

MODERNÍ ZAMRZLÉ KONFLIKTY:

Podmínky pro výskyt tohoto fenoménu

MODERN FROZEN CONFLICTS:

Conditions for the Occurrence of the Phenomenon

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Abstrakt

Po pádu bipolárního rozložení moci došlo k rychlé změně konfliktního prostředí. Jedním z nových termínů, který se v konfliktních studiích uchytil je tzv. frozen conflict neboli zamrzlý konflikt. Předkládaný článek se zaměřuje na podmínky, které mohou vést k zamrznutí konfliktu. Hlavním cílem práce je odhalit, jaké jsou nutné a postačující podmínky pro zamrznutí současných konfliktů, které se vyskytovaly v období let 1991-2022. Pro tyto účely je využita kvalitativní komparativní analýza (KKA). Samotný výzkum odhalil, že jako nejdůležitější se jeví separatistické tendence jednoho z aktérů konfliktu, jelikož tato podmínka byla přítomna u 85 % všech zamrzlých konfliktů a na základě analýzy nutných i postačujících podmínek musí být považována za velmi důležitou.

Abstract

After the fall of the bipolar division of power, there was a rapid change in the conflict environment. One of the new terms that took hold in conflict studies is the so-called frozen conflict. The main objective of the research is to reveal what the necessary and sufficient conditions for freezing the conflict are. The research focuses on conflicts that occurred in the period 1991-2022. For this purpose, Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) is used. The research has revealed that the separatist tendencies of one of the conflict actors appear to be the most important, as this condition was present in 85% of all frozen conflicts and, based on the analysis of necessary and sufficient conditions, it should be considered very important.

Klíčová slova

Konflikt; kvalitativní komparativní analýza; podmínka; teritorialita; zamrznutý konflikt.

Keywords

Condition; Conflict; Frozen Conflict; Qualitative Comparative Analysis; Territoriality.

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INTRODUCTION

In the most general sense, those conflicts are considered frozen, where active armed conflict has ceased, but no peace treaty or other political framework has resolved the conflict to the satisfaction of the combatants. It is an environment of considerable uncertainty and instability, where violence can flare up again at any time. Nowadays, we can most often encounter frozen conflicts in the post-Soviet and Caucasian areas, but several frozen conflicts have also been recorded in Asia and Africa. In conflict studies, little attention is paid to this type of conflict, and the vast majority of scientists who focus on this issue are concerned with the emergence and functioning of newly created de facto states, rather than the freezing itself. Most of the frozen conflicts are intrastate conflicts, where separatists long for the creation of new states. However, these states are not recognized by most of the international community and therefore they are only the so-called de facto states. However, this is not the only kind of frozen conflict. In some cases, there are territorial disputes between two states that have lasted for decades, and violence escalates at certain intervals. Therefore, we can see frozen conflicts not only in intrastate conflicts but also in interstate conflicts.

Studying frozen conflicts is very important for several reasons. There are several studies that focus on cases in the post-Soviet area, but researchers have very limited focus on analysis in a broader global context of the phenomenon of frozen conflicts. However, these conflicts occur worldwide and therefore need to be addressed globally as well.¹ In addition, researchers often disagree on what the definition of frozen conflicts is and which conflicts can be considered frozen. According to some scientists, the notion of frozenness may imply that the conflicts remain static and that such conflicts appear only in the post-Soviet space.² However, a few scientists have come up with comprehensive studies in recent years that reflect a much wider geographical space and perceive the notion of frozenness as a dynamic phenomenon.³ Therefore, it is necessary to continue to examine the frozen conflicts and try to fill in the blind spots in research that have not yet been explored. These conflicts are often overlooked because there has been no violence for decades, but in the event of thawing, high-intensity violence often disperses, while some scientists also talk about the threat of spillovers.⁴ In addition, in recent years, we have witnessed the thawing of several conflicts such as in Nagorno-Karabakh and some scientists say that it is only a matter of time before other conflicts such as Transnistria or Taiwan will thaw.⁵ For these reasons, this analysis addresses the phenomenon of frozen conflicts and attempts to cover the scientific gaps that currently exist in the research. The aim is to examine this phenomenon as a dynamic phenomenon that occurs across

¹ The same opinion is held by current studies devoted to frozen conflicts, such as the article by SMETANA, Michal and LUDVIK, Jan. Between war and peace: a dynamic reconceptualization of frozen conflicts. *Asia Europe Journal*, 2019, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 1-14.

² BLANK, Stephen. Russia and the Black Sea's frozen conflicts in strategic perspective. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 2008, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 23-54.

³ SMETANA and Ludvík, ref. 1.

⁴ GRANT, Thomas D. *Frozen Conflicts and International Law*. New York: Cornell University, 2017.

⁵ Frozen conflicts: thawing tensions in the EU's eastern neighbourhood. *Friends of Europe*. [online], 2022. Available at: <https://www.friendsofeurope.org/events/frozen-conflicts-thawing-tensions-in-the-eus-eastern-neighbourhood/>

several continents and try to explain why some conflicts are frozen and other conflicts are not. In recent years, several studies have been published on how some frozen conflicts were resolved, but no study has provided a comprehensive analysis of multiple cases that addressed why the freezing occurred.⁶ Some researchers agree that there should be a comprehensive comparison of several cases of frozen conflicts.⁷ There is a lack of such studies so far and this contribution should help fill in the blind spots of conflict studies.

For research purposes, the following research question was defined: *What are the necessary and sufficient conditions for the freezing of modern conflicts?* The causes of conflict freezing are causally complex. This means that we assume that freezing is due to a combination of multiple causes. Therefore, a suitable method is the qualitative comparative analysis (QCA), which can detect these causes and their combinations. The aim of the research is to identify, on the basis of qualitative comparative analysis, complex causal mechanisms that led to the freezing of armed conflicts (after 1991) in the areas of Europe, Asia, but also Africa. The aim is to provide a comprehensive study that examines cases across several continents, because frozen conflicts occur not only in the post-Soviet space, but also in Asia and Africa. At the same time, the research attempts to reflect the present, so frozen conflicts that took place in recent years are included in the analysis (i.e., not resolved and completed by 2020). QCA describes the relationships between social phenomena in the form of belonging to sets and subsets, while the relationships between sets are described using necessary and sufficient conditions. The result of the analysis emphasizes causal complexity - thus, the examined phenomenon is the result of a combination of several causes. The tested conditions are identified on the basis of the study of scientific literature.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Frozen conflicts are conflicts that have become frozen and have remained in this condition for several years. An example is the conflict between North and South Korea or the situation in Taiwan. Freezing often occurs when there is equality of power between the rival parties and none of them see the prospect of a sudden change in this state of affairs. The term frozen conflict describes a conflict situation in which there is no large-scale violence, there is a permanent ceasefire, but the parties are not successful in reaching a political agreement or peace.⁸ In this case, there is no war or peace, and violence can escalate at any time. It often happens that conflicts thaw several times and then freeze again. Frozen conflicts are not immutable. In some cases, such as for Taiwan, the situation has not changed for a long time and violence has not escalated, but most of the frozen conflicts are evolving cyclically and the dynamics of these conflicts are changing.⁹ An example is Nagorno-Karabakh, where the conflict escalated in 2016 and

⁶ See KLOSEK, K. Ch., et al. Frozen conflicts in world politics: A new dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2021, Vol. 58, No. 4, pp. 849-858.

⁷ DEMBINSKA, Magdalena. Frozen Conflicts and Internal Dynamics of De Facto States: Perspectives and Directions for Research. *International Studies Review*, 2017, Vol. 19, pp. 254-278.

⁸ TUDOROIU, Theodor. *The European Union, Russia, and the Future of the Transnistrian Frozen Conflict*. Montreal: Centre d'études sur la paix et la sécurité internationale, 2011.

⁹ BECHNA, Zinaida. *Stabilization and Resettlement in Post-War South Ossetia*. Albena: International Multidisciplinary Scientific Conference, 2016.

later also in 2020.¹⁰ The incompatibility of goals persists for a long time, the actors do not give up violence, the animosity often increases over the years, and subsequently the conflict thaws and the violence escalates. The vast majority of authors describing frozen conflicts agree on several defining features.¹¹ Frozen conflicts are neither war nor peace, in this situation, the parties claim the territory and negotiate. Many authors describe separatist or secessionist tendencies of insurgent groups.¹² In such a case, the dispute is between the de facto state and the parent state.¹³

However, some describe territorial disputes between two independent states.¹⁴ It follows that territoriality is an important feature of a frozen conflict.¹⁵ Generally speaking, there are two types of frozen conflicts:

- a) National-separatist conflicts, where separatists create a quasi/de facto state and seek independence on an internationally recognized state.
- b) Intergovernmental conflict, mostly over disputed territories, which escalates after long periods of calm.

Indeed, the fact that there are two types of frozen conflicts has been confirmed by other authors who argue that it is either a conflict between two states or a conflict between a de facto state and a state.¹⁶

The definition of these conflicts has been addressed by several researchers. Perry describes frozen conflicts as situations in which violence has ceased but the underlying interests of the previously warring parties have not been mitigated or addressed.¹⁷ Lachert claims that frozen conflicts occur in regions of the countries that are no longer controlled by the central authorities. These are situations in which the lack of non-violent solutions to the problem does not lead to broader armed operations, while conflicts are doomed to remain unresolved.¹⁸ According to Smetana and Ludvík, a frozen conflict is characterized by several common features. It must be (a) international and (b) protracted post-war, it must have (c) core unresolved issues, and it (d) lacks stable peace.¹⁹ The core unresolved issues are mentioned by several authors, some of them even claim that this problem is related to territoriality.²⁰ Some authors mention that this is a dynamic situation where the conflict has lasted for several years, but no peace agreement has

¹⁰ ACAPS. *Azerbaijan and Armenia: Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh*. Geneva: ACAPS, 2020.

¹¹ See BEBLER, Anton. *Frozen conflicts in Europe*. Toronto: Barbara Budrich, 2015.

¹² BEBLER, Anton. *Frozen conflicts in Europe*. Toronto: Barbara Budrich, 2015.

¹³ DEMBINSKA, Magdalena. Frozen Conflicts and Internal Dynamics of De Facto States: Perspectives and Directions for Research. *International Studies Review*, 2017, Vol. 19, pp. 254-278.

¹⁴ GANGULY, Sumit, et al. India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir dispute: unpacking the dynamics of a South Asian frozen conflict. *Asia Europe Journal*, 2019, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 129-143.

¹⁵ BLAHOVA, Pavlina. Nagorno-Karabakh: Obstacles to the resolution of the frozen conflict. *Asia Europe Journal*, 2019, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 69-85.

¹⁶ SMETANA and Ludvík, ref. 1.

¹⁷ PERRY, V. At cross purposes? Democratization and peace implementation strategies in Bosnia and Herzegovina's frozen conflict. *Human Rights Review*, 2009, Vol. 10, No 1, pp. 35-54.

¹⁸ LACHERT, J. *Post-Soviet Frozen Conflicts: A Challenge for European Security*. Warsaw Institute, 2019.

¹⁹ SMETANA and Ludvík, ref. 1.

²⁰ DE WAAL, T. and VON TWICKEL, N. *Beyond Frozen Conflict Scenarios for the Separatist Disputes of Eastern Europe*. Brussels: CEEPS, 2020.

been reached.²¹ Several authors also agree that frozen conflicts last for decades.²² They do not specify the exact length, however, most of them work with conflicts that have lasted for several decades. Conflicts in the post-Soviet space are most often considered frozen conflicts, such as in Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia and Abkhazia. These are long-standing conflicts that have been going on for almost 30 years. However, most of the time they were frozen. On the other hand, the situation in Donbas was also very often described as a frozen conflict, which turned out to be completely wrong given the current Russian invasion. The conflict in Donbas is only active as of 2014, meaning it has not been properly established and the situation has developed more dynamically compared to the long-running frozen conflicts. A period of less than ten years, therefore, seems inappropriate, as the conflict can still evolve and change. Because of these considerations, a period of at least ten years seems to be an important feature of frozen conflicts. Therefore, this research only considers frozen conflicts that meet this condition. Based on the available literature, frozen conflicts are understood in this research as long-lasting conflicts where core unresolved issues (most often connected with territoriality) are present, they lack stable peace (violence can escalate at any time), but for most of this period there is no armed violence, i.e., it is a protracted post-war conflict process.

Most scientists describe specific frozen conflicts, some determine the definition of this phenomenon, only a few focus on what has led to the freezing of the conflict. Several authors state that an external support of a strong state is very important. This is mentioned, for example, by Bebler, who argues that the support of a strong state is crucial for separatists and the freezing of the conflict.²³ This is also described by other authors such as Grant.²⁴ Dembinska also describes the great importance of patron support.²⁵ Minzari talks about Russia's role as a patron in Nagorno-Karabakh and even claims that there has been a shift from support to involvement in the conflict, which is a common phenomenon in Russia's case.²⁶ The help of an external patron, especially Russia, is also described by other authors, such as Coyle.²⁷ An external patron supplies weapons, money, food, and often soldiers to the disputed area. Bebler also introduces another important aspect, namely the isolation of detached entities from the international community.²⁸ Kolstø attaches importance to the international community as well. If large international organizations do not deal with the conflict, or the conflict is only on the fringes of their interest, they will not become engaged in conflict resolution, which gives

²¹ BROERS, L. From frozen conflict to enduring rivalry: reassessing the Nagorny Karabakh conflict. *Nationalities Papers*, 2015, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 556-576.

²² CHAVEZ FREGOSO, Carolina. *Western Sahara: A Frozen Conflict*. Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, 2012.

²³ BEBLER, Anton. *Frozen conflicts in Europe*. Toronto: Barbara Budrich, 2015.

²⁴ GRANT, Thomas D. *Frozen Conflicts and International Law*. New York: Cornell University, 2017.

²⁵ DEMBINSKA, Magdalena. Frozen Conflicts and Internal Dynamics of De Facto States: Perspectives and Directions for Research. *International Studies Review*, 2017, Vol. 19, pp. 254-278.

²⁶ MINZARI, Dimitru. *Russia's Stake in the Nagorno-Karabakh War: Accident or Design?* Berlin: SWP, 2020.

²⁷ COYLE, James J. *Russia's border wars and frozen conflicts*. New York: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2017.

²⁸ BEBLER, Anton. *Frozen conflicts in Europe*. Toronto: Barbara Budrich, 2015.

de facto states a better chance of survival.²⁹ In addition, Kolstø identifies four other factors that can lead to the freezing of the conflict. This includes the weakness of the home state, strong support from an external patron, the existence of a separatist army, and nation-building in the disputed territory. The influence of the international environment as well as the different ethnicity between the main actors in the conflict are described by Clancy and Nagle.³⁰ Moreover, Lachert also describes the lack of interest of the wider international community and the low intensity of the conflict as some of the decisive factors in his study.³¹ Similar reasons related to the lack of interest of international organizations are also mentioned by Payne.³² Cioban focuses on what influences the persistence of the stalemate of the current frozen conflicts. He identifies economic factors, ethnic and cultural disputes, and the presence of foreign interests.³³ It is the economic and security weakness of a state in which either the insurgents demand separatism or secession or another internationally recognized state demands the gain of the disputed territory, which is mentioned by several authors as an important aspect that leads to the freezing of the conflict. Some authors link frozen conflicts to separatism or secessionism of a non-state actor who creates a quasi-state.³⁴ However, other argue for a dispute between two internationally recognized states.³⁵ The separatist tendencies and security weakness of the state, which often does not have a strong army and is not economically stable, are also mentioned by other authors, such as Berg and Mölder.³⁶

The last sign that is sometimes mentioned is the intensity of the conflict. The long-term intensity can lead to the conflict freezing because it is not resolved militarily. For example, the European Parliament study works with intensity.³⁷ Based on the opinions of all of these authors, six conditions that can lead to the freezing of the conflict were selected for the analytical part of the research. These include the international community's commitment to conflict resolution (small one), support or involvement of a powerful patron, weakness of the mother state - the state to which the disputed territory officially belongs (economic, political and security), cultural, religious, and ethnic

²⁹ KOLSTØ, Pal. The Sustainability and Future of Unrecognized Quasi- States. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2006, Vol. 43, No. 6, pp. 723-740.

³⁰ CLANCY, Mary and NAGLE, John. *Frozen Conflicts, Minority Self-Governance, Asymmetrical Autonomies - In search of a framework for conflict management and conflict resolution*. Ulster: University of Ulster, 2009.

³¹ LACHERT, J. *Post-Soviet Frozen Conflicts: A Challenge for European Security*. Warsaw Institute, 2019.

³² PAYNE, Clayton. *Abkhazia and South Ossetia's political isolation has implications for environmental governance and cooperation*. West Yorkshire: CEOBS, 2021.

³³ CIOBAN, Cslav. *Frozen and forgotten conflicts in the post-Soviet states: genesis, political economy and prospects for solution*. New York: East European Monographs, 2009.

³⁴ DEMBINSKA, Magdalena. *Frozen Conflicts and Internal Dynamics of De Facto States: Perspectives and Directions for Research*. *International Studies Review*, 2017, Vol. 19, pp. 254-278.

³⁵ GANGULY, Sumit, et al. India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir dispute: unpacking the dynamics of a South Asian frozen conflict. *Asia Europe Journal*, 2019, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 129-143.

³⁶ BERG, Eiki and MÖLDER, Martin. Who Is Entitled to Earn Sovereignty? Legitimacy and Regime Support in Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh. *Nations and Nationalism*, 2012, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 527-545.

³⁷ European Parliament. *The Frozen Conflicts of the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood and Their Impacts on the Respect of Human Rights*. Brussels: EU, 2016.

differences between the actors in the conflict, low intensity of the conflict and secessionist/irredentist nature of the conflict.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The main goal of this research is to find out why conflicts freeze in some cases and in others not. For research purposes, the following research question was defined: *What are the necessary and sufficient conditions for the freezing of modern conflicts?* Based on an analysis of the literature, it was determined that frozen conflicts are those that last for more than ten years. During this period, there are limited episodes of violence, but the conflict is not resolved, and peace agreements are not reached throughout the period. These conflicts are territorial in nature, either quasi/de facto states are emerging - new states that are not recognized by the international community or there are territorial disputes between two internationally recognized states. Qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) is used to determine whether there are necessary or sufficient conditions for the freezing of the conflict. This method was chosen because it is the most objective method, which can examine a medium number of cases (20-40) that can be affected by several variables.³⁸ This is also confirmed by other authors who claim that the QCA sample should not be larger than 30 cases.³⁹ The dependent variable has two values - the occurrence of a frozen conflict (code 1, the fulfillment of the condition) and the occurrence of another type of conflict (code 0, non-compliance). Based on a study of the literature and individual conflicts, six conditions were selected that can lead to freezing. The overall selection is described in subchapter 3.2 Selection of Conditions. If the condition was present, it was assigned the value of 1, otherwise the value of 0. The period is limited to the years from 1991 (the end of the Cold War and the arise of new conflicts) to 2022. The aim was to choose conflicts from all areas to make the sample more representative. Frozen conflicts must correspond to the definition that was described in the theoretical part. Since QCA compares frozen conflicts with those that are not frozen, it was necessary to select an equally large sample of such conflicts. The similarly large sample of non-frozen conflicts that occurred in the period 1991-2022 was selected; the aim was to select conflicts from as many areas as possible that were either ended by an agreement or those where intense violence occurred during the entire duration of the conflict. This is the opposite of what characterizes a frozen conflict. At the same time, since frozen conflicts are characterized by territoriality, which is a typical sign of both types of frozen conflicts (see the theoretical part), similar conflicts were selected also for the non-frozen conflict sample. Based on Mill's method of agreement, which is an essential element for QCA, similar conflicts were selected in which territoriality was also present.⁴⁰ Mill's method of agreement focuses on how cases that are similar differ from each other.

After selecting cases (see subchapter 3.1 Case Selection) and selecting conditions, an analysis is performed. In the first step, an analysis of the necessary conditions was created. This is because if any of the conditions are classified as necessary, they must be part of the most sufficient output combinations. This analysis determines the consistency

³⁸ RAGIN, Charles. *Redesigning Social Inquiry: Fuzzy Sets and Beyond*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2008.

³⁹ BENES, Vit and DRULAK, Petr. *Metodologie výzkumu politiky*. Brno: Masaryk University, 2016.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

and coverage of the conditions. Consistency determines the extent to which the output is a subset of the necessary conditions (the ratio of cases with the output and condition to cases only with the given output). Ideally, it has the value of 1. In practice, there is usually a threshold of 0,9 or 0,8. Coverage represents the relevance of the necessary condition (ratio of cases with the output and condition to cases only with the condition without the output). If a given condition exceeds a specified consistency threshold, it is assumed to have a high coverage value. If this is not the case, the condition is trivial, the set of conditions is greater than the set of the output. Subsequently, a truth table was created in the program. Then, an analysis of sufficient conditions was performed. The consistency threshold for a condition to be declared a sufficient condition is 0.75.⁴¹ The so-called parsimonious solution was used. This is a solution that works with logical residues, the computer program itself creates a minimization, which leads to more concrete results.⁴² This solution has lately been preferred by most scientists. Toshkov (2020) describes the reasons why a parsimonious solution should be preferred over the complex one. He argues that only a parsimonious solution can provide a causal conclusion from QCA data in a standard social ontology, due to the monotony of the relation of necessity and sufficiency.⁴³ An interesting contribution to the debate is the work of Baumgartner and Thiem (2017), who provided a comprehensive evaluation of all three types of solutions in their work. In all their sets of inverse search tests, the intermediate and complex solutions proved to be unsuitable. Both types of solutions often committed causal delusions of varying degrees by presenting conclusions that violated the causal structure itself. Especially for complex solutions, the errors were in the range of 12% - 82%, which in practice meant that the accuracy of the solution sometimes did not exceed 10%.⁴⁴ For these reasons, this research uses a parsimonious solution.

Case Selection

For the purpose of the QCA, it was necessary to select a medium-sized sample of cases, which includes frozen conflicts as well as those that did not freeze. At the same time, the author tried to choose a representative sample that represents conflicts not only in Europe, but also in Asia and Africa.⁴⁵ All selected frozen conflicts have been frozen for at least 10 years. These are modern conflicts that occurred in the period 1991-2022. Frozen conflicts must correspond to the definition that was described in the theoretical part. The selection of frozen conflicts was based on the dataset created by Klosek et al.⁴⁶ The

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² In this case, the computer program tries to create the simplest hypotheses. The validity of these hypotheses is limited by as few conditions as possible. Mathematical factors are used to calculate this solution. The parsimonious solution assumes that counterfactual combinations can lead to an outcome if a simpler combination of conditions is obtained.

⁴³ TOSHKOV, Dimiter. *QCA Solution Types and Causal Analysis* [online], 2020. Available from: <http://re-design.dimiter.eu/?p=905>

⁴⁴ BAUMGARTNER, M. and THIEM, A. *Often Trusted but Never (Properly) Tested: Evaluating Qualitative Comparative Analysis*. Geneva: University of Geneva, 2017.

⁴⁵ The most common among the scientific community is the analysis of frozen conflicts in the post-Soviet area, where the most of the frozen conflicts occur.

⁴⁶ KLOSEK, K. Ch., et al. Frozen conflicts in world politics: A new dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2021, Vol. 58, No. 4, pp.849-858.

collective of these authors created an extensive dataset of frozen conflicts, which contains about 40 conflicts. Roughly half of them have already been resolved in the course of the 21st century, others do not meet the author's definition, for example, they did not last more than 10 years. Only 14 of them can be considered as current frozen conflicts that have been going on in recent years and at the same time meet the given definition and have lasted more than ten years. Similar criteria were applied to the remaining conflicts, which did not freeze. These are modern conflicts that took place in the period 1991-2022 and represent various continents. At the same time, the author decided to choose conflicts where territoriality also played a role. Territoriality is a hallmark of frozen conflicts, but as it occurs in a few cases where freezing has not occurred and most authors do not consider it a freezing condition, it is not included in the analysis of necessary and sufficient conditions. The goal is, therefore, to analyze similar conflicts - those where a disputed territory played an important role - and to find out why some of these conflicts were frozen and others were not. The resulting sample contains fourteen frozen conflicts. These are the conflicts in Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh, Kosovo, the Western Sahara, Kashmir, Taiwan, the Golan Heights, between South and North Korea, Kachin and Karen states in Myanmar, Mindanao, and the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict. It also contains fourteen non-frozen conflicts, namely the conflicts in Republic of Serbian Krajina, in Gagauzia, in Dagestan, the Cenepa War, the Djibouti-Eritrean conflict, the insurgency in Macedonia, the Lahad Datu Standoff, the Caprivi conflict, the Ambazonia War, the Kahemba conflict, the Yenga dispute, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) conflict in Uganda, Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan clashes and the Gulf war.

Selection of Conditions

Based on the analysis of the literature, the author selected six conditions that can theoretically lead to the freezing of the conflict. The first condition is the international community's commitment to conflict resolution. When international organizations do not deal with the conflict or the conflict is only on the fringes of their interest, they will not become engaged in the conflict resolution, which gives the de facto states a better chance of survival and there is less chance of resolving the conflict. The involvement and effectiveness of the international community is also affected when one of the permanent members of the UN Security Council supports one of the parties of the conflict.⁴⁷ The condition of the international community's commitment to conflict resolution is fulfilled when the UN does not actively participate in peaceful settlement or some of the permanent members of the Security Council are involved in the conflict, which logically leads to the ineffectiveness of the UN Security Council. In this case, the value of 1 has been assigned. The second condition is the support or involvement of a powerful patron. Physical involvement in the fighting is not necessary, often, financial or logistical support is concerned. A powerful actor is a state with a strong and large army, an economically and politically important player in international relations (however, it does not need to be a permanent member of the UN Security Council).⁴⁸ If this patron supports one of the parties to the conflict, the condition is met and assigned the value of 1. The third

⁴⁷ POKALOVA, Elena. Conflict resolution in frozen conflicts: Timing in Nagorno-Karabakh. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 2015, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 68-85.

⁴⁸ PERRY, Valery. At cross purposes? Democratization and peace implementation strategies in Bosnia and Herzegovina's frozen conflict. *Human Rights Review*, 2009, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 35-54.

condition is the weakness of the mother state - the state to which the disputed territory officially belongs. The strength of a state is measured based on a fragile state index; if states are in the category of warning or alert, they have been assigned the value of 1 - a weak state (the condition is present). In the case of interstate conflicts between two states, this condition is met if at least one of the states is considered weak.

The fourth condition covers cultural, religious, and ethnic differences between the actors in the conflict. If the main actors have a different ethnicity or religion, the value of 1 is assigned. This can very often be an obstacle to a peaceful solution of the conflict. The fifth condition is the intensity of the conflict. In general, low-intensity conflicts last longer, drag on, and can freeze.⁴⁹ If the intensity is low even during the period of escalation of violence (up to 100 victims per year), the presence of the condition is met and the value of 1 is assigned. The last condition is the secessionist/irredentist nature of the conflict. Many authors describe this as a necessity for the freezing of the conflict, when some insurgency groups long for the independence of the respective territory. The situation is more complicated in interstate territorial disputes, where insurgents often long for the secession of the territory and the integration of this territory under the administration of second state. If some of the warring parties have these motives, the value of 1 is assigned, otherwise 0.

Overview of the conditions:

- a) The international community's commitment to conflict resolution (small one)
- b) Support or involvement of a powerful patron
- c) Weakness of the mother state - the state to which the disputed territory officially belongs (economic, political and security)
- d) Cultural, religious, and ethnic differences between the actors in the conflict
- e) Low intensity of the conflict
- f) Secessionist/irredentist nature of the conflict

MODERN FROZEN CONFLICTS

This study focuses on fourteen frozen conflicts and fourteen non-frozen conflicts. The first frozen conflict is the conflict in Abkhazia. Abkhazia declared independence from Georgia in 1992.⁵⁰ However, the Georgian parliament declared the act invalid and sent troops to the area. The violence in the area lasted until 1994, when it got frozen. In 2008, the Abkhazian separatists occupied another Georgian territory in Kodori.⁵¹ The second frozen conflict is the conflict in South Ossetia. In a referendum in 1992, the population decided to secede from Georgia and join the Russian Federation. Georgian troops were sent to the area to prevent the secession. In the same year, the violence deescalated, and the conflict got frozen. The fighting was shortly resumed in 2004 and 2008.⁵² The

⁴⁹ HEGRE, Håvard et al. Evaluating the scope and intensity of the conflict trap: A dynamic simulation approach, *Journal of Peace Research*, 2017, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 243-261.

⁵⁰ SAPAROV, Arsène. *From Conflict to Autonomy in the Caucasus: The Soviet Union and the making of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno Karabakh*. New York City: Routledge, 2015.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

third frozen conflict is the conflict in Transnistria. In 1990, insurgents in Transnistria declared their own republic, and violence broke out in 1992.⁵³ The Moldovan army fought against the separatists and the violence ended in 1992, since that year the conflict has been frozen. Until 2014, peace negotiations took place, but they were stopped that year.⁵⁴ The Nagorno-Karabakh (NK) conflict began in 1991, when the separatists declared independence from both Azerbaijan and Armenia. The violent phase lasted until 1994, when the conflict got frozen. The escalation of violence occurred sporadically again in 1997-1998, 2014, 2016, and 2020.⁵⁵ The conflict in Kosovo escalated in 1998, when clashes broke out between the Serbian army and Kosovo separatists. The violence deescalated in 1999, when the conflict got frozen.⁵⁶

The conflict in Western Sahara took place in 1975-1991, when the separatist organization POLISARIO longed for independence from Morocco. The conflict has been frozen since 1991 and peace talks are under way. Minor violent clashes occurred in 2005, 2010, 2011, and 2020.⁵⁷ The Kashmir conflict is a territorial conflict between India and Pakistan. These states led the war in 1947, 1965, and 1999. However, several Kashmir separatist groups are also involved in the conflict. Clashes between the separatists and the Indian government took place in 2010, 2016, and 2019.⁵⁸ At the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949, the Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, withdrew to the island of Taiwan, and central China began to be controlled by the Communist Party. The People's Republic of China claims the territory of Taiwan, which was confirmed by the UN in 1971. The conflict has been frozen since 1949, there has been no violence since 1949, but the situation remains tense.⁵⁹ The dispute over the Golan Heights is part of the Israeli-Arab and also the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In the Six Day War in 1967, Israel took control of the territory and began to settle in it. However, the territory belonged to Syria, and only the United States agreed to the Israeli annexation of the area. The UN has condemned the annexation itself. Fighting also took place in the area during the Yom Kippur War in 1979.⁶⁰ Israel controls 2/3 of the territory, the rest is managed by Syria. The area was affected by the Syrian civil war, and there were several clashes, especially in the Syrian territory, involving non-state armed actors.⁶¹ The Ethiopian-Eritrean War, unlike previous conflicts, was resolved in 2018.⁶² The war began in 1998 due to border disputes around the town of Badme. In 2000, the violence came to an end and the conflict got frozen. Violence broke out again in 2016, but a peace agreement was signed in 2018 and the war

⁵³ DE WAAL, Thomas. *Uncertain Ground: Engaging with Europe's De Facto States and Breakaway Territories*. New York: Canegie Europe, 2018.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ KUCERA, Joshua. *Armenia and Azerbaijan in new border crisis*. [online], 2021. Available: <https://eurasianet.org/armenia-and-azerbaijan-in-new-border-crisis>

⁵⁶ FINLAN, Alastair. *The Collapse of Yugoslavia 1991-1999*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2004.

⁵⁷ UCDP. *Morocco: Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara)*. [online], 2021. Available from: <https://ucdp.uu.se/additionalinfo/331/1>

⁵⁸ SAIFFUDIN, Ahmed. *Kashmir Conflict: A Critical Analysis*. Dhaka: University of Dhaka, 2012.

⁵⁹ LIŠČÁK, Vladimír. *Taiwan - stručná historie států*. Prague: Libri, 2003.

⁶⁰ LION-BUSTILLO, Javier. *The Golan Heights: Frozen conflict or new area of confrontation*. Madrid: Complutense University, 2018.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² VASQUEZ ESCOLANO, Miguel. *Ethiopia-Eritrea: From War to Peace - The Role of the International Community in the Conflict*. Barcelona: Pompeu Fabra, 2020.

ended.⁶³ The Kachin conflict is a territorial conflict in Myanmar that has been ongoing since 1961, although violent clashes occurred mainly in the period 1994-2011.⁶⁴ The Karen conflict is also an internal conflict in Myanmar, the conflict has been going on since 1948 and there are constant alternations of long periods of peace and war. The last outbreak of violence was in 2021.⁶⁵ The Mindanao conflict in the Philippines has been ongoing since 1968. The last outbreak of violence was between 2018-2022. The Korean War is a long-term frozen conflict where violence has not occurred since the end of the war in 1953, however, relations between South and North Korea are strained and disputes have not yet been resolved.

The remaining fourteen conflicts have never frozen. The conflicts usually lasted only a few months and were ended by either defeat of one of the actors or by the signing of peace agreements. That is the case of Insurgency in Macedonia in 2001, Caprivi Conflict in Namibia in 1999, Lahad Datu Standoff in Malaysia in 2013, Cenepa War between Ecuador and Peru in 1995, war in Dagestan in 1999, Djiboutian-Eritrean border conflict in 2008, Kahemba conflict between Angola and DRC in 2007, the Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan clashes in 2021-2022, and the Gulf war in 1991. The war in Gagauzia ended within a few years in 1994, when Gagauzia was guaranteed autonomy within the Republic of Moldova. The conflict in the Republic of Serbian Krajina lasted for about five years and ended with the conquest of the territory by the Croatian army in 1995, followed by the signing of a peace treaty in 1998. The Yenga dispute was ended after several years by a peace agreement between Sierra Leone and Guinea in 2013. The Ambazonia War, which has been going on since 2017, is a medium to high intensity conflict where no freezing has occurred. The latest conflict, which is the LRA conflict, is the conflict that has been going on in Ugandan territory since 1987. Until 2010 it was medium to high intensity, currently it is low intensity, but violence continues to take place.⁶⁶

ANALYSIS OF NECESSARY AND SUFFICIENT CONDITIONS

The following table shows all twenty-eight mentioned conflicts, fourteen frozen conflicts and fourteen non-frozen conflicts. For all these cases, six conditions were coded - the international community's commitment to conflict resolution (intco), support or involvement of a powerful patron (suppo), weakness of the mother state (weak), cultural, religious, and ethnic differences between the actors in the conflict (differ), low intensity of the conflict (inten) and secessionist/irredentist nature of the conflict (secess). The fsQCA 3.0 software was used to evaluate the necessary and sufficient conditions. All six conditions, their presence or their absence were included in the analysis. The necessary conditions are those whose consistency limit is higher than 0.8. At the same time, the value of coverage, which should also be relatively high is also important.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Human Rights Watch. *Untold Miseries: Wartime Abuses and Forced Displacement in Burma's Kachin State*. Washington: HRW, 2015.

⁶⁵ ACLED. Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project, [online], 2022. Available from: <https://acleddata.com/dashboard/#/dashboard>

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Table 1: Frozen and Non-Frozen Conflicts

Case	Intco	Suppo	Weak	Differ	Inten	Secess	Frozen
Abkhazia	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
South Ossetia	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Transnistria	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nagorno-Karabakh	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
Kosovo	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
Western Sahara	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Kashmir	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
Golan Heights	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Taiwan	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
Eritrean-Ethiopian Conflict	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Karen Conflict	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Kachin Conflict	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
Mindanao Conflict	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
North/South Korea	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
Insurgency in Macedonia	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
Republic of Serbian Krajina	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
Caprivi Conflict	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
Cenepa War	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
Gaugazia Conflict	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
Dagestan Conflict	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
Djiboutian-Eritrean Conflict	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
Ambazonia War	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
Lahad Datu Standoff	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
Kahemba Conflict	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
Yenga Dispute	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
Kyrgyzstan- Tajikistan clashes	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
Gulf War	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
LRA Conflict	0	1	1	1	0	0	0

Source: Own work

The coding of the conditions revealed that two conditions could not be included in the analysis. In the case of state weakness, it turned out that all states in the analysis are in the warning category on the scale of the Fragile State Index. It follows that this condition has been defined too broadly and is not able to cover any differences between conflicts. In practice, this would mean that it has a high degree of consistency but a low degree of coverage, so it is trivial. This also applies to the conditions of cultural, religious, and

ethnic differences between the actors in the conflict. Thus, only the four remaining conditions were used in the subsequent analysis.

Table 2: Necessary Conditions

Condition	Consistency	Coverage
Intco	0.857143	0.500000
~Intco	0.142857	0.500000
Suppo	0.571429	0.800000
~Suppo	0.428571	0.333333
Inten	0.571429	0.421053
~Inten	0.428571	0.666667
Secess	0.857143	0.800000
~Secess	0.142857	0.153846

Source: Own work

The analysis of the necessary conditions for the presence of frozen conflict revealed that two of the given conditions have a consistency value of 0.85, which is a very good, close to the ideal value. The main problem is the value of coverage. In the case of the Intco condition, it is only 0.5, therefore, this condition cannot be considered a necessary condition for the occurrence of a frozen conflict. The condition Secess has the coverage value of 0.8. It is slightly over the given threshold 0.75, therefore, we would rather talk about the significance of this condition than the necessity. In practice, this condition did not occur in only two cases of frozen conflicts, namely the Golan Heights and the North/South Korea conflict. The Golan Heights are a very specific case, as the author herself considered whether to include this case in the analysis, as it is part of the much more complicated Israeli-Arab wars. The context of the conflict itself is therefore different from the other cases, as it involves many state actors. However, as scientists consider the conflict to be frozen and the case meets the definition, it has been included in the analysis.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, in the event of the freezing of the Golan Heights conflict, the military force of Israel, which has won all the Israeli-Arab wars, plays a major role. Israel occupies the territory for many, especially strategic and economic reasons. On the other hand, Syria, especially in recent years, does not have the capacity to do anything against the occupation of the territory, as it has several national problems. The second case for which the condition was not present is the conflict between North and South Korea. This conflict is considered frozen by much of the scientific community, but violence has not recurred since the 1950s. This is a very old and long-standing case which, because of its unique duration, may differ from other, overwhelmingly much more recent, cases.

⁶⁷ LION-BUSTILLO, Javier. *The Golan Heights: Frozen conflict or new area of confrontation*. Madrid: Complutense University, 2018.

Table 3: Sufficient Conditions

Parsimonious solution			
Configuration	Raw Coverage	Unique Coverage	Consistency
Secess	0.857143	0.642857	0.8
-Intco*-Suppo	0.0714286	0.0714286	1
Inten*Suppo	0.285714	0.0714286	1
Solution coverage: 1			
Consistency coverage: 0.823529			

Source: Own work

The parsimonious solution provides three configurations that lead to the frozen conflict. However, the negation of $\sim \text{Intco} * \sim \text{Suppo}$ is illogical and can only explain one case. On the contrary, the condition Secess (secessionist tendencies) seems very important. This condition can explain twelve of the fourteen cases where the conflict has frozen. The exceptions are the conflict between North and South Korea and the Golan Heights conflict. Moreover, this is exactly the same as a necessary condition. The main problem is that the consistency rate of this condition is 0.8. This is mainly affected by the fact that there are three cases of conflicts that did not freeze, but this condition was present. These are the cases of the Caprivi conflict, the Ambazonia War and the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Therefore, it can be assumed that this condition is the most important and crucial, but there is probably another factor that influences whether a conflict freezes that was not included in the analysis. This can be the basis for some future research. The third Inten*Suppo condition (patron support in conflict and low conflict intensity) explains four cases of frozen conflicts - South Ossetia, Transnistria, North/South Korea, and Taiwan. It has a consistency level of 1, therefore, it can be considered a sufficient condition that can lead to the freezing of the conflict.

CONCLUSION

Frozen conflicts are a phenomenon that is relatively abundant today. The term itself began to be used in the 1990s primarily for conflicts in the post-Soviet area. Nowadays, authors use this term for other conflicts, such as Kashmir or the Golan Heights, without addressing its definitions and causes in detail. This research has revealed that there are two types of frozen conflicts. The first type includes national-separatist conflicts, where separatists create a quasi/de facto state and seek independence on an internationally recognized state. In this case, one of the actors is a state actor and the other actor is a non-state actor. However, a non-state actor is very often supported by another state. Examples are the conflicts in post-Soviet space, such as Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh. The second type of frozen conflicts is an intergovernmental conflict over disputed territories, which escalates after long periods of calm. Two state actors are involved in the conflict, fighting for territory, but often non-state actors operate in the disputed area as well. Examples are the war in Kashmir or the Ethiopian-Eritrean border conflict. The classic feature of both types of frozen conflicts is that the conflict is not

terminated by peace or military solution (simply there was no signing of a peace treaty or the destruction of the enemy). The tension has been present for several decades and thawing often repeats. Many authors say that frozen conflicts are low intensity conflicts. This is because when we distribute the number of losses among the years when there was no violence, the average value of total losses is mostly not high. However, if we focus only on the years when violence occurred (as it was in this analysis), these conflicts cannot be easily described as low intensity conflicts. Some are conflicts of low intensity, others medium or high. However, the typical feature of all frozen conflicts is that they have a territorial character. Either there is a fight for a disputed territory between two states, or in a certain territory, separatists demand the emergence of a new state.

The main objective of this research was to answer the research question: *What are the necessary and sufficient conditions for the freezing of modern conflicts?* The research worked with a medium sample of 28 conflicts (14 frozen and 14 non-frozen). Qualitative comparative analysis revealed that one condition, specifically the secessionist/separatist tendencies of one of the actors of the conflict, may be considered as the necessary condition for the freezing of the conflict. This condition has a good consistency value of 0.85. In practice, the condition is not able to explain two of the cases, one that is very different from all other cases of frozen conflicts (the Golan Heights) and one that is explained by the sufficient condition. In the case of the Golan Heights, there are several state actors involved, relatively high intensity violence repeated in the past and a wide range of Arab states are involved in the conflict. In this case, there is a great involvement of the international community. The main deficiency of the condition is the lower coverage value. It is, therefore, questionable to what extent the condition can be considered necessary and to what extent the condition can be considered only significant. Since this necessary condition is also a sufficient condition with a consistency value of 0.8, it can be assumed to be important in the combination with some other factor, which was not included in the analysis. This may provide a basis for future research. QCA has also determined sufficient conditions for the freezing of the conflict. Only two can be considered important. It is the secessionist tendency of the actor that was present in 85% of the cases of frozen conflicts, but did not have an ideal value of consistency. The other is the Inten*Suppo condition (patron support in conflict and low conflict intensity), which has an ideal consistency value, but is only able to explain 28% of the cases. In the remaining cases, it can be assumed that other factors that have not been included in the analysis, have affected the result. In the future, it would be advisable to make another research of conflicts and literature and possibly expand the conditions. For better generalization of the result, other conflicts could also be included in the analysis. However, the total number of examined conflicts should not exceed 40 cases and the ratio of frozen and non-frozen conflicts should be even.