahya then declared his state by the name the "Mutaakliat kingdom" (Manea, 1996, p. 3) or known as "Zaydi imamate" (Clausen, 2020, p. 918). Since the establishment of his states 1911-1962, Imam Yahya put a strategy to keep the tribes loyal to him. The first was the creation of division between the tribes and the "hostage system" by which he kept the sons of the tribe leaders in Sana'a, the capital of his territory, to kill them in case their parents oppose him or his ideologies. The second, is the creation of severe divisions between tribes "divide to rule" and the "society class system". By these techniques he was able to role until he was assassinated in 1948 by the republicans. Republicans are a youth nationalist movement inspired by the

Egyptian ideology during the president Jamal Abdul Naser "Naser has intervened in the Yemeni revolution by sending troops to help the youth movement and get rid of the Imamate" (Gandy, 1998). After the death of Imam Yahya, his son, the Imam Ahmad of the Bait Hamiduddin, took over the power and implemented the same techniques until he was also assassinated in Ta'iz in 1962. He was succeeded by his son Saif ul-Islam Muhammad al Badr but he was overthrown by the republicans in the same year, by which the "Mutaakliat kingdom" was over as state and then "the creation of the Yemen Arab Republic"(Gandy, 1998, p. 250). However, conflict issues were persisting between the loyalists led by the Albadr and the republicans. This tension led to a bloody war in different areas in the northern parts of Yemen. These remaining issues encouraged the Yemeni current conflict in different ways that will be discussed further.

The southern parts of Yemen were a British Colony from 1839 until 1964. To prevent any resistance against them, the British rulers insured that these sultanates are weak and powerless implementing the strategy "divide to rule" by which the territory under their control is divided into several small sultanates. In addition, beside dividing the south into two entities, it contributed in the separation of Yemen into south and north (Manea, 1996, p. 4). Aden received more attention by British rulers than other territories in the south due to its commercial position in the Arabic Gulf. People got the opportunity, especially the middle class, to have good education, do businesses, and acknowledged to media. It is this class who later led the opposition movement against the British colonialism in 1964.

After the revolution in the northern parts in Yemen (the Yemen Arab Republic) in the 1962 conflict was persisting for years between the royalists (support the Imamate) and the republicans. Hence then, the royalists are known among the republicans as the "reactionaries" who demands the return of Imamate's reign. Those supporters of the Imamates remained in an isolated and mountainous areas in the northern parts of Yemen.

1.2.2 Yemeni Conflict: Present

It is important to highlight that, the current conflict dated from 2004-2024 in Yemen is an extension of the "reactionaries" but in a new style, new ideology, and different international support. The Houthis in the north who seek to establish their states resembling to the Iranian system. The Southern Traditional Council seeking for to untie the unification with the north and build its independent state. Thus, the government is in critical situation in both sides of Yemen. Table 1.1 provides the names, slogans, and the description of the parties involved in the current conflict in Yemen.

Table 1.1 The Three Main Conflict Actors in Yemen

Name and slogan	Description
Republic of Yemen Government (RYG)	The internationally recognized government which is currently led by a presidential council headed by Rashad Al Alimi and his seven members, who has been appointed by the former president Abdo Rabuh Hadi in 17th April 2023.
Houthis Forces	The Houthi movement (also known as Ansar Allah or Partisans of God) is a predominantly Zaydi Shiite revivalist political and insurgent movement formed in the northern Yemeni governorate of Sa'dah under the leadership of members of the Houthi family.

الله أكبر الموت لأمريكا الموت لإسرائيل اللعنة على اليهود النصر للإسلام	The group was allied with former President Ali Abdullah Saleh until 2017.
Southern Transitional Council (STC) 	A southern separatist force backed by the United Arab Emirates since the spring of 2017, the STC is led by Yemeni General Aidarous al Zubaidi, former governor of Aden. The STC and Hadi government have been at odds over the inclusion of Yemen's main Sunni Islamist party (Al Islah) in Hadi's government. In August 2019, the STC took control of Aden, Yemen's interim capital.

Empirical research on political conflict assumes that conflict can be found among different actors, such as citizens, social groups, political representatives, and political parties (Skoog & Karlsson, 2018). First, the legitimate government is supported regionally and internationally in various levels including military and logistic support. Second, the Houthis movement which is backed by the Iranian government and receives a logistic and military support to targeted the Government forces 2004 – 2023, see (Clausen, 2020; Group et al., 2015). Third, the Southern Transitional Council receives a military, political, and logistic support from the United Arab Emirate see (Palik J & Rustad S, 2019). The three war-actors, in one way or another, receive a foreign financial and military support.

1.3 Mediation in the Yemeni Conflict

Mediation in Yemen has passed many stages. The first mediation talk was in Qatar where the Qatari government tries to end the six-round-Sa'ada wars between the Houthis and the Yemeni Government. The Qatari mediation is not

the main focus discussion in this research but as a base for further mediations by the the United Nations (the main medator-actor) and the Sultanate of Oman.

1.3.1 The United Nations

The United Nations is the official sponsor and supervisor of any conflict mediation. In other words, the United Nation is considered a reference for any mediation process on the Yemeni conflict. The direct mediation by the United Nation on Yemen was through its resolutions 2014 (2011), 2051 (2012), 2140 (2014), 2175 (2014), 2201 (2015), 2204 (2015), 2216 (2015), 2266 (2016), 2342 (2017), 2402 (2018) and 2451 (2018) and the statements of its President of 15 February 2013, 29 August 2014, 22 March 2015, 25 April 2016, 15 June 2017 and 15 March 2018 concerning the conflict in Yemen through its envoys to Yemen, namely, Ismail Ould Cheikh Ahmed (Geneva Peace Talks, 2015), Ismail Ould Cheikh Ahmed (UN) and John Kerry (US) (Kuwait Peace Talks, 2016), and Martin Griffiths (Stockholm Agreement, 2018), and Hans Grundberg (2018-2024).

1.3.2 The Sultanate of Oman

The Sultanate of Oman is a neighboring country with Yemen that follows a neutral policy towards the Yemeni conflict. Unlike the Saudi Arabia, Oman refused to be involved in military actions in Yemen led by Saudi Arabia and preferred to mediate negotiations since the beginning of the Yemeni conflict in 2011 between the Yemeni parties, and the Houthis and Saudi Arabia. The Omanis role in mediating the Yemeni conflict will be another focus of this research.

1.4 Research Problem

Recent research on the Yemeni conflict has focused in various political topics. Most of this research focuses on the impact of the international intervention in the Yemeni domestic conflict (e.g., Al Qaz, 2022; Juneau, 2016; Nyadera & Kisaka, 2020), the humanitarian crisis and international intervention (e.g., Buys & Garwood-Gowers, 2019; Gleick, 2019; Guidero & Hallward, 2018; Kimball & Jumaan, 2020; Mena & Hilhorst, 2022), the international mediation between the conflict parties (e.g., Palik J & Rustad S, 2019), tribes and political conflict (Clausen, 2020), and the impact of the Arabic Spring revolutions on the Yemeni conflict (Al-Otaibi, 2020). Even though such research is an essential in
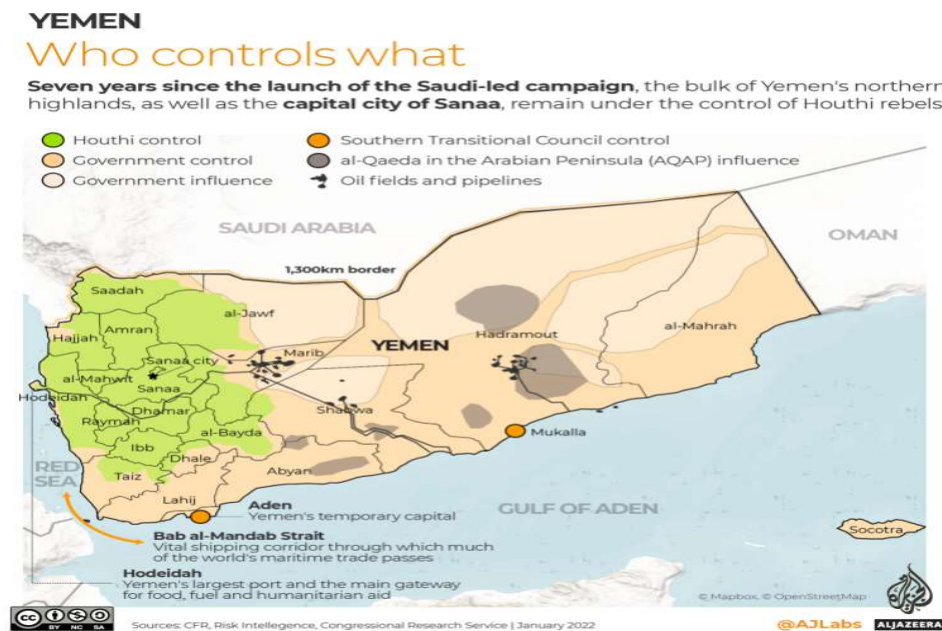
Figure 1.1Map of the Yemeni Conflict (Source: Al jazeer.com)

providing a comprehension insight concerning the Yemeni conflict from different perspectives, there are still remaining issues that require comprehensive research to determine the role of the mediators and the complexity of such conflict in order

to come up with comprehensive solutions. Figure 1 presents the map that illustrates the Yemeni conflict.

Even though Yemen is a democratic country, the complex tribal structure shapes its political sphere. Tribes are stronger actors that play a major and significant role in determining peace or conflict (Clausen, 2020). Building on this fact, research on national and international mediation in Yemen has concluded that the Yemeni conflict is an exception yet complicated. To illustrate that, since (2004 - present), mediation efforts to shed peace between these groups has taken place by different international actors such as Qatar, United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), United States (US), and Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) (Palik J & Rustad S, 2019) without reaching a peace agreement for conflict transformation. The researcher argues that mediation in Yemen did not bring a sustainable peace and comprehension solutions not only to end the war but also to solve the humanitarian crisis, hence, "research needs to be done on the effects of mediation attempts that did not lead to a peace agreement as well as the accumulative effect of peace agreement" (Duursma, 2014). Yet, this study focuses on the role of the international mediators who compete to end the complexity of the Yemeni conflict. In other words, it is supposed to determine the actual role of the international mediators, namely the United Nations and the Sultanate of Oman. The research utilizes the Conflict Management (CM) approach to evaluate the persistence failure of the mediation process that cannot comprehend a comprehension Conflict Resolution (CR) that brings the different fighting parties in Yemen all together.

1.5 Research Questions

1.   What roles do the United Nations and the Sultanate of Oman play in the Yemeni Conflict?

2.   Why do the United Nations and the Sultanate of Oman's strategies fail to end the interactable conflict in Yemen?

1.6 Objectives of the Study

The study may contribute to provide a comprehensive political peaceful plan of the Yemeni conflict with the following significant issues:

1. Determine the roles the international mediators play in the Yemeni conflict.

2. To clarify the weaknesses of the previous mediation efforts and enhance;

1.7 Literature review

Since the outbreak of the Yemeni conflict in the 2011 until recently, empirical research have been conducted in different conflict domains, including the structure of the Yemeni society (Dingli, 2013) defining the Yemeni conflict (Al-Otaibi, 2020; Clausen, 2020; DASHELA, 2022; Group et al., 2015; Jack, 2009; Juneau, 2016; Nyadera & Kisaka, 2020; A. Orkaby, 2015b; Setiz, 2019; Sharp, 2019), humanitarian and economic crisis (Buys & Garwood-Gowers, 2019; Dureab et al., 2019; Gleick, 2019; Guidero & Hallward, 2018; Kimball & Jumaan, 2020; Mena & Hilhorst, 2022), coalition in Yemen civil war (Idris & Salleh, 2021) and negotiations and mediations (Palik J & Rustad S, 2019). To begin with, it is an essential to conceptualize the Yemeni society in terms of the tribe structure

and the involvement in the political life along with the term "the failed state thesis" (Dingli, 2013, p. 93). In the Yemeni context, this term is used to refer to the patronage network that means the fluid but deeply entrenched web of tribally and regionally based patronage through which power and wealth is transmitted which includes tribal, religious elites, and wealthy merchant and technocrats (Juneau, 2016, p. 651). According to Juneau (2016), "it was the former president of Yemen Ali Abdullah Saleh who established and support these patronage network to keep him in power for 33 years" (P. 651). Therefore, it is the failed state thesis that is the main discursive element that has led key international players, like the US and the UK, to assume that the problem in Yemen is one of state failure or weakness which can be remedied through the strengthening of the state's institutions (Dingli, 2013, p. 89).

One of the most dangerous outcomes of the "failed state thesis" is the emergence of tribes oppose the central government in the northern parts in Yemen, e.g., the Houthis. According to Jack (2009) and Korishetti (2022), the *Shabab Moumineen* 'Believing Youth' currently as 'Al-Houthi' emerged as an ideological movement opposed the existence of the USA interests in the regime by raising flags claiming 'Death to America and Death to Israel". Hence, the current Yemeni conflict is an extension of the conflict between the former government under the presidency of Ali Abdullah Saleh and the *Shabab Moumineen* in the northern parts of Yemen, in *Sa'dah* province aims to "reinstalling the imamate" (Jack, 2009, p. 1017). The more comprehensive

definition of "who are the Houthis?" is found in a report to the American Congress. Sharp (2019), argues in his report that:

"The Houthi movement (also known as Ansar Allah or Partisans of God) is a predominantly Zaydi Shiite revivalist political and insurgent movement. Yemen's Zaydis take their name from their fifth Imam, Zayd ibn Ali, grandson of Husayn, son of Ali (the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad). Zayd revolted against the Umayyad Caliphate in 740, believing it to be corrupt, and to this day, Zaydis believe that their imam (ruler of the community) should be both a descendent of Ali and one who makes it his religious duty to rebel against unjust rulers and corruption. A Zaydi state (or Imamate) was founded in northern Yemen in 893 C.E. and lasted in various forms until the republican revolution of 1962. Yemen's modern imams kept their state in the Yemeni highlands in extreme isolation, as foreign visitors required the ruler's permission to enter the kingdom. Although Zaydism is an offshoot of Shia Islam, it is doctrinally distinct from "Twelver Shiism," the dominant branch of Shia Islam in Iran and Lebanon. Zaydism's legal traditions and religious practices are more similar to Sunni Islam. The Houthi movement was formed in the northern Yemeni governorate of Sa'dah (in the mountainous district of Marran) in 2004 under the leadership of members of the Houthi family. Between 2004 and 2010, the central government and the Houthis fought six wars in northern Yemen. With each successive round of fighting, the Houthis improved their position, as anti-government sentiment became more widespread amidst an aggrieved population in a war-torn and neglected north.

Although the Houthi movement originally sought an end to what it viewed as Saudi-backed efforts to marginalize Zaydi communities and beliefs, its goals grew in scope and ambition in the wake of the 2011 uprising and government collapse to embrace a broader populist, anti-establishment message. Ideologically, the group has espoused anti-American and anti-Zionist beliefs, embodied by the slogans prominently displayed on its banners: "God is great! Death to America! Death to Israel! Curse the Jews! Victory to Islam! (p. 3)

Concerning the mediation in the Yemeni conflict, previous research by Palik and Rustad (2019) evaluated the mediation between the Yemeni government and the Houthis (GoY-Houthis conflict) since the first internal war in 2004 until 2018. Palik and Rustad (2019) suggest the folowing recommendations for further medaitions:

First, recognize changed realities on the ground, (UN SCR 2216 is not an acceptable framework for negotiations for the Houthis. The resolution limits the Special Envoys' bargaining space and it does not address the influence of other conflict parties.). Second, integrate other conflict parties into ongoing mediation efforts (engage actors from each governorate in the upcoming talks, especially representatives from the Southern Transitional Council, who have demanded independence for South Yemen.). Third, include women in the peace process, (there is an urgent need to ensure that the fragile gains women acquired during the National Dialogue Conference NDC are implemented and not reversed.). Fourth, condemn indirect supporters and prolongers of the war, (while the EU had a constructive role during the 2011 transition process,

punitive measures are needed against member states who are providing military support for the coalition) (p.8).

It is a worth mentioning to connect the Yemeni conflict with the stability of the Arab Gulf Countries. Emperical researach has sought the impact of the Arab Spring Revolutions on the security of the Arabian Gulf (Al-Otaibi, 2020). This research confirms that the Arab Gulf countries faced threats and danger to their existence and sovereignty due to the spread of the Arab Spring in many Arabic countries mainly in Yemen. The instability and anarchy in the regime contributed in the creation of the Golf Countries Council (GCC) neighborhood instability mainly by the raising of the Iranian backed militia in Yemen (the Houthis). In this regard, in its proxy war with Saudi Arabia, Iran supports militia in Bahrain, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen with weapons and equipment as well as its interference in the internal affairs of the Gulf Countries. the research provide the following comprehensive result that the national security of the Gulf Countries depends on the stability of Yemen as it is the southern gate for the GCC countries (Al-Otaibi, 2020, p. 145). Another study by (Sharp, 2019, p. 2) strongly support these results by stating that for the Saudi Arabia, the Houthis embody what Iran seeks to achieve across the Arab world by supporting an armed non-state, non-Sunni actor who can pressure Iran's adversaries both politically and militarily and, on the contrary, Saudi Arabia is supporting the Yemeni central Government militarily and financially to lead military campaigns against the Houthis. Yet, these studies pave the way for further research concerning the conflict and the

Civil War in Yemen in order to bring recommendations and insights to resolve the crises.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

1.8.1 Conceptualizing Conflict

The conceptualization of conflict might be started by quoting that "people are aggressive, conflicting creatures" (Mimes, 1980, p. 3). Hence, theorists believe that conflict is inherited in humans' daily life and almost be found in all societies. For example, in their handbook of Conflict and Resolution, Jacob Bercovitch, Victor Kremenyuk, and Zartman William (2009) confirms that conflict is normal, ubiquitous, and unavoidable; meaning that it is an inherited feature in the human's existence since the first generation on earth and now available in all societies. It refers to a violent dispute or to an incompatibility of positions between the parties involved in the conflict such as individuals, groups, organizations, nations, or other actors involved in the conflict. Some of these groups are involved directly and indirectly. Such groups are responsible not only for initiating, resuming, or ending the conflict but also for the severity and period of the conflict. broadly, conflict as an integral aspect of people's political life, has been defined as the involvement efforts of two or more mutually parties to obtain their interests through destroying, injuring, thwarting, and or controlling other parties (Ross, 1986, p. 430). Conflict might be defined as a "process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement, or dissonance within or between social entities" (Rahim, 2002, p. 207).

1.8.2 Conflict Types

As it is discussed in chapter one that conflict come up with different types, namely, High intensity conflict (HIC) and Low Intensity conflict (LIT). Gibloa (2009, p. 91) categorizes conflict based on its intensity (wars), whereas low intensity conflicts characterized with the use of irregular forces against regular once. Concerning the LIC, some researchers come up with different concepts of LIC such as "small war" (Clausen, 2020), "fourth-generation wars" (Echevarria, 2005), or "post-heroic war" (Luttwak, (2002), as cited in Bercovitch et al., 2009, p. 467). Based on the aforementioned categorization, we can argue that the Yemeni conflict falls within the second category in the sense that one side of the conflict is the State which employs the armed forces and obeying the laws and rules of war and the other side is a militia group who use the irregular forces, exploits the weaknesses of the Yemeni liberal democracy, and systemically violating the laws and the rules of the war. According to Gibloa (2009) "the main goal of the parties involved in the conflict is to demonstrate political interests than military interests by wearing out the other side and the result on the ground are less important because victory is defined in terms of perceptual changes leading to the acceptance of demands." (p.92) In the context of the Yemeni conflict, for the Houthis, victory on the ground is as important as the political victory because controlling wider array of areas forces the government side to be engaged in negotiations and then fulfilling the militia's demands. Hence, the Yemeni conflict as a LICs can be described as "long, very difficult to resolve, and requires effective conflict management which may reduce the level of violence and,

therfore, conflict of this type might be transferred from one type to another"
(Gibloa, 2009, p. 92). For example, the Yemeni conflict starts as an individual
conflict in the Yemeni parliament, then transferred to the province level, then
extended to include dominations of other provinces, and all the territory of the
Yemeni (Clausen, 2020).

Research in conflict and conflict resolution distinguished interactable
conflict to traditional conflict by suggesting four characteristics of interactable
conflict. To illustrates that, Ellis (2020) distingushes between three levels of
intractable conflict, namely, "power imbalance where power and ethnicity used to
define the other and maintain power differences, interactable conflict is concerned
with existential threats; less about tangible resources and more about human needs
and identity, and   interactable conflicts involve social and political distance
between groups leads to misinformation and stereotypes and other cognitive
distortions" (P. 184).

1.8.3 Conflict Resolution

As discussed in the Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution, the term refers
to four types of actions, namely, prevention, management, resolution, and
transformation. As a field of study, it refers to ideas, theories, and methods that
can improve people's understanding about conflict and the practice of reduction in
violence and enhancement of political processes for harmonizing interests
(Bercovitch et al., 2009).

1.8.3.1 Mediation

Prior to mediation, conflict entail high costs and hence there is a need to be managed to ensure that they do not become destructive and costly. In order to minimize the costs and deescalate the conflict as well as to bring peaceful settlements, mediation is practiced by numerous and diverse actors including individuals, states, international and non-governmental organization (Bercovitch et al., 2009, p. 340). According to Young (1967) as cited in Bercovitch (2009) mediation is defined as "any action taken by an actor that is not a direct party to the crises, that is designed to reduce or remove one or more of the problems of the bargaining relationship, and therefore to facilitate the termination of the crises itself" (2009, p. 341). For (Palik J & Rustad S, 2019, p. 2) mediation is "a special, non-military and voluntary form of third party conflict management" . Generally speaking, mediation is third-party assistance to two or more interacting parties. Mediation can be practiced empirically and theoretically; the first notion refers to the practice of mediation in solving various conflicts, the second notion refers to the persistence development in the field of conflict resolution (J. Wall & Lynn, 1993). In addition, mediation facilitates negotiations using various techniques including "setting up the negotiation, separating the parties, providing advice to inexperienced representatives, offering proposals, serving as a sounding board for both sides, protecting the negotiations from third parties, and staying out of the way" (J. A. Wall, 1981, p. 157).

1.8.3.2 Strategies and Factors of Mediation

In order to ensure a practical and useful tactic for studying conflict is to categorize mediation into broad strategies. Theoretical research has identified three fundamental mediation strategies ranging from low to high intervention. Figure 2 presents the broad mediation strategies in describing and interpreting mediator behavior.

As illustrated in figure 1.3 that the least broad strategy is the 'communication-facilitation' by which the mediator adopts a fairly passive role, channeling information to the parties, facilitating cooperation but exhibiting little control over the more formal process of substance of mediation.

Most powerful

Directive

Less powerful

Procedural

Communication-facilitiation

Least powerful
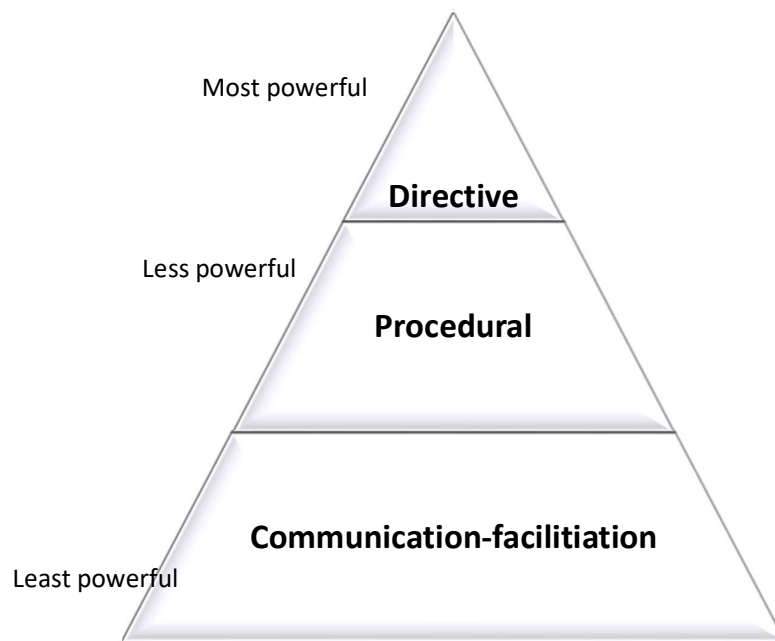
Figure 1.2 Broad Strategies of Mediation

The less broad strategy is the 'procedural' by which the mediator may determine structural aspects of the meetings, control constituency influences, media publicity, the distribution of information, and the situation powers of the parties' resources and communication processes. The last but not least, is the broadest strategy 'directive', by which the mediator affects the content and substance of the bargaining process by providing incentives for the parties to negotiate or by issuing ultimatums. It also deals with and aims to change the way issues are framed, and the behavior associated with them (Bercovitch et al., 2009, p. 347).

1.8.3.3 Criteria of Mediation

Research has been carried out to help researchers to evaluate national and international mediation. Theoretical research has suggested two criteria researchers might use in their evaluations, namely, "subjective and objective" (Bercovitch et al., 2009, p. 331) as shown in Table 1.2.

Table 2. shows that mediation should be subjective if it fulfills four basic elements, namely, fairness, satisfaction, effectiveness, and efficiency. Besides, mediation should be objective if the mediation achieved reduced violation, changed the party's behavior, and there is a noticeable positive change. A better example to illustrate both subjectivity and objectivity of effective mediation that transformed conflict into long-term peace is a case in Southeast Asia, namely, Cambodia, Indonesia, and Thailand.

Table I.2 The Criteria of Mediation

	Criteria	
	(A). Subjective: they depend on the perception of the parties in conflict.)	**(B). Objective:** rely on substantive indicators that can be demonstrated empirically.)
Indicators	The goals of mediation have been achieved if: **1.** Fairness; mediation might be neutrality, disputant control, equitability, consistency of results and consistency with accepted norms are all relatively easily observed. Perceived fairness in proceedings is important to avoid "perception of unfairness". **2.** Satisfaction; the parties satisfied the outcomes of the mediation process. Satisfaction outcomes might longer last, and least likely to be breached by repeated conflict. **3.** Effectiveness; measure of result achieved, change brought about of new forms of behavior agreed to "positive effect on the conflict", moving from "violent to non-violent), signing an agreement, accepting a ceasefire or a settlement, and agreeing to a UN peacekeeping force. **4.** Efficiency; procedural and temporal dimensions of conflict management.	The goals of mediation have been achieved if: **1.** Violence has abated, fatalities reduced, conflict intensity lessened, or a cessation of violent behavior and the opening of dialogue between the parties are achieved. Formal and binding agreement that settles the conflict issues has been signed. **2.** There is changing in the behavior of the parties involved in the conflict, such as substance of interactions, its climate, setting, and decision-making norms. **3.** Positive change take place.

In this regard, Dhiaulhaq (2015) study found the following:

Effective mediation facilitated the creation of a conductive environment for multi-stakeholder dialog, building trust between the conflict parties, assisting for problem solving processes. Whereas, the outcomes of this effective mediation results in agreed solutions, improved relationships, and commitment to long-term cooperation (2015, p. 132).

1.8.3.4 Mediator's role in Mediating a Conflict

Mediator role or "third party intervention"(Bercovitch, 1986) might be discussed in terms of specific "tactics and strategies" (Kleiboer, 1996b, p. 365) that require a "set of skills" (Bercovitch, 1986, p. 166) and might be organized from passive to active. To begin with, according to Kleiboer (1996b, p. 374) these strategies include (1) reflective behavior, (2), nondirective behavior, and (3)

directive behavior. To be explained, the reflective strategies are the most passive category by which mediators might firstly familiarize themselves with the dispute and build the groundwork by which further actions will be taken. Therefore, the purpose of these strategies is to minimalize the complexities by producing knowledge and information about the conflicting issues and parties. The second is the nondirective behavior which is more proactive and involves a change of the conflict parties and arrive at an acceptable solution to end the conflict. The last but not least is the directive behavior by which strategies are involved by the mediator encourages for specific solutions.

A more comprehensive discussion of the role of the mediators in international disputes has been illustrated in Touval and Zartman (1985) through an assessment of eight cases of international mediations. Touval and Zartman (1985, pp. 38–39) provide three principle-mediator roles, namely "communicator, formulator, and manipulator". The first functions as an ice-breaker or "a passive conduit and repository" by which the mediator breakout the communication barriers between the conflicting parties. The second is an "inventor" who concerns with redefining the issues in a conflict and finding formula for its management. The third focus on transforming the bargaining structure from a dyad into a triangle, so the mediator can involve his power and relations to ensure final agreement or resolution. In addition, other research points three roles of a mediator in a conflict resolution, include: first, mapping the conflict information such as parties, goals, and contradictions; second, assessing legitimacy or not of all goals; third, bridging legitimate goals by a creative hump, imagining a new

reality with contradictions transcended and conflict transformed (Galtung, (2000,) as cited in Nnaemeka, 2021, p. 33). Furthermore, the mediator should establish dialogue sessions that may lead to a persistence resolution of a conflict, paying attention to neglecting points, and helping the conflict parties to build common grounds to overcome the fears and satisfying the real needs (Best, 2006, as cited in Nnaemeka, 2021, p. 33).

To build an effective mediation, the United Nations issued fundamentals for effective mediation to strengthen the role of mediation and mediators in the peaceful settlement of disputes, conflict prevention and resolution (Ki-moon, 2012). These fundamentals include; (1) preparedness, (2) make a consent, (3) partiality, (4) inclusivity (5) national ownership, (6) familiar with the internal law and normative frameworks, (7) coherence, coordination and complementary of the mediation effort, (8) quality peace agreements. Each of which has specific criteria by which mediators have to follow in mediating a conflict. For more details in this concern refer to the United Nations' guide for mediation (Ki-moon, 2012).

1.8.3.5 Pre-negotiation

Conflict negotiation process should be preceded by a process of "pre-negotiation" (I. W. Zartman, 1989, p. 243). Zartman describes the process of pre-negotiation as a necessity preceding the negotiation process functions as a "preparatory phase without it negotiation might not take place" (1989, p. 243). In other words, pre-negotiation is a transitional period aims to move conflicting parties to co-operative perceptions and behavior that might lead to negotiation and then possible resolution. In addition, it helps in turning the conflictual problem

into a negotiable issue susceptible of a negotiated outcome, and hence, finds a supportable solution as of finds support for an ideal solution (I. W. Zartman, 1989, p. 247).

Pre-negotiation has several functions preceding the actual negotiation. First, pre-negotiation functions to minimize the risks associated with co-operation and prepare escape hatches in case things go wrong. Second, concessions and agreements cost, thus parties might reduce the estimated costs. Third, the *requitement* by which concessions are demanded from all involved in the negotiation. Pre-negotiation is the time to convince the other party that concessions will be required, not banked and rum away. Fourth, support by which preparing for change, construction of domestic support, and building a supportive coalition for accommodation. Fifth, alternatives; by which the process of pre-negotiation involves and inventing and choosing among alternative ways of handling the problem so defined parameters and perimeters that are essential for the resolution. Meaning that, the process of multilateral conflict resolution can be considered as one of eliminating alternatives, until only one solution remains (I. W. Zartman, 1989, p. 246) . It can be said that, pre-negotiation refers to the process of setting the agenda, the elimination of some issues, and the selection of those encompassed by the mutually acceptable definition of the problem. Sixth, the *participants*, by which the number of participants coming to the negotiation process should be chosen carefully to ensure a solution not an agreement. The last but not least is the bridge, by which pre-negotiation builds bridges from conflict to

conciliation through significant changes in the perception, mentality, tactics, definitions, and acceptability levels.

1.8.3.6 Negotiation

In conflict resolution, mediators in most cases start the process of mediation by bargaining their ideas to resolve the ongoing conflict in a form of negotiation. Negotiation is the process of "combining conflicting positions into a joint agreement to deescalate and prevent conflict to reach peace agreement" (Bercovitch et al., 2009, p. 323; Roszkowska, 2023). For many researchers, negotiation is a sequence of actions by which the conflict parties address demands, arguments and proposals to each other for the apparent purposes of reaching an agreement and changing the behavior of the conflict actors (Dur et al., 2019; W. Zartman, 1977; W. Zartman & Touval, 1985).

Individual differences like negotiator's background characteristics, abilities, personality traits, expectations, beliefs, and motivations play a significant role in the negotiation process as well as its outcomes. According to Roszowska, Kersten, and Wachowicz (2023) social motivation is an essential in negotiations by which people pay attention to their interests and others. For examples, traits such as the negotiation's risk attitude, emotions and culture, as well as context affect the process of negotiation and its outcomes. Others include, epistemic and identity motivation. Epistemic motivation refers to the process of building knowledge through developing and holding accurate as well well-informed conclusions about the world by processing available information. Identity motivation, on the other hand, refers to use of the negotiator identity to

prepare for the action and make sense of the world around himself. Motivations are essential not only in negotiations but also in representative negotiations by which agents negotiate on behave of their principals. The agencies' motivations and incentives vary from their principals, and then they usually perceive the negotiation problem differently and come up with different goals, aspirations, and reservation levels that may affect the outcomes of the negotiation itself.

1.8.3.7 Intransigence and Procrastination in Negotiations

Negotiations do not usually go smooth; however, most of the negotiation processes encounter obstacles and hindrances. There are several reasons behind these obstacles and hindrances, including procrastination and intransigence. The term "procrastination" is originally from Latin language means "quiet" or "postpone" consists of "pro" means forward and "crastinus" means "belonging to tomorrow (Ferrari et al., 1995). Generally speaking, procrastination refers to the process of "avoiding unnecessary work and impulsive effort".

1.8.4 Roles of International Actors in Mediation

Mediation and peace in the theory of international relations, and especially in the theories of Liberalism and Realism, international actors refer to the notion of formal diplomatic practitioners; formal representative of state, regional organization, or the Unted Nations (Clark, 1992, p. 6). Broadly speaking, in the theory of realism, the 'state of nature' (Jumarang, 2011, p. 1) or the "nation-state" abbreviated as 'state' (Chan et al., 2017, p. 15) is the "central assumption" (Jumarang, 2011, p. 1) and/or "the principle actor" (Chan et al., 2017, p. 15) by

which the international system is characterized as an 'anarchy' and the foreign policy is determined to ensure national survival as well as national interests. Thus, realists sees peace by focusing on the state's interests of power and security (Baihuzhakava, 2022, p. 82). National interest might be achieved by various aspects, including mediating and negotiating conflicts between states or what is known as 'third-party intervention'(Clark, 1992, p. 10).

On the other hand, highlighting the peacebuilding, Liberalism puts individual as its priority as he is the "fundamental building block of a political system" (Chan et al., 2017, p. 22) by which the Liberalism concern is the liberty and property of the people to ensure the right of an individual person to life. The political system in the Liberalism is characterized by unchecked power; cannot protect the life and liberty of its citizens. Therefore, liberalism intends to "construct institutions that protect individuals freedom by limiting and checking political power" (Chan et al., 2017, p. 22). International relations are so important to liberals in the sense that a states' activities abroad can have its influence at home but they are troubled by militaristic foreign policies by which war requires states to build military power to fight foreign states but this power might be used to oppress its own citizens. Yet, liberals limit the military power to ensure civilian control over the military.

In addition, in the international system, a competitive self-interest drove the realists to concern with states and their actions that believes that actors of international organizations and other trans-states or sub-state actors hold little real influence as they act as unitary actors looking after themselves (Chan et al., 2017;

Jumarang, 2011, p. 15). In other words, the decision-makers are rational actors who their decision-making leads to the persuade of the national interest (Duursma, 2014, p. 15) and the decisions must not be weak and vulnerable. Within this framework, mid-level officials, personnel of non-governmental organizations, and military officers on peacekeeping missions may take part in the mediating and problem solving with the hope that they wish to resolve the conflict. Such intervention might be rejected due to the fact that if mediation comes from powerful mediators which may reflect badly on credibility or image.

Clark (1992, p. 11) developed a taxonomy of third-party intervention consists of (1) conciliation by which the mediator provides communicative link, in a form of negotiation, between the warring parties for identifying issues, lowering tension and encouraging interaction, (2) Consultation by which the mediator facilitates to create problem-solving through communication and analysis utilizing human skills and social-scientific understanding of conflict etiology and dynamics, (3) Pure mediation by which mediators facilitate negotiations through the use of reasoning, persuasion, effective control of information, and the suggestion of alternatives, (4) Power mediation by which pure mediation moved to include the use of leverage or coercion on the part of the mediator in a form of promised rewards or threatened punishment by which the third-party as monitor and guarantor of the agreement. (5) arbitration by which a mediator renders a binding judgement arrived at through consideration of the individual merits of the opposing positions and then imposes a settlement which is deemed to be fair and

just, (6) Peacekeeping by which a mediator provides military personnel to monitor a ceasefire or an agreement between the warring parties.

Furthermore, Clark (1992) determined six issues related with the third-party conflict intervention, namely culture, power asymmetries, third-party bias, timing and ripeness in mediation, effectiveness of third-party intervention, and the ethics of intervention. These issues effect on the success and failure of the mediation process. If the mediator or third-party intervention understand fully the culture of the conflict in the society, power imbalance between the warring parties, impartial and neutral as well as not determining outcomes, 'ripen' the conflict by intervening on times, effectiveness in the settlement, and maintain the moral and ethical attitudes on their actions. If these issues did not take into consideration, then the mediation intervention will not yield a peacebuilding process.

Yet, in the theory of international relations, the main goal of the realism is the survival of the state by which individuals are organized into states claiming that human nature impacts on state behavior, and surprisingly leaders are usually males that influence the realist account of politics (Chan et al., 2017, p. 16) who is able to perform national security and in order to perform that task the ruler needs to be alert and cope effectively with internal and external threats of his rule (Machiavelli, 1916). Concerning foreign policy, the ruler should play the roles of a lion and a fox; the power (Lion) and deception (the Fox), see (Chan et al., 2017, p. 17) this also concerns with third-part intervention, mediation/good offices. Yet, it can be inferred that realists believe that political actions should be directed

towards keeping and increasing or demonstrating power; meaning that policies based on morality and idealism can lead to weakness even though in mediation.

Realism's weakness, based on many critics, might be found in one of its central strategies that is 'the balance of power'. Chiaruzzi (2017) describes this critic as a situation in which states are continuously making choices to increase their own capabilities while undermining the capabilities of other. In other words, the balance of power can be interpreted as 'no state is permitted to get too powerful within the international system" and if any state wants to be more powerful it will trigger a war because other states will form an alliance to defeat it and restore the power balance.

When it comes to international success in mediation, Bercovitch (1991, p. 16) concludes that there are three factors affects the success and failure of the international mediation, namely the identity of the mediator, the strategies employed, and factors related with the parties involved. As cited in (Kleiboer, 1996a, p. 375), Bercovitch argued that more active mediation strategies are more affective in international mediation, and active mediation strategies can affect and be responsive to a wider variety of dispute situation than less active strategies. In addition, the success or failure of the international mediation might refer to the mediator behavior by which Kressel in (Kleiboer, 1996a) provides three mediator-behavior strategies, namely reflective behavior, nondirective behavior, and directive behavior, add to the three main strategies discussed in this chapter, namely communicator, formulator, and manipulator.

Furthermore, Kleiboer (1996a, pp. 362–373) explained the success of mediation in four dimensions, namely (1) the characteristics of the dispute (e.g., conflict ripeness, the level of conflict intensity, and the nature of the issue), (2) parties and their interrelationship (e.g., their identification, their cohesiveness, their types of regime, their motivation to mediate, their previous and ongoing relationships, and the distribution of power between them), and (3) characteristics of the mediator (e.g., impartiality, leverage, status), (4) the international context (e.g., international proxies; shares political and economic interests).

Liberalist' weakness is concerning with the war for territory expansion by taking over territories overseas by which it requires strengthen the state over the people, require long-term commitments to the military occupation and political control of foreign territory and people, and require large bureaucracies with interest in the expansion (Chan et al., 2017, p. 23). Liberals' essential problem is that how to build a political system that protect themselves from foreign interests without harming its citizenry; one of these techniques is the election by which people can remove rulers from power and allow them to check their government behavior. The second is the division of power among different branches within the government level like a parliament(Chan et al., 2017, p. 23). These two limitations in the political power allows for checks and balances of political power.

1.9 Research Methodology

This section provides the research method concerning the role of the international mediation in the Yemeni Conflict. It begins by providing the

research design which states the approaches implied in conducting the research. Then, it explains the integration of two interdisciplinary theoretical approaches used in the analysis of the research data. It also provides detail information about the research context as well as the participates involved in this study. Then, it describes the nature of the data, method of collection, types, and the validity and reliability of the collected data. Finally, it provides a detailed method for data analysis based on the theoretical approaches that have been determined in chapter two.

1.9.1 Research Type and Scope

This section is estimated to describe the researchers' philosophical assumptions through explaining the procedures of inquiry or the research design of the study. To begin with, the study implies a qualitative research approach with a descriptive research design to inquire and evaluate the theme under investigation. To be precise, to investigate the role of the international mediators in resolving the Yemeni-Yemeni interactable conflict during the period of 2011 until recently. The main purpose of the investigation is of two folds. First, to explore the process of mediation itself and to determine the shortcomings of the process of mediation. Second, based on the shortcomings and the failure of mediation, the study might comprehend a theoretical framework through recommendations and suggestions. Research on conflict and resolution has adapted qualitative research approach in various political topics, for example (Ben-artzi et al., 2015; Lasala Blanco et al., 2021; e.g., Skoog & Karlsson, 2018).

The researcher argues that there are three factors about the conflict in Yemen worth considering to be a case study, namely, the Yemeni conflict has been described as an interactable conflict that lasted longer; "a proxy war between regional and extra-regional powers"(Jordan, 2020, p. 14), and required an international intervention that widened the Yemeni-Yemeni division. The researcher believes that qualitative case study is suitable with the theme of this research in the sense that "qualitative case study research design is implemented to evaluate and develop an in-depth analysis of a case" (Creswell, 2011, 2014, 2015; Yin, 2011). An in-depth analysis of published documents on the mediation and negotiation process on the Yemeni conflict will be helpful in determining the complexity of the Yemeni conflict.

In other words, in case study research design the case must be designed to answer questions of "how" and "why" questions (Yin, 2011). However, the researcher finds it possible to replace the "how" with "what" to fit the research purpose. Thus, after the factors that make the Yemeni conflict more interactable have been revealed in the literature review, it is then estimated to answer the question of "what" roles the international mediators play in the negotiation process between the warring parties in the Yemeni interactable conflict. This question will lead the researcher to provide an answer of the "why" question concerning the persisting failure in reconciliating the Yemeni interactable conflict, but enforcing the division to be more visible and more serious.

In analyzing the data concerning with the Yemeni conflict, the researcher uses a multidisciplinary methodological approach that combines two methods,

namely a political research method concerning (mediation approaches) and a linguistic research method 'face-threatening act' (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The researcher believes that a combination of two theories provides a deep interpretation and understanding of the conflict phenomenon in Yemen.

1.9.2 Dependent Variable

The dependent variable consists of the outcomes of the mediation processes by international mediators, namely the United Nations and the Sultanate of Oman. The outcomes of the negotiations and agreements are listed in a database published in the United Nations website. The database provides information about the role of the international mediators in what I code here as 'conflict polarization'. I use the term polarization as dependent variable because it is more comprehensive that it 'describes numerous changes in protected conflicts such as heightened ethnocentrism, alienation, scapegoating, dehumanization, stereotyping, a tendency to create enemy images and more likely declining in moderation, among others" (Mitchell, 2002, p. 7). Polarization prevents conflict transformation. Other terms might include enlargement and/or escalation. Based on the researcher's observation it is worth noticing that the mediation processes resulted in more division than stability, security, and solidarity.

1.9.3 Independent Variable

Polarization might be caused by various factors such as the approach of mediation, mediator's experience of the Yemeni conflict, fairness in mediation, and mediators' political interests. The all-aforementioned factors are independent

variables that might influence the process of mediation and more importantly the outcomes. Each of which has its influence in the process of conflict transformation or might influence other factors. To begin with, the researcher utilizing various approaches of mediation (I. W. Zartman, 1989; W. Zartman, 1977, 2013; W. Zartman & Touval, 1985) to measure the independent variables. To be precise, the researcher adapts successful traditional mediation approaches that utilized "international relations and its power politics" (W. Zartman & Touval, 1985, p. 27). The researcher use more recent mediation approach that yielded a conflict transformation in southeast Asia (Dhiaulhaq et al., 2014) to assess the process of mediation in Yemen and its weaknesses. I use the Third-Party Intervention Model (Clark, 1992) to measure the lack of experience and fairness variables in the process of mediation as well as the interests of a third-party in the conflict itself to obtaining outcomes which may resulted in three role-plays, namely, "communicator, formulator, and manipulator" (W. Zartman & Touval, 1985, p. 27).

1.9.4 Context, Population, and Sampling Techniques

The context is the Republic of Yemen (Yemen) which suffers a persistence conflict since 2004 till recently. During the 2011-2023 Yemeni conflict, the territory has been divided into three military and geographical frontlines, namely, areas under the military control of the legitimate government, areas under the military conflict of the Houthis, and areas under the military control of the southern transitional council. Each of which is under the political and economic control of a political group. First, the research focuses on areas under the political

and economic control of the Government and its military forces. These parts include the Southern parts of Yemen and Ma'rib, some parts of Ta'iz and Hudaydah. Second, areas under the political and economic control of the Houthis movement. These are Sana'a, Sa'dah, Amran, Thamar, Ibb, Al-baiydha, Al-Jawaf, and parts of Ta'iz and Hudaydah). Third, areas that are partially under the political and economic control of the Southern Transitional Council (STC) (Aden, Abyan, Lahj, and Hadramout). Dividing the conflict in three-conflict territories will help the researcher in determining the role of the conflict mediators, by which the controllers of the three geographical areas are the three major powers in the country.

The population are the international mediators who are involved in the Yemeni conflict, namely, the United Nations and the Sultanate of Oman. The researcher will employ the purposive sampling technique that may fit with the purpose of the research in selecting supportive documents. These documents are the mediation agreements about the Yemeni conflict that have been conducted until recently. These agreements are documents published during the negotiation talks between the conflicting parties. Hence, these documents will be theoretically analyzed to find out their strengths and weaknesses in order to evaluate the reasons behind the persistence failure of the agreements.

1.9.5 Data collection

The data of this study consisted of two types, namely primary data and secondary data. The primary data are documents, publications, and announcements published by the official social media of the participants and the

mediators. The documents are letters, agreements and resolutions about the Yemeni conflict published by the United Nations (UN) in its official website, and are accessible and free to be downloaded. These documents are presented in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.3 Data Collection

No	Place	Document type	How many?	Year/s	Version
1.	Varies	Letters	32	2012-2022	EN
2.	UN and GCC	"Gulf Initiative agreement"	1	21 April 2011	EN & AR
3.	National	Agreement	1	2013-2014	AR
4.	Conference (UN)	Implementation	1	2014	AR & EN
5.	Stockholm	Hudaydah agreement	1	2018	EN & AR
6.	Talks	One-year-after	1	2019	EN & AR
7.	(Oman & UN)	Prisoners exchange Agreement	1		EN & AR
8.		Taiz Agreement	1		EN & AR

In addition, another data, secondary data, in support for the primary data are collected from social media especially twitter. We focus on tweets by politicians belong to parties involved in the Yemeni Conflict, mainly politicians who are belong to the Yemeni legitimate government, politicians who belong to the Houthis, politicians who define themselves as independent, Yemeni political forums, newspapers, online platforms (e.g., Sidq Yemen, and *Almashhad Alyamani*). We pay attention to the information shared by the Office of the United Nation Envoy to Yemen on twitter and telegram.

1.9.6 Data analysis techniques

Data analysis will be conducted based on the theoretical framework of conflict and resolution. The framework of policy cycle, the framework of mediation, and the framework of conflict and resolution. In addition, the study is an interdisciplinary approach by which the research will merge an important linguistic framework within the current one to make the outcomes more valuable.

1.9.6.1 Answer Question one

Question one deals with "What roles do the international mediators play in the Yemeni Conflict?". In revealing the roles of the mediators in the Yemeni conflict, the researcher will conduct an in-depth analysis of the documents published by the United Nations as well as Peace Building Institutes like the Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies. The analysis will be based on an interdisciplinary approach that consists of the theory of conflict and resolution as well as a pragmatic linguistic perspective. This combination adds an authentic and innovative analysis to determine the political and social factors contribute in exploring the complexity of the Yemeni conflict. First, to ease the analysis, it is essential to describe the complexity of the Yemeni conflict by mentioning the Yemeni parties involved in the Yemeni conflict, their roles, and their demands. Second, because of the complexity social structure of the Yemeni society which plays a significant role in its politics, the researcher will apply the face-threatening-act theory to explore how the social structure causes the failure of the political resolution.

1.9.6.2 Answer Question two

Question two concerns with "Why do the international mediators' strategies fail to end the interactable conflict in Yemen?". To answer this question, the researcher will use the theory of conflict policy cycle which the researcher think it helps to configure the failure points that led to a persistence mediation failure. Like any other policy design, the researcher believes that each mediation process should consist of a policy cycle which consists of problem definition/identification, agenda setting, policy formation, policy implementation, and evaluation. The believe is that international mediators must be neutral and fully voluntarily in doing mediation, it is essential to determine who are the international mediation actors, their political backgrounds, their international sponsors, and their ideologies towards the Yemeni conflict. In order to access how success or failure the process of mediation, the parameters of mediation and mediation strategies published by Jacob Bercovitch (1992), that consists of three main strategies and each of which consists of sub-strategies, will be utilized to answer the second research question. These strategies are, ***Communication-Facilitation***, ***Formulation***, and ***Manipulation***, see (Bercovitch et al., 2009, p. 351). Table 3. illustrates the criteria used for analyzing the mediation process and its   outcomes.

Table 1.4 The Mediation Strategies

Parameters of Mediation and Mediation Strategies (Adapted from (Bercovitch, 1992, p. 105).		Talks and Agreements Supervised, facilitated, and Mediated by the UN Envoys (2011–2024)								
		The Gulf Cooperation Council Initiative Jamal Bin Omar (facilitator)	The National Dialogue Conference (agreement), Jamal Bin Omar (facilitator)	The Peace and National Partnership Agreement, Jamal Bin Omar (facilitator)	The Kuwait Talks, Ismail Ould Sheikh Ahmed (facilitator)	Stockholm on (Hudaydah agreement), Martin Griffiths (key mediator)	Stockholm on (Prisoners exchange agreement), Martin Griffiths (key mediator)	Stockholm on (Taiz Agreement), Martin Griffiths (key mediator)	Riyadh Agreement, Hans Grundberg (supervisor)	United Nations Truce Initiative (extendable), Hans Grundberg (initiator)
Communication-Facilitation	make contact with partis									
	gain trust and confidence of the parties									
	arrange for interactions between the parties									
	identify issues and interests									
	clarify situation									
	avoid taking sides									
	develop a rapport with parties									
	supply missing information									
	develop a framework for understanding									
	encourage meaningful communication									
	offer positive evaluation									
	allow the interests of all parties to be discussed									
	choose meeting side									

	control pace and formality of meetings										
	control physical environment										
	establish protocol										
	suggest procedures										
	highlight common interests										
	reduce tensions										
	control timing										
	deal with simple issues first										
	structure agenda										
	keep parties at the table										
	help parties save face										
	keep process focused on issues										
Manipulation	change parties' expectations										
	take responsibility for concessions										
	make substantive suggestions and proposals										
	make parties aware of costs of nonagreement										
	supply and filter information										
	suggest concessions parties can make										
	help negotiations to undo a commitment										
	reward party concessions										
	help devise a framework for acceptable outcome										
	change expectations										
	press the parties to show flexibility										
	promise resources or threaten withdrawal										
	offer to verify compliance with agreement										

1.10 Thesis organization

Chapter I consists of background of the study, the research problem, the research questions, the objectives, the literature review, methodology. and the organization of the thesis.

Chapter II consists of the study setting as well as the context of the study. It talks about the social and the political system in Yemen as well as the political actors.

Chapter III states the nature of the Yemeni conflict, its motives, and actors. It facilitates the reader to understand fully the roots of the conflict and why it is categorized as one of the most interactable conflicts.

Chapter IV provides the findings concerning the mediation and negotiation process of the International Mediators, namely the United Nations and the Sultanate of Oman and analysis the data based on the theoretical perspectives in chapter I by comparing and arguing for possible new strategies for further mediations and negotiations.

Chapter V provides suggestions and recommendations for the International Mediators involved in the Yemeni conflict in particular and for students who are interested in studying political science in general and international relations in particular.

References lists the in-citation references used throughout this study which consists of authenticated books and research paper articles.