



PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES



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Dut Bol Ayuel Bill

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate the success of this study to my almighty god for granting me his protection and knowledge in coming out with this importance study I wish to recognize my Co-author PhD Candidate Dut Bol Ayuel Bill with his Family and colleagues with whom I work closely during the stages of writing this Book am also thankful to Prof Marial Awuou Vice Chancellor of Upper Nile University and in particular my Colleagues in the Faculty of Economic and Social Studies for their help and courage from the day one to the last day of Writing this Book,

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1| Meaning of Conflict

1.1. Introduction

The word 'conflict' is a concept synonymous with human behaviours. Since man cannot exist in isolation, then in the course of interactions with other community members, there will be disagreements, intrigues and misunderstanding. The disagreement or misunderstanding occurs in forms of revolution or war. The reasons for the conflict may be as a result of cheating or struggle for a beneficial goal. To make peace and/or put an end to the conflicts, various measures are adopted by both parties and intervening parties to reach an agreement or compromise. In understanding the meaning of conflict, it must be seen from inter-group relations whether, as individuals or groups.

1.2. Objectives

The first unit in this Book attempts to give a broad and embracing meaning to conflict as it operates among men. By the end of Reading, the reader should be able to understand the meaning of conflict analyses, the human behaviours in conflict and the way forward for conflict prevention and resolution.

1.3. Meaning of Conflicts

Disagreement, crises, war, violence, opposition, and revolt are synonymous with conflict. Conflict arises in different shapes, patterns or dimensions. The emergence of conflict depends on the issue at stake. Conflict exists when two people wish to carry out mutually inconsistent acts. They will want to do the same thing or do different and incompatible things. The definition of conflict can be extended from individuals to groups such as states or nations. It can involve more than two parties. Conflict is a negation that is anchored on behavioral norms. It is a negative or over-reaction to a situation, idea, principles and other forms of behaviour. Once there is the cause for inter-group relations, conflict becomes inevitable and peace must be given a chance. Hence, conflict could be seen as a natural phenomenon among human beings.

1.4. Human Behaviors in Conflict

- Competition over scarce resources such as: money, leisure, sexual partners and so on;
- Inequality in terms of power, reward, opportunity and chance; and
- Expansion and subjugation which leads to migration, unity and division of communities.

Since conflict is associated with the inter-section of human behaviours, then, the quest for wealth, position, opportunity, chance, recognition brings about struggle. The struggle at its apex occurs in form of war, crises and violence when the parties involved fail to reach a conclusive and harmonious agreement. In a way, the breach of agreement or treaty by either of the parties involved leads to extreme reactions in forms of war.

Within a society, there is the possibility that individuals possess differing amounts of material and non-material resources. The more an individual possesses the resources, the more possible the exploitation of other groups who lack the wherewithal. According to the Marxist-based conflict theory, it is opined that money is the mechanism that creates social disorder. It is argued that the history of man is the history of conflict, in which a strong-rich exploits the poor-weak. In such a situation, money is made through the exploitation of the poor-weak, there is loss of individual freedoms (fundamental human rights), subsequently, the need for change. Thus, the treaty or agreement for change makes peace-building a necessary mechanism.

Meaning of Conflict

1.4.1. Competition

It is a term synonymous with business or economic parlance. A peculiar concept in the principles of economics is 'scarce resources. To make ends meet and satisfy human wants, man tends to utilize the available scarce resources. By this, groups of individuals compete to access the opportunities available. For example, the quest for raw materials needed to produce a particular product may be a source of conflict among industries involved in producing similar products. Hence, the conflict issues arising breed all forms of acts that can mark the weak industries. In essence, strong industries may assume monopolistic rights over weak ones.

Other forms of competition, that are behavioral, occur in forms by which several groups of people compete for recognition. For instance, when several companies are competing with or against one another to gain contract, such conflicts result in character assassination of competing companies or false image making. In addition, conflict behaviours can occur when candidates are vying or contesting for a post which might involve elections and campaign. In such cases, the bid to campaign, convince or canvass for a candidate over other candidates might breed violence and revolts.

1.4.2. Inequality

It means the unfair difference in size, rank, wealth, or opportunity. Inequality occurs when the benefits of a community is concentrated in the hands of a few people or a few areas. Unequal access to opportunities in a community leads to tremendous damage to unity and integration. In Nigeria, acts of inequality breed conflict because it creates cleavages based on language or ethnicity to fight a common cause.

1.4.3. Expansion and Subjugation

These are natural tendencies that occur among and within communities. The location or natural resources endowment available in a community determines the type of relationship with other communities. It involves expansion and occupation of smaller or weak communities through treaties and agreements that might be unfavorable. There is no doubt about the fact that the formation of a community starts from the family which is the primary unit. It is pertinent to note that division and formation of communities are mostly borne out of conflicts. Thus, existence of conflicts might be a source of revolution that can be a medium of resistance by the aggrieved group.

1.5. Definition of Terms

1.5.1. Conflict Analysis

This involves an evaluation of roles, values and attitudes of people in the conflict situation. It encompasses an assessment of interests and purposes responsible for the emergence of conflict and determines the cause of response and retaliatory actions of aggrieved parties. Hence, in analyzing conflict situations, it is germane to uncover the historical antecedents to place the crises in a position that would proffer amicable settlement (peace making).

1.5.2. Conflict Prevention

This involves a process of making peace recur based on historical antecedents. From the human behaviours explained earlier, the consequences of inequality can be prevented from recurring by ascertaining that the concept of equity and justice is upheld. This is most suitable where there are people with different cultural values.

1.5.3. Conflict Management and Resolution

A conflict is resolved when some mutual sets of actors are worked out. It involves an orderly and non-violent handling of parties involved. The parties with perceived incompatible goals seek to consider each other. This is peculiar to groups that are mutually dependent on one another. Each group will not wish to spread the conflicts because of cordial intergroup relations that have enhanced growth and development.

1.6. Conclusion

The first unit of our course has tried to help you understand and analyse the meaning of conflict. The concept of conflict has gained prominence in academic discourse in contemporary times. In various parts of the world, there are various issues of conflicts in forms of war and crises arising from competition, inequality and the bid to expand or subjugate. Though the acts involved in conflicts are negative, it is inevitable because man's daily activities and interactions with one another will definitely exist. Much as conflict might appear devastating, it may bring a positive result that will further enhance growth and development. To achieve growth and development, the concept of peace becomes a twin concept to resolve and manage conflict.

1.7. Summary

Conflict is the expression of opposing interests and discord caused by differing needs, values and interests. It can be explained in all spheres of man's life, whether in the social, political, or economic realm. It can be man versus man, man versus group, or group versus group. Mostly imminent conflicts are usually group versus group.

In a way, Inter-group relations remain a focal point in studying conflicts. To properly analyze conflict situations, people's behaviors in a community or among communities have to be considered. Commercial relations, intermarriages and the slave trade are the basis of the contacts that led to linguistic and cultural borrowings among people in pre-colonial times. Thus, these activities cannot be peaceful at all. One time or the other, there would be an interchange of conflict and peace.

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2| Concept of Peace

2.1. Introduction

In every stage in conflict situations, a channel for peace shall always be resorted to. In the bid to protect lives and properties, peaceful resolutions will be implored by negatively affected people to rescue the situation. This usually occurs in conflict situations that involve violence. If you would agree, making peace is a gradual process that everyone has to understand the need for it. Certain human behaviours become necessary to ensure peace. Good morals, patience and perseverance can be described as individual behaviours that must be critical appraisal of the behaviours. Hatred, selfish interest, discontentment, deceit must be avoided to ensure peace by all parties involved in it. However, if peace making or building is attached with selfish interest, then in the event of time, conflict situations will resurge.

2.2. Objectives

Attempt will be made in this lecture to analyse the various sub-concepts in peace making and building. By the end of the lecture, the learner should be able to:

- Highlight major processes in building
- Attempt an elaborate explanation of peace
- Appraise the concepts of negotiation, mediation and diplomacy

2.3. Main Content

2.3.1. What Is Peace?

Peace is a concord, an agreement, an amicable resolution aimed at attaining friendly relations. As a concept, it is an idea of harmony and tranquility. Peace as a state of harmony is an ideal of life after conflict has occurred. For peace to occur, it must first occur in an individual's state of mind. In legal terms, peace is a treaty, a binding commitment to resolve violence that is a peace treaty, which is left to both parties to implement and enforce to resolve the conflict.

Thomas Hobbes proposed two laws of peace, first to seek peace and follow it, second – that a man to be willing for peace, when others are also willing, so it is in defense or favour of himself. The first law of peace suggests that each progress of each other, the second law of peace suggests that a party/group agrees to make peace so far its interest is not jeopardized. Hence, the latter is usually the form of peace which is agreed to in the society. In other words, self interest is paramount in peace agreement.

The term 'peace-building' came into widespread use after 1992 when Boutros-Boutros Ghali (Former United States Secretary General from Egypt) announced the agenda for peace. Ever since then it has become broadly in use for crisis intervention, building of governance structures and institutions. It is a term that also encompasses the activities of religions for transformation and reforms. It involves a full range of approaches, processes and stages towards sustainable peace relationship.

2.3.2. Major Processes in Peace-building

- Participatory planning
- Co-ordination of various efforts
- Sustainable investment
- Gathering and co-ordination of human and material resources and
- Long-term maintenance of reconciliatory modes

2.3.3. Peace Negotiation

It takes place between two conflicting parties without the intervention of a third party. It is a situation in which a group is able to convince the other group. Both parties put forth their views and analyse by educating each other. In this case, there is a basic sort of trust between conflicting parties. Among nation-states official negotiation processes are implored to settle an issue or dispute. Conferences are usually held to technically outline rules and procedures to reach an accord.

2.3.4. Mediation

It is a process which aims to assist group in conflict to find the necessary skills to resolve conflict. Mediation is always managed by a third party. It involves a process of transforming aggression to gradually reduce violence. A mediator summons both parties and listens to all sides of issues.

2.3.5. Diplomacy

This is the act of conducting negotiations by representatives of conflicting parties. Diplomacy is a contemporary term associated with international relations and ensuring conflict. Hence, international treaties are strategized by country representatives to make peace. For example, resolving the problem of gender-based conflict is a product of diplomacy. Following a series of global inequality on women, the United Nations Decade on women was established in 1975 as a forum to bring together women from various nations. The conference was held in Mexico; by 1985, it was held in Kenya, Beijing (China) in 1995. At each conference, agreements are reached in the form of declaration to guide nation-states on policy issues that could enhance women's participation and productivity for development.

2.4. Conclusion

The concept of peace as a process of making or building firstly occurs as a state of mind. The readiness of the mind will give way to external peace. Peace is a social order that aims at maintaining cordial relationship among conflicting parties. Peace is synonymous with development in contemporary times. This is because its continuity results in co-operation, thus, it brings mutual trust and communal participation for sustainable development. In Africa, for example, the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) is a recent programme targeted towards economic co-operative for sustainable development.

2.5. Summary

So far, this unit has exposed you to the meaning of peace and key processes aimed at peace-building. Furthermore, the sub-concepts of negotiation, mediation and diplomacy are all geared towards maintaining peace. Hence, peace in the long-term is synonymous with development, which, in contemporary times, has further encouraged sustainable cooperation development.

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3| Definition and Characteristics of Conflicts

There is somewhat general agreement that conflict is basic to every society. It is sometimes said to be a sign of healthy organization of men in the society, especially if its generic implication is to redress injustice. Even in the most economically advanced nations, conflict still takes place at one point or the other. The basic truth is that individual's or group's interest differs, and their objectives, values and needs do not always coincide. Bland agreement on everything would be unnatural. Therefore, there should be opportunities for natural clashes of ideas and interests about tasks, projects, public decisions and allocation of values in the society so that the issues are explored and resolved.

Yet extreme cases of conflict in the society or organization can have adverse consequence, especially if the opportunities and tool-kits for resolving such negative behaviour are scarcely available or utilized.

3.1. Definitions and Characteristic Nature of Conflict

Conflict could be defined as the pursuit of incompatibility of goals by individuals or groups as a result of the inability of social structure to allocate values objectively. Ball (1983) situates conflict as a political process that generates from diversity of choices and distribution of scarce resources in the society.

Stagner (1995) adds that the occurrence of cheat and aggressive behaviour on the part of individuals or groups that leads to the frustration of others may cause conflict. It is a disagreement that results from allocating scarce values or clashes regarding the incompatibility of goals. It can also be regarded as a disagreement generated from distributive injustice. There are both positive and negative sides of the conflict when it is resolved and exists, respectively. The positive side can be used to minimize or resolve conflict.

Similarly, the negative can be used to exacerbate conflict. To promote conflict resolution and peaceful co-existence, one important tool is communication. Of course Otite and Albert (1999) have argued that adequate consultation and communication is one of the hallmarks of transforming conflict environment to manageable situation. Where communication is lacking either as result of the inability of the mediator to initiate it or the principals' blatant refusal to talk to one another, resolution may be difficult. Consultation and communication aims to promote the positive side of conflict and deterring the negative side.

Cosrer in Otite and Albert (1999) provides an elaborate definition. Accordingly, he states that: Social conflict may be defined as a struggle over values or claims to status power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values, but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Such conflicts may take place between individuals, between collectivities, or between individuals and collectivities. Inter-group as well as intra-group conflicts are perennial features of social life.

In conflict situation, one individual or group tries to prevent or obstruct the other in achieving its goals because their behaviours are in opposition. Competition for a common goal has been singled out as the most basic element that may cause conflict. Mullins (1995) writes that where goals have no resemblance, conflict tends to be absent. This is rather instructive for conflict resolution challenges as a whole. If so, how do we redirect the goals of individuals or group in the society such that they are able to benefit adequately, yet pursuing different goals?

Stated otherwise, how we allow individuals or groups to pursue same goals within different processes such that the interest of one realizing his goal does not endanger those of others. Why? How do we make individuals or group achieve their goals without necessarily utilizing the same tools or same means of achieving same goals? Availability of choices that lead to the accomplishment of same basic goals is, perhaps, important.

3.2. Causes of Conflict

The cause of conflict in societies where it has occurred and where it may potentially take place is similar. The available literature on causes of conflict in the West Africa sub-region, for example, is tied to the struggle for economic resources, boundary disputes, environmental degradation, and struggle for political power between or among ethnic groups, religious sentiments. Elsewhere in Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern European countries and the Americas, the story is the same or similar. For example, the conflict in Liberia, in which late Samuel Doe was accused of dominating the government with members of his ethnic Kahn people, is much related to tribal sentiments and struggle for political power; the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroun over the oil rich Bakassi Peninsular, which was concluded in 2006, was as a result of boundary dispute and the accompanying natural resources/economic resources located therein. When in 1990, late Saddam Hussein of Iraq invaded Kuwait (an independent country) and made frantic attempt to annex it, claiming that Kuwait is historically part of Iraq, his motive was most probably informed by two reasons. Firstly, Kuwait is an oil-rich country and if successfully annexed, it will boost Iraq's command of global oil influence and resources. Secondly, if successfully annexed, it will broaden the opportunity to anger the West by starving it of oil.

The **Parochial interests of two groups (A & B)** long-standing disputes between Ethiopia and Somalia on the one hand and Somalia and Kenya on the other hand are related to boundary disputes. The recurring conflict between China and Japan over fishing territories on what the Japanese calls the Japanese and what the Chinese similarly refers to as the Chinese sea is an issue that is quite related to boundary dispute and control of economic resources. The protracted civil war that has bedevilled Sudan in the last ten years is connected to tribal and religious sentiments. Thus, causal factors of conflict (whether inter-state or intra-state), are quite similar and interconnected with little or no variations. Where the control or share of economic resources constitute the generic factor, it is most likely that it has some elements of boundary disputes, religious interpretations, political undertones or the inhabitants of such area claiming their citizenship on one of the two states or communities. In describing the causes of conflict the world over, the causes are interconnected, and no one factor is entirely independent on the other. However, we will mention and discuss these factors in specific terms, but in their interdependent nature.

3.3. Struggle for Political/Economic Resources

As we had noted, the struggle for economic resources among or between communities or states underscores the genesis of some conflicts. Again these conflicts have overt or covert political definitions. Most inter-tribal wars in West Africa in particular and Africa in general are traceable to this factor. More than 90% of African countries are plural societies. The struggle and partition of Africa (1884-1885) and the tribal wars that follow in attempts to forge out unified societies for the purpose of stability and trade increased the intensity of pluralism in African states.

The characteristic nature of plural societies is well-known. First and foremost, a plural society is prone to conflict. A plural society is a society divided by what Harry and Eckstein in Lijphart (1977) call 'segmental cleavages' and it exists where political divisions follow very closely with lines of objective social differentiation, salient in a society. Segmental cleavages may be of religious, ideological, ethnic, cultural and regional definitions. Democracy is regarded as the best political system for galvanizing, promoting justice and equity in plural societies.

When communism retreated in 1989, the concepts of globalization intensified the agitation for democracy in both developed and developing countries. Oppressed communities and people, suppressed conflict and emotions got opportunities for candid and renewed expressions. People saw these expressions in different dimensions in the West Africa sub-region, Liberia, Cote d' Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, etc. The conflict between Nigeria and Cameroun over Bakassi peninsular received wide attention as a result of the availability of petroleum resources and opportunities for commercialised fishing. Prior to the resolution of

Definition and Characteristics of Conflicts

the conflict at the International Court of Justice (ICJ Hague, 2005), the interests of both parties (Nigeria and Cameroun) and French support to Cameroun in attempting to police the territory was not informed by ordinary interest of annexation and redraw their respective political maps or interest on an expanse of land, rather the real struggle was on economic resources.

3.4. Struggle and Claims to Land Ownership

The struggle and claims to land ownership and usage are directly and indirectly connected to economic factors. Perhaps, the most common generic factor of conflict, especially in Africa and West Africa in particular, is the struggle for land ownership between or among ethnic groups. The most vivid is the Ife-Modakeke conflict. The Modakekes claimed that they owned the farmland and settlement they currently cohabited with the Yorubas in a 'conterminous' living pattern. And the word 'Modakekes' itself is a Yoruba terminology. It seems that, altogether, they are one people of the same historical origin who migrated to the present place after the collapse of the Oyo empire and the invasion by the Fulani religious warriors (the Jihadists). Yet conflict became endemic in this community. The Ooni (the king and progenitor of the Yoruba race) and Ife's people resisted this claim vehemently. Severe disagreement and conflict ensued resulting in the loss of many lives and property.

3.5. Religious/Ethnic-related Factors

Perhaps, one single and conspicuous source of conflict in Nigeria as in other states in the East and North Africa is religious sentiments. Otite and Albert reported that the first major religious crisis in Nigeria was the Fagge crisis in Kano in 1982. According to them, the conflict started on the suspicion of the rising ascendancy of Christianity in Kano – a heavily dominated Muslim city of the north. The Christians attempted to reconstruct a dilapidated church building in Sabon –Gari area of Kano. The Moslems felt that the church should be relocated elsewhere and made several concrete attempts to foil the reality of the reconstruction. The Christians insisted that they were free law abiding citizens of Nigeria, whose inalienable rights include freedom of worship and religion, and association. Thus, they obtained police protection and reconstructed the Church. The Muslims consequently reacted violently, burnt down the church and other Christian properties near and far away in the city.

3.6. Globalization Processes

Many would wonder how globalization processes constitute generic factor of conflict around the world. Globalization is a process of economic, democratic and social revolution, which has intensified in an ongoing manner since the fall of communism in 1989. In particular, citizens of many countries more than ever, are demanding political and economic accountability in the hands of their governments and leaders. Reacting to this wind of change, Emeh (2007) asserted that anti globalization protests and demonstrations have escalated, compelling world leaders to hold their summits in isolated areas. Such protests have taken place in Seattle December 1999; Davos February 2000; Melbourne September 2000; Nice December 2000; Davos-Zurich January 2001; Quebec April 2001; Barcelona June 2001; Gothenburg June 2001; Cancun 2003. The conflict that generates from the process is of two dimensions. One relates to the conflict of continuous economic divide and marginalization of the poor south by the rich north and to which the above protests and demonstrations are directed. The second, perhaps more specific, are the structural economic reforms currently going on in developing countries in response to World Bank prescription of public sector policy change and management.

In Zambia, the President announced in December 2006 that it will not implement the World Bank prescription of increasing consumption of tax to avoid major conflict with citizens. Market economy, on which the policy changes, partly focuses, does not allocate resources justly. Some citizens are benefitted more compared with their fellow citizens, sometimes at the expense of the poor in the society.

3.7. Conclusion

The causes of conflicts in the society as we had alluded to include, struggle for political-economic resources; struggle for land and claims of ownership; religious/ethnic-related factors and globalization processes. The desire to achieve socio-economic and political interests in the society create situations of differences. These differences degenerate into the pursuit of incompatibility of goals. Even though conflict has negative impact on societies where they occur, it can as well be a sign of healthy organization of men in the society, especially if it generates a situation to redress injustice. As much as it is important to have conflict in the society, it should be noted that minimizing its occurrence is far much better than having it. Therefore, conflict managers and public institutions that allocate resources in the society should emphasize the promotion of common interest over parochial interests. That does not imply that we can exterminate conflict in the society, because the causes, such as the struggle over political-economy resources, Land disputes, and religious-ethnic-related factors including the processes of globalization will remain well with us.

3.8. Summary

The generic effects of poor, visionless and egocentric governance in the West Africa sub-regions are well known. It created, for example, a lack of empowerment and a vicious cycle of poverty; it created not only tribal sentiments but also generated religious consciousness and sentiments. In furtherance to that, it created warlords, economic and political elite that wrongfully stole and exploited collective resources. The consequences include civil disobedience and conflicts in which communities and regions rose against one another. Why are heads of state and government, multilateral and regional organizations, Non-Governmental Organisations, international community citizens and development practice groups concerned about the negative impact of conflict in societies? They are concerned because conflict destroys societies, economic development and civilized and functional pattern of living.

Furthermore, states, organizations and individuals possess the power, network and collaborative partnership resources as well as professional knowledge for accommodating and resolving conflict in the society. Heads of state and government would be disturbed because the existence of such phenomenon (economic underdevelopment and conflict) implies government incapacity and state failures. By incapacity, we mean that formal institutions are weak, corrupt, more informal and politicized, and cannot beat down the generic factors of conflict. Yet states and governments will be concerned if they are responsible and have no selfish interest in the conflict. Religious factor and globalization processes have added to the causal factors of conflict in the society.

However, conflict doesn't have to occur in our societies. But what is more important is whether such conflicts are amenable to resolution. Political science and industrial relations studies agree that this is the positive side of the conflict in society. But conflict resolution is based on social justice, which makes either parties or persons better off without making the others worse off. If social justice informs conflict resolution, good truth-telling, institutional reforms and good governance are essential inputs.

The aims and objectives of the study, among other things, are to explore, equip students and practitioners with the theoretical and practical insights of third party intervention in conflict resolution; processes, behavioural norms and personal qualities required to conduct a successful dialogue and negotiation. The definition of conflict centres on disagreement or incompatibility of goals between or among individuals, groups, states, etc, or a struggle over values, status, power and scarce resources in which one group or state tries to neutralize, injure and kill their rivals.

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4| Theories of Conflict

4.1. Introduction

The purpose of this unit is to examine the theoretical foundation of conflict and its implications in practical challenges. Third-party intervention in conflict resolution is largely a call to practical responsibilities rather than those related to theoretical obligations. However, what leading writers or analysts say about third-party intervention and other related styles in conflict resolutions are essential aspects of the general understanding and practical resolution of the conflict itself. This unit attempts to deal with some theories of conflict.

A theory is an assumption put forward to explain some phenomena. Stoner et.al (1995) states that a theory is a coherent group of assumptions to explain the relationship between two or more observable facts and provide a strong basis for predicting future events.

4.2. Theories of Conflict

Social conflict theories are interrelated just as much as we cannot separate politics, economics and social processes. In other words, no matter the degree by which we attempt to classify theories as structural, biological, economic, political, physiological or otherwise, their causal inter-relationships are inseparable, intertwine and interwoven.

However, political explanation may be more deeply rooted in one particular conflict, such that political solution is also needed more than anything else in attempting to resolve it. Economic or psychological frustration may inform the cause of a particular crisis as well. In such situations, their causal factors must be sought in attempting to address the respective situations. We are, therefore, compelled to reflect on the categorization of Best (2006). According to him, the theories of social conflict include:

4.3. Structural Theory

The structural theory of conflict derives its explanatory content from two sources. The first is linked to Karl Marx dialectical school of thought with expanded contributions of Engel and Lenin. The Marxian conflict perspective holds that there is a structured form of conflict in the society, which generates from the relationship between those who own private property and means of production (the bourgeoisie) and those who are separated from this process of materialism, but work for the property class under exploitative and subordinated arrangements (the Proletariat).

Marx takes the argument further that such exploitative and domineering power of the bourgeoisies will evolve into conflict in which the proletariat will, in revolutionary revolt, overthrow the property class to establish socialist order that put the masses (workers) in control. Workers across national boundaries will merge and the state will wither away since it is only for the support of production processes that state exists. Miliband, Lenin, etc, have expanded this, but showed pessimistic view about the liquidation of the state into the advantage possession of the proletariat Ninalowo (1996) inferring from Milliband, for example, argued that the state is not only a form of creation of the property class to perpetuate and remain in the ownership of production process, the state itself is 'the source of economic power as well as instrument of it: the state is a major means of production'. And in the contradictory struggle between the classes, the state is not neutral as it will produce conditions that enhance the ceaseless domination of the bourgeoisie class to perpetuate the capitalist process.

Neo-colonial and development study writers, such as Gunder Frank, Walter Rodney, Samir Amin and Todaro and Smith, etc have extended the Marxian position in an attempt to explain dependency and underdevelopment in the countries of the south. For example, Todaro and Smith (2003) observe that the rich

Theories of Conflict

capitalist countries of the north are either intentionally exploitative or unintentionally neglectful in the co-existence of rich and poor nations. In an international system dominated by such unequal power relationships makes developing countries incapable of self-reliance. Such an arrangement, it seems, is 'an arrested development'. In a situation where the mass majority of world populations, who live in the south, are poor, we cannot possibly admit that we are living in a world system that is presently or potentially peace-driven. Conflict is rather endemic and inherent in it.

The second sources of conflict of structural orientation are linked to those who see the wrong distribution of scarce economic resources of nations as the main generic factor of conflicts. Ross and Kothari in Gaha (2006) respectively likened such factors to **social relationship networks and wrongful distributions of collective scarce resources**. Ross insists that kinship ties and the relationship of consanguinity define groupings in the society, and when these cultural and biological affinities monopolize political, economic and social resources, it can create conditions that constitute a recipe for crisis and conflict.

In Kothari's explications, exploitation of national resources by some powerful economic, political elite and warlords to the deprivations, frustration and detriments of others in the society can cause conflict. Most conflicts in the West Africa sub-region can be linked to such internal contradictions. Today, inter and intra-state conflicts exist out of these contradictions. Consider, for examples, the crises that often mar World Trade Organization (WTO) conferences, the oil crisis in the Niger-Delta (Nigeria), Aceh (Indonesia), etc.

4.4. Realist Theory

The realist theory is mostly associated with the actual behaviour of states in international relations in the pursuits of 'national Interest' since, of course, states are the major actors or unit of analysis in the interaction of states. It is also associated with self-interest inherent in human nature in the processes of social relations. So, states like human beings are '**engaged in an** inescapable interdependence in world affairs, and no one state can wholly shape it to its own will but to adjust the world to sooth their purpose while adjusting to it' (Deutsch 1978). Perhaps a more comprehensive analysis of the behaviour of states in terms of self interest (national interests) is found in the work of Hans Morgenthau (1973) entitled **Politics among Nations**. He insists that the realist philosophy is the key point in understanding the origin of conflict within the global community.

The national interest of states is largely defined by economic reasons at the international arena, and since economy is a system of cost reduction in production and distribution processes and then frugality, states have little or no moral attachment in protecting another state's interest more than its own in the course of pursuing their national interests.

He puts the states as crude exploiters of international public arena in an attempt to maximise resources and better living conditions for its nationals. Put in modern fluid but all embracing terminology, the security of state (Gaha, 2006: 243-244) are the main focus of states at the international scene, and how much you get depends on the power and influence you enjoy in the interactive processes of states. Thus when states strive unscrupulously and dishonestly to exploit the international arena to the disadvantage of others because the gatekeepers are under the powerful influence of most powerful nations, conflict is bound to generate from such process. Gaha Best added that this theory greatly vindicated the militarization of international relations, the arms race as the off-shoot of the deterrence theory and balance of terror. States, therefore, have been elevated as instruments for intimidation and for causing conflict.

4.5. Biological Theory

The biological theories see human beings from the crude side of nature, having the innate characteristics of antagonism and destruction, which emanate from the crude demonstration of individual might and right. Thomas Hobbes, in his *Leviathan*, aptly explained that the natural state preceded the sovereign state. Life in the natural state was '**solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short**'. Might was right and

it was characterized by war of everyman against everyman. Such state of nature was also defined in terms of anarchy. Anarchy conjures up images of chaos or a situation where there is no ruler. People lived in bitterness and crude expression of greed. Hobbes argued that soon men became tired of living this kind of life situation and surrendered their individual rights to the sovereign (state-represented by individuals) who will maintain law and order in the society. Hence, there is modern organization of state and government within the ambit of law and order.

The biological theory contends that even though men have surrendered their right of might to the sovereign state, traces of behavior of man in 'the state of nature' is still found in our everyday life. That conflict in the society is generic of these innate tendencies leading to anger, demonstrations, aggressions, especially when such anger and might coalesce into uniting a group of people. Pockets of many domestic conflicts in many states in West Africa can be attributed to these natural human tendencies.

Biological theory is also related to the physiological theory, which maintains that human beings have peculiar behaviour when they are under stress and threat or stimulus response to what they see or hear and the way they perceive it.

4.6. Economic Theory

Perhaps, the most single undisputed factor of conflict in the society has been anchored in economic disparities among states, between individuals or groups. Economic disparities generate from two main sources. Firstly, it may result from the natural accumulation of wealth, such as hard work and frugality in the use of resources well over others. It may also generate from wrongful exploitation of national resources arising from contradictions of democracy in underdeveloped states by economic and political elite or the activities of Multi-national Corporation (MNCs) with support by their own or host governments.

Globalization is partly defined as the process of democratization, which focuses on increasing and sharing world resources together. But the activities of MNCs in their host countries, especially developing states, have largely demonstrated that economic resources are in the hands of elite who manipulate the ordinary people. More so, the international political economy arrangement leaves weak states perpetually dependent on advanced industrial economies. For example, the European Union (EU) Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is detrimental to the entry of African agricultural products into the European markets (Hasset and Shapiro, 2003). Other less developed states, including those in economic transition, have also been affected.

In response, protests, crises and demonstrations have greeted each WTO conference to date.

4.7. Psycho-Cultural Theory

Cultural ethnocentrism has been linked to sources of conflict in the society. Cultural ethnocentrism believe that their culture is superior to any other culture irrespective of whether they are presently in their own countries or host states. Consequently, anything that goes contrary to their culture can be a source of conflict. The theory contends that ethnic or racial images of deep-rooted nature can become sources of conflict in the society, especially in multi-ethnic or plural societies where public institutions or public policies that guarantee tolerance of polycentric culture are inadequate.

The theorists insist that a protracted conflict that takes a long time to resolve becomes a possibility when one group is coincidentally found in it, and at the same time denied or discriminated against in the distribution of economic largesse in the society. The impetus to the existence of such conflict may be attributed to fears of domination, under-estimation and extinction by one group.

Closely associated with the psycho-cultural theory is the relational theory. The theory states that most conflicts are underscored by sociological variables, such as cultural differences, stereotyping, etc as the basis of group formation and identity. Gaha Best insist, that such attitude sometimes makes certain group feel that others are inferior and should have less access to economic resources.

4.8. Systematic Theory

The systematic theory anchors conflict as generic element of changes in the socio-structural processes. Changes in peoples' material comfort, economic adjustment programmes or environmental degradation that waste and destroy domestic resource may constitute sources of conflict in the society.

Following globalization processes, democratic revolution is sweeping through nations, and citizens are demanding change and accountability in response to what seems to become global strategy in the new millennium. But pockets of sit-tight monarchies or military elite, for examples, in Nepal, Cambodia, Congo, Mauritania, etc constitute sources of conflict in those states. Policy change and economic reforms have become a global strategy which no right-thinking government can afford to ignore, but the privatization processes, which underpin the reform agenda for empowerment and poverty reduction seem to have alienated or ostracised the rural publics for lack of information and modalities for co-opting them (Ebimaro, 2006).

4.9. Interface between Theory and Practical Conflict Resolution

The relationship between theory and practice is one thing that interests scholars in recent times. It focuses on action-oriented efforts that can be replicated on dynamic frameworks to support the present and successive generations.

A theory does not merely examine, explain, or compare variables but also produces a hierarchy of principles and how such principles could be used to determine choices. Theory is near science, but not exactly in the sense that it helps to situate or locate the premise of an action. How do we ascertain that an idea or knowledge is valid? How can we claim that an idea is authoritative or that our action would be vindicated? A picture is valid or authoritative when it has theoretical justification or support. Actions could also be justified if it flows from a generally agreed pattern of behavior in society or a laid down framework for reference purposes. Theoretical underpinnings help us to understand not only the step-by-step processes of third party intervention but also enables us to learn the behavioural attitude that should be demonstrated by a third party, to be able to assure parties in conflict that no side is destined to be intimidated, demeaned or defeated. In drawing the relationship between theory and practice, Sandole (1992) in Best writes; 'Practitioners... Work at different levels, operate in different domains.... And they derive their ideas from varieties of sources ... and the domain, in which they operate, influences their goals, methods and overall approach, 'theory is tested by practice and theory is generated by practice' as indicated in the preceding pages of the study guide, there are several linkages between theory and practical challenges.

- Theories of conflict are useful for explaining and comprehending events and situations in adversarial relationships
- Theories are used for ascertaining the present and predicting future happenings by trainers and trainees in conflict resolutions.
- Theories vindicate as much as provide justification for practical actions in conflict resolution for trainees
- Theories enable groups in conflict resolution to communicate. For example, because Ford's managers understand his theory, they can communicate in the language of that theory in the making of automobiles or subsequent modifications.
- Theory enables us to draw the boundaries/scope of a study and practice.

However, the theories of conflict are not without some shortcomings. For example, some theories are very similar and overlap in terms of their causal or generic factors to conflicts. If practitioners look at theoretical backdrops as the basis of decision-making in conflict resolution, it implies that they have to reference multi-faceted variables. Yet theory helps us draw a range of coverage of a study, especially when classified as economic, political, and socio-cultural.

As in management sciences, an existing theory may not provide ready justification or backdrop for decision-making at a particular time and space. Rather, the actual demands of the situation may lend an answer to the problems.

Because the manipulations partly explain the conflict situation in the Niger Delta in the derivation and revenue allocation formula in the constitution, subsequent re-introduction of it may not solve the present problems of the Niger Delta. Rather, a pragmatic and decisive approach, such as a master plan, is needed to address the fundamental issues.

4.10. Conclusion

A theory is an assumption put forward to explain certain phenomenon. Such an explanation is also intended to provide basis or justification for that idea or phenomenon. In the preceding discussions in this unit, several factors of causal significance to conflict were mentioned. The analysis stated that in seeking resolutions to conflict, these causal theoretical foundations are most likely to be useful. For examples, the Structural, Realist, Biological, Economic, Psycho-cultural, and Systematic theories are not only inter-related in terms of their generic factors to conflict in the society, they also offer some systemic and philosophical explications to conflict.

Theory provides formula, methodology and explanation for issues and processes of conflict in the society. The existence and management of conflict, including its transformation, derive its explanations from theoretical underpinnings.

4.11. Summary

In this unit we have observed that theory provides formula, methodology and explanation for issues and processes of conflict in the society. The existence and management of conflict, including its transformation, derive its explications from theoretical underpinnings.

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5| Types and Modes of Conflict

5.1. Introduction

In the previous unit, there was an explicit attempt to explain the meaning of conflict and the human behaviours associated with conflict issues. In this unit, the various types of modes of conflict shall be analyzed.

5.2. Types of Conflict

5.2.1. Political Conflict

This emanates from political institutions and systems. It is characterized by revolutionary political ambition to disrupt or reform the constitutional order in practice. In political terms, conflict can refer to wars, revolutions or uprisings that involve the use of force. This can also be referred to as armed conflict. Understanding types of conflict determines the kind of human relations that had existed and the context of time and place that facilitated it. The individual is involved and the roles they played.

At one time or the other, a group of people moved into inhabited areas by virtue of being migrants, thereby encouraging the fusion of culture, languages and political systems. In this way, people identify with each other and possibly due to the natural law of remoteness after a long time of settlement, there is a change in identity. As explained under human behaviours in conflict, the bid for expansion and subjugation is most applicable in political conflict because the changes were full of reactions, violence and revolts. Anifowose (1982) defined violence as a human behaviour in political conflict as 'the use or threat or physical act carried out by an individual or group of individuals within a political system against one another and/or property, with the intent to cause injury or death to persons and damage of property.' Groups enter into political conflict due to dissatisfaction arising from compassion between what is currently enjoyed and what ought to or is expected to be enjoyed. In Uganda, the immediate pre-colonial period that is the nineteenth century was full of revolutions. These revolutions meant drastic changes in conditions, methods and ideas, which formed part of the treaties and agreements discussed in subsequent units.

5.2.2. Economic Conflict

This is a type of conflict associated with economic issues. In this case, money is the mechanism and decisive factor that determines the level of opposition or competition. As discussed in the previous unit competition, a behaviour is synonymous to this type of conflict, because the principle of capitalism, which emphasizes maximization of profit at all cost, makes competition inevitable.

There is perpetuity of lack of mutual benefit and less co-operation because the strong group tends to dominate and undermine the weak group. At this juncture, it is pertinent to note that economic conflict has to do with production and distribution processes through the parties/groups involved. For instance, an entrepreneur tends to maximize profit by paying workers less wages than they deserve, conflicts, in forms of protests, demonstrations, strikes or boycotts, arise to ensure changes. The revolt was dominantly aimed at reduction of taxes to be paid by farmers to the government. Before independence, the colonial government established marketing boards for cash crops such as cocoa, cotton, groundnut, etc. These products were graded, examined and bargained at prices that were not favourable to the peasant farmers. As explained earlier each party/group involved in conflicts maintains the position or stand favourable to it. In this case, the peasants resolved to:

- Remove local government official administering the villages
- Remove some Baales

- Reduce the flat tax rate
- Put an end to the use of force in tax collection
- Increase the prices of cocoa and
- Improve the roads leading to the villages

Afterwards, the regional government passively agreed to a compromise.

5.2.3. Gender Based Conflict

This cuts across extensively to other types or modes of conflict. It is usually borne out of oppression and inequality. In Uganda, the disparity or oppression of women is peculiar to the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Gender conflict implies that women (and girls) are predominantly victims who experience neglect within the dominated organization. Although the status of women varies in pre-colonial Uganda societies, the level of inequality or marginalization depended more on the group or class to which they belonged. Despite this, gender conflict was not inherent in the pre-colonial period. Rather it could be explained as gender-based division of labour, as women had specific roles to play. Some women were able to acquire wealth and rose to positions of authority.

5.2.4. Religious Conflict

This is a type of conflict that is peculiar to African countries such as Nigeria. It is mostly prone to violence. It occurs when people of different religions fail to co-exist and relate with one another by respecting what they stand for. In Africa, religious conflict has claimed lives and properties. At any slight provocation, religious conflicts resurge. The violence, thereafter, contributes to socio-economic and political instability. At times the religious conflict possesses an ethnic undertone or vice versa. In the contemporary period, it is a type of conflict that has permeated African polity. To solve the problems there are Inter-faith mediation centres nationally and globally established to co-ordinate religious teachings to stop conflict situation.

5.3. Mode of Conflicts

5.3.1. Organizational Conflict

This is mostly associated with work place. In order to achieve the goals set for progress, conflict occurs in organizations because of clash of interest or clash of priorities necessary.

5.3.2. International Conflict

This occurs among different countries that constitute an international organization. This may occur through varying interests on socio-economic and political policies to be adopted. Each member country would always prefer that the aims and objectives of the organization correspond with its foreign policy objective.

5.3.3. Environmental Resource Conflict

The availability of natural resources in a community serves as source of revenue or livelihood as well as it can cause conflict. In contemporary times, the natural endowment of crude-oil, for instance, in the Nigerian Niger-Delta, has been the bane of the uprisings and crises which continue to resurge by escalating different dimensions of violence.

5.3.4. Other Modes of Conflict

There are emotional conflict, ideological conflict, diplomatic conflict, military conflict and so on. It is worthy of note that no type or mode of conflict can occur in isolation, they are mostly interwoven.

Types and Modes of Conflict

5.4. Conclusion

An attempt to place a particular form of disagreement on a particular type or mode of conflict might appear elusive and difficult to trace the history of such conflict. A political conflict in most cases is characterized to possess economic conflict as an undertone. The parties, especially the principal actors, usually have a hidden agenda.

5.5. Summary

As an appendage to the previous unit, this unit has been able to engage you in the analysis of the types of conflict. In every society, the purpose, aims or objectives of a conflict situation usually involve two or three modes of conflict.

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6| Types of Conflict Handling Styles

6.1. Introduction

A mastery of different styles of handling conflicts is very germane to the transformation of conflicts. So, this module introduces you to the styles of handling conflicts in order to know when to appropriately apply them. This will also aid your understanding of subsequent modules.

6.2. Conflict Handling Styles

Conflict is not always a destructive occurrence. Conflict can indeed be the spring-board of development and improved relationship between or among the parties involved. Making the best out of any conflict will depend on the styles used in handling the conflict. The impact of these on positively transforming any conflict cannot be overemphasized. Some broad categories of parties' responses to conflict are discussed in this unit. They are avoidance, confrontation, third-party decision-making and joint problem solving (Albert, 2001:6).

6.2.1. Avoidance

This is a scenario in which the party alleging injustice, oppression, marginalisation or discrimination is snubbed or disclaimed by those who have the authority and capacity to address the situation. Some features of the avoidance style include: denial of the conflict, equivalent switching and avoiding issues, being non-committal, joking instead of dealing with the conflict and paying undue attention to irrelevant and inconsequential issues. This kind of response to conflict worsens issues and propels the party to be ignored or 'avoided' to violent or extra-judicial actions.

Avoidance permits conflicts to deteriorate rather than giving room for improvement. It reinforces the negative notion about conflict as always destructive and must be avoided. It blocks the chances of exploring the potentials for development inherent in the issues in conflict. It restricts each party to their own enclave and narrow perceptions about the issues in contentions. It often prepares the theatre for full-blown war or violent conflict. The more a wronged or perceived to be wronged party is ignored, or avoided, the more the probability of the party getting a win-lose conflict outcome.

6.2.2. Suppression

This is a conflict handling style on the perception and assessment of the dominant party of the other party in the conflict situation. In practice the dominant party suppresses the other party with the sole aim of vanquishing the concerned party. The assertive party does this by emphasizing economic, social, spiritual and political influence, power and edge in order to arrive at a win – lose outcome. This type of approach relies on hard power and it is used often when the power relations between the parties is asymmetric. The low point of this approach is that it may not produce sustainable peace.

6.2.3. Confrontation

This suggests that one of the parties takes a unilateral action in dealing with conflict. This is usually initiated by the stronger party or more powerful party in the conflict. The aim is usually for the stronger party in the conflict equation to impose its will and terms on the other. Confrontation takes the form of military action, intimidation, blackmail and arrests. In some instances, demonization and name-calling are not uncommon. Confrontation can also take the form of attack or destruction of the other party in conflict while the issues in conflict are left to simmer. This is done by demonising and attacking the other party in the conflict.

Types of Conflict Handling Styles

6.2.4. Third Party Decision-making

This takes place when third parties acting based on the authority conferred on them by the larger society (e.g. a properly constituted court of law) issues irreversible terms of resolving a conflict. This is a very efficacious strategy in places where the rule of law is respected and state-collapse has not taken place.

The unguaranteed impartiality of the judiciary puts a question mark on the efficacy of this approach. This is because when the judiciary seems to protect the rights of the privileged few, the inclinations for violent means of handling conflicts become very high. Resolution and transformation of conflicts either at the communal or international level would guarantee positive peace if the justice system is respected and insulated from undue inferences.

6.2.5. Joint Problem Solving

This implies that the parties in conflict netting consent to chart a way out of the imbroglio. This can be either through negotiation or the help of a third party (mediation). The objective of this is to arrive at a mutually satisfying agreement on the issues in conflict. This type of conflict handling style can be initiated by either of the parties involved in the conflict or a concerned and respected third party. This approach guarantees a win-win outcome and is regarded to be the best for handling conflicts.

This approach is comprehensive and forestalls conflict relapse because the interests of all the parties would have incorporated into the peace process. Arbitration is also a form of joint problem solving approach. This is because the essence of arbitration is that a dispute has risen or potential for a dispute will arise and the parties, instead of patronizing litigation, decide to refer the dispute to a private tribunal (arbitration) for settlement in a judicial manner. It is consensual in nature and the principle of agreement is at the root of the arbitral process.

6.2.6. Analytical Problem Solving

Analytical problem solving is a socio-psychological approach to dealing with deep-rooted, protracted intra-group and international conflict. This conflict handling style was developed by Herbert Kelman and John Burton based on the human needs theory of conflict that links the causes of conflicts to the inability of one person or group to meet fundamental needs like identity, security and recognition. If the underlying needs that are lacking are identified, a redefinition of the conflict takes place and the parties are able to initiate a process of joint – problem- solving and collaboration which hitherto was not possible.

This approach is highly complementary to conflict transformation because it places strong emphasis on the identification and examination of the perspectives of the parties to the problem including the parties' values, interests, prejudices, hopes, fears and needs.

The approach also empowers the parties to mutually appreciate their needs and to innovatively explore ways of overcoming stumbling – blocks. The approach makes use of workshops initially focusing on shorter – term goal of increasing mutual understanding and respect. An illustration is the holding of workshops between Israelis and Palestinians. Such workshops laid the foundation for the Oslo accords and went on since then in order to facilitate the implementation of agreements. However, obtaining true resolution of conflicts through this process is slow though it facilitates interpersonal rather than intersocietal/ group interaction and understanding.

6.2.7. Compromise

This entails the search for mutually satisfactory outcome of the conflict by parties involved, it involves the parties laying bare their cards and making concessions which ordinarily might not have appealed to them, (Ojiji, 2006). Compromise is often adopted in extreme situations where the parties cannot move forward without making concessions on some of their demands. This is also useful in conflicts characterised by limited resources where parties may need to be contented with available resources even when it is not in

conformity with their desired taste. The exigency of time and other pressing issues also compel parties to settle for compromise.

6.2.8. Constructive Confrontation

This is a concept based on the assumption that while conflicts are inevitable in all societies, the destructive nature of most conflicts is avoidable. This is very supportive of conflict transformation because it encourages the transcending of the destructive nature of conflicts by promoting the relationship among parties in conflict. Burgess (1997) the protagonist of this idea, proposes that constructive confrontation provides the disputants with skills that enable them to generate more benefits. These benefits include better understanding, of the interests, values and needs of the other side. Constructive confrontation makes a distinction between the *core conflicts* and the *conflicts overlay*. The core conflicts include fundamental interests, values, and needs that are divergent. The conflict overlays are issues that seem to becloud the core conflicts and make them difficult to identify and deal with effectively.

Constructive confrontation takes a broad view of what the conflict is about by analysing and managing issues of relationship, emotional issues, value and need – based issues. Another key element of constructive confrontation is the incremental approach it uses which implies the empowerment of parties in conflict to meet their own needs and their understanding of the values, needs and interests of the other. This is done by reframing conflicts in a more productive way in order to correct misunderstandings, discover and effectively use mutually credible technical information, correct procedural errors, and reduces the propensity of conflict escalation. This enables the transformation of conflict from a destructive one to one that is more constructive.

Constructive confrontation also encourages the integration of threat, force, negotiation and other integrative approaches. Burgess (1997) argues that negotiation enhances one's chances of meeting one's interests and needs in conflict situations which is also a reflection of power. These strategies, when combined with a moderate amount of threat, can generate constructive engagement and change than force alone. This is because threat – based strategies are more likely to generate escalation and backlash instead of constructive engagement. A combination of the three strategies, used sequentially or simultaneously facilitates the progress that one strategy alone cannot guarantee (Burgess, 1997).

6.2.9. Dialogue

Dialogue is a form of conversation and relating with people that is different from mediation, negotiation and debate because it tries to inform but not to persuade or resolve any issue. The first condition for success is the removal of stereotypes, a readiness to listen to and appreciate others' views and a willingness to be receptive of new ideas. Dialogue excludes attack and defence and discourages derogatory stigmatizations based on assumptions about the motives, meanings or character of others; questions during dialogue are sincere, informed by curiosity and interest with a view to knowing what was hitherto unknown (Chasin et. al., 1996). Therefore, it requires transparency and listening attentively and respectfully. It may seem that there is no difference between dialogue and debate, but there are distinguishing features of the two.

In most cases, debates reinforce differences because characters are there to learn new idea about issues at stake but to have their way by all means. This is why the approach can be more useful in deep – rooted value based conflicts where negotiation is impossible. It is not uncommon for characters at debates to deny or veil differences to avoid revealing what they consider to be secrets but in a dialogue session differences are revealed and their desirability discussed.

Also during debates, participants listen in order to puncture the arguments of the other parties but during dialogue, participants listen in order to gain insight into the beliefs and concerns of the other party because questions are posed from a position of curiosity and sincerity.

Types of Conflict Handling Styles

Success during debates require simple and dispassionate statements during debates which rarely happen while, dialogues succeed based on the willingness and abilities of the parties to explore the complexities of the issues on the table. It suffices to note that this approach is effectively used in the sphere of issue transformation in the whole gamut of conflict transformation.

6.3. Conclusion

The unit discussed some basic styles of handling conflicts including the advantages and disadvantages of each one. The unit discussed conflict as an inevitability in human interaction that cannot be wished away. Acquaintance with conflict handling styles will no doubt ensure successful transformation of conflict while ensuring positive peace. A poor knowledge of conflict handling styles will worsen conflict issues and further tear the parties involved apart. Hence, being a *sine qua non* prior to conflict transformation. Conflict handling styles used by individuals, corporate entities and nations have been discussed. The implications of employing each at different times and contexts were also presented. Hence, it is needed to be well aware of the various means of handling it with emphasis on how to make serve a positive end.

6.4. Summary

In this unit, we explained some conflict handling styles usually adopted by parties in conflict. These include avoidance, compromise, confrontation, analytical problem solving and joint – problem solving. Each of these styles was lucidly presented to enhance easy grasp for readers.

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7| Guides to Intervening in Conflicts

7.1. Introduction

The possession of skills for constructive intervention in conflicts cannot be ignored with a sleight of hand. This informs the central justification for this unit. Some basic steps to be taken before intervening in conflicts will be presented. This will help in the whole gamut of conflict transformation processes. It will also help to avoid pitfalls in the process.

7.2. Guides to Intervening in Conflicts

Before intervening in any conflict or deciding the most suitable tools of analysis, some salient/germane questions must be asked and profoundly answered. The cause(s) of the conflict both the remote and immediate causes must be lucidly analysed and understood.

The intervener or researcher has to unearth:

- Likely hidden and unmentioned issues connected to the conflict, which the parties will not like to share with 'external - parties'.
- Theoretical analysis of the conflict whether it is macro, micro, cumulative, additive, consecutive
- Is the conflict due to a combination of factors within and without the conflict setting?
- Also, is the conflict elite instigated or simply a mass-action by the masses?

This will reveal the role of different actors at different levels in the conflict. Albert (2001) reflects the views of the revolutionary school of violence that elite-triggered and even mass-triggered conflicts usually occur in instances of bad political leadership. The leaders or elites, who instigate the conflict, could sincerely overthrow an oppressive government. There are three basic reasons why individuals and elites would like to trigger a conflict. One, it could be due to sincere ideological struggle over how the state should be better administered; it could be to have a secure control of assets; the violent conflict could be engineered by elites lacking legitimacy and afraid of losing power and, therefore trying to make themselves relevant by appealing to primordial sentiments to mobilise the largely gullible masses. Such are not uncommon in societies experiencing antagonistic group histories and excruciating economic problems.

In as much as the objective of conflict analysis is to initiate the process of conflict transformation, the conflict analyst must identify the primary and shadow parties involved in the conflict. Albert (2001) defines the primary parties as those directly locked in conflict, while the shadow parties are those who provide logistical and inspirational impetus for combatants.

The values of the parties in conflict must also be well understood by the conflict analyst. Albert (2001) defines 'values' as an enduring organisation belief concerning preferable modes of conduct or end states of existence along a continuum of relative importance. Values define what is right or wrong including what is just and unjust to a community or a group of people.

Also values can be described as basic beliefs that are non - negotiable. They include; ideas, habits, customs and beliefs that define a particular social community. Values determine how we interpret the world and how we will respond to it. That is why whenever one's values are threatened or perceived to be threatened, a fierce reaction is elicited. Values determine how parties in a conflict are pitched against each other or perceive each other. In a religious conflict, party A may accuse party B of desecrating the former's doctrinal symbols. This can subsequently degenerate into a fierce and destructive conflict.

It is equally important to identify the positions, interests and needs of the parties in conflict. Albert (2001) defines 'position' as what each side to the conflict openly professes. In most ethnic conflict situations, the 'host population' may insist the 'settlers' on leaving the community. The 'settlers' might reply by insisting

that they will rather die in the community than pack out. All these are mere positional statements. This type of conflict cannot be addressed by relying on such positional statements.

A shrewd conflict analyst must seek to know why the 'host' wants the 'settlers' to pack out. The response might be: 'because they hold parallel market days' or 'because they do not have respect for us as the owner of this community. They do not respect our culture'. The answer has revealed what the 'host' community wants (i.e. interests) – namely, to be given the rights and privileges due to a 'host' population. Interests are not always material things, they are often negotiable and people are sometimes willing to trade off one or more depending on what they calculate their gains to be.

This is why most conflicts are defined based on the parties' conflicting interests which often imply a zero-sum game or a win-lose outcome. The analyst must go further to unearth the conditions under which the 'host' community will permit the 'settlers' to remain in the community. The responses to this will unveil the needs of the 'host' community. Burton opines that needs are rarely defined materially and that is why interests cannot be negotiated because they are tied to issues of security and identity. Identity and security are so pertinent to human existence that people do violate norms to uphold them. Also, needs are usually not mutually exclusive, for instance, the issue of security is intricately tied to the issue of identity; therefore, one can be easily traded off for the other. Insecurity instigates aggression against the real or imagined enemy, while security makes one feel safe without attacking others. Likewise, if one's identity is secured, one will have no reason for threatening the security of others.

If the identity of a group is denied or threatened, it tries to assert itself by all means which may include violence. The information garnered from this process could effectively guide whoever is intervening in the conflict. Suffice to note that this tool can be used in a range of conflicts from domestic to international.

The analyst must also be acquainted with the history of the conflict. History avails us the knowledge of what has happened in the past without a correct historical knowledge, the analyst may not comprehend why and how the conflict got to its present state. The analyst must identify the major events between the parties over time. How did the conflict start? Were these moments of initial peaceful co-existence between the parties to the conflict? How long was this conflict? What actually caused the conflict and what has been the trajectory of the conflict? What accounted for the trajectories? What efforts were made to resolve the conflict and how successful were such efforts? Why has the conflict become as it is? Answering some of these questions may call for trips to local, state and national archives for documentary evidence.

Such information or data could also be garnered from oral interviews. The context of conflict occurrence must be given due attention by the conflict analyst. This must take cognisance of the social, economic, political and ideological milieu of the conflict. It must be investigated also, if there are external influences on the conflict be it in terms of logistic, financial or ideological support. Are those external parties respected and trusted by the parties in conflict? Do the parties have interests and needs outside the immediate scene of the conflict?

The progression of the conflict will enable the conflict analyst to know whether the conflict is escalating, stabilizing or de-escalating. The reasons for any of these must be carefully sought. Are the reasons located in the conflict theatre or outside it? Key players in all of these must be found out.

Power relations or equations are also a very crucial influence in conflict. Power is conceptualized as the ability to influence, compel or coerce people or events. It can be demonstrated variously in the form of physical strength, status, control of resources, support of allies, persuasive ability, the least is inexhaustible. There are two types of power. These are hard and soft power. Hard and soft powers are linked because both are aspects of the ability to attain one's objective by affecting the behaviour of others.

Command or hard power thrives on changing what others do by coercion or inducement. Soft or co-optive power thrives on the ability to shape what others want by making one's culture and values attractive, including needs and interests. It also tries to manipulate the agenda of political choices to prevent others from expressing their preferences because those preferences would have been made to seem unrealistic.

Most of the reasons for soft power are usually linked or denied from resources. They depend mainly on three pillars; culture (in places where it is attractive to others), political values (when a country lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority) (Nye, 2004).

There are also exchange power and integrative power. Exchange power relies on compromise and bargaining. Integrate power relies on persuasion and problem solving (Fisher et. al., 2000:38). In many conflicts, all these types of power may be required at different phases of one conflict. Force may be deployed to create space and create willingness for initial ceasefire, bargaining and compromise, followed by longer-term talks aimed at a settlement which is owned by all sides and therefore more durable. However, other forms of power can be used to prevent violence or war.

A good conflict analyst must be able to understand which of these power strategies are available to parties' conflict. This can be very useful for conflict transformation. In most conflict situations, the more powerful party especially in terms of hand power is usually averse to joint problem-solving process or win-win conflict outcome. This is because of the opinion that it has the upper hand. This normally precipitates violence from both sides as the less powerful feels no one has monopoly of violence or force and thus war or violent conflict ensues.

The conflict costs, in all manifestations human, social, political, psychological, financial, material and so on, must be calculated by comparing the pre and post-conflict environment with the pre-conflict environment. What have been lost? How many lives were lost during the conflict? How long will it take to rebuild the war-torn society?

Information received from these enquiries usually aid in sustaining the argument for non-violent conflict resolution. It can guide the post conflict peace-building and reconstruction process. The present situation or existing situation in terms of the conflict level must be ascertained. Are the parties weary of the conflict? Are they approachable by a neutral third party? Is there a third party now talking to the parties? What are their reactions to peace initiatives? Why are the parties still adamant? What conditions or terms can make them follow the path of non-violent options for handling conflicts?

All the foregoing will determine the possibility of appropriate intervention. The conflict analyst proceeds to explore windows for intervention. What kind of intervention will be necessary? Who should intervene, when, where and how? What kind of formal and informal activities should be undertaken before the intervention? Why did such efforts fail in the past? Can these efforts be refined, or replicated? To achieve all of these, the conflict analyst must take painstaking efforts to listen raptly to both sides and must have an analytical mind. There must be cross fertilization of information.

7.3. Conclusion

This has presented some basic steps to be undertaken by anybody intending to intervene in any conflict in order to facilitate a positive transformation of the conflict. In order not to worsen the relationship of parties in conflict, there is the need to carefully and painstakingly follow the steps highlighted for the successful transformation of conflicts.

7.4. Summary

If conflicts will be turned into basis of improved relationship and development, there is need for interveners to have a firm grasp of the steps presented. The unit presented these steps in order to enhance the blend of and practice.

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8| Actor Transformation

The unit discusses the centrality of actor transformation to the successful conduct of conflict transformation. It pays detailed attention to the actor transformation aspect of conflict transformation. The unit presents what is to be transformed in the actor during the conflict transformation process and shows how to go about it to empower the students with the required skills to perform the task properly.

8.1. Actor Transformation

Central to conflicts either at the inter-personal or community level is human being. The way human beings view and handle any conflict determines whether it will be destructive or constructive conflict. Based on the assertion of Galtung (1995:53) that '*... conflicts are generally not solved... what survives after a conflict has disappeared from the agenda is conflict energy reproduced and produced by the conflict. Then energy does not die... it attaches itself to one or more conflicts, possibly also the old one*'. So, the need for man, the chief agent in conflict to be empowered to transcend the conflict has informed the concept of actor transformation in conflict transformation.

One of the main factors to be transformed in any conflict is a man or the actors. Either at the inter-personal or inter-group levels, there are actors involved. In particular, conflicts at the inter-group, inter-community and inter-national levels have the common features of leaders and followers or primary and shadow parties.

At the inter-personal level, a transformation of the actors or parties has direct and positive effects on the conflict. This can be achieved by strengthening actors' capacity to analyse situations, make effective decisions for themselves and to appreciate the views of others. It focuses on improving the actor's sense of empowerment or self-determination and their abilities for recognition or responsiveness to others. This embodies the goal of the transformative approach to a conflict, beyond just reaching an agreement about the issues that appear to divide the parties or even less desirably – having intermediaries construct a settlement to which the parties are then expected to stick.

Also, at the inter-personal level, the potentials or advantages of transformational mediation cannot be ignored. Succinctly put, transformational mediation entails helping individuals to wriggle out of difficult circumstances and reducing human differences in the midst of conflict. This stems from the potentials of mediation to produce two useful effects, empowerment and recognition. Simply put, empowerment means the restoration to individuals on consciousness of their own value and strength and their own ability to handle life's problems. Recognition implies the reawakening in individuals of acknowledgement and empathy for the situations, problems and plights of others (Mitchell, N.D).

Transformational mediation at the inter-personal level also helps actors to define problems and goals in their own terms, thus validating the importance of these goals and problems in the parties' lives. In addition, transformational mediation can help the actors in being able to personally decide how or even whether, to settle a dispute and it can help the parties to marshal their own resources to address problems and achieve their own objectives. In short, the aim of transformational mediation is that it helps parties in conflicts to perceive it as opportunities for growth and transformation, not as problems that are inherently and pathologically destructive.

The proponents of transformational mediation, such as Bush and Folger also argue that transformation of society is an indirect result of individual transformation. Although they accept that this may need a long time to take place, especially in societies susceptible to violent and intractable conflicts like Cyprus, Sri Lanka, or former Yugoslavia. It is, nevertheless, a desirable and worthwhile venture. This is because of the potential to change the society through the individual. Although there is no fixed mode of

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achieving societal transformation through individual or actor transformation, it must be based on each case's peculiarities.

At the broader level, the transformation of actors should include the general promotion of natural empathy and understanding between parties, particularly among leaders, opinion makers and grassroots individuals, including a sense of shared responsibility for the origins and dynamics of the conflict in the first place. Furthermore, transformation processes should be targeted at erasing the sense of helplessness about the conflict among participants, especially those at the local and grassroots levels of the parties and at increasing the feeling of empowerment. This should be targeted at impacting the way they conduct conflict, its resolution and the structures that gave rise to it.

At this level of actor transformation of conflict emphasis should be on achieving major and widespread improvement in peoples:

- Framing and understanding of the issues in conflict.
- Acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the other-party, its claims, concerns and hopes.
- Sense of responsibility for the origins of the conflict and the interactive manner in which it has inevitably been presented.
- Consciousness of the other party's perspectives and objectives, and reasons for their being held.
- Recognition of the need for short-term mutual re-assurance and building up of longer-term trust between the parties.
- Sense of competence and capability in confronting the search for solutions to the conflict and undertaking actions to prevent repetition.
- Willingness to include the interests of those not morally represented in the search for solutions, including future generations.
- Acknowledgement of the existence of past grievances, injuries and traumas plus willingness to examine these thoroughly and to search for means of healing the damage caused through a variety of means, including reconciliation and mutually acceptable process of restoration and if necessary – redistributive justice.
- Acceptance of the need for a durable, inclusive and acceptable solution to a mutual problem, which may involve major structural change (Mitchell N.D. 5 – 6).

In another context, actor transformation within the ambit of conflict, transformation can include processes of; disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating of ex-combatants who usually constitute the primary parties in most violent conflicts. This is very plausible particularly at the phase of reintegration. See also Varynen (1991).

Actors are principal factors in conflicts whether at the inter-personal or inter-group level. The attainment and sustainability of peace depends largely on the extent of the transformation that has taken place within and amongst actors in conflict. Therefore transforming actors irrespective of the intensity of the conflict has a very strong bearing on the conflict and relationships. The indispensability of actor transformation in conflict transformation has been stressed.

The effect on conflict and relationship has also been highlighted coupled with a description of processes involved in conflict transformation. Appleby (2001) based on Lederach's thought on transformation proposes that actor transformation should involve the grass – root and mid – level players. These comprise well – meaning and respected leaders drawn from the community especially in cases of communal conflicts. This must, however, be done carefully not to inadvertently worsen the conflict situation by bringing people with veiled unscrupulous interest in the conflict or shadow parties.

8.2. Conclusion

However conflict transformation processes are carried out, the first and by far the most important requirement is to guide against re-occurrence of conflict in the nearest future. The attainment and sustainability of peace depends largely on the extent at which the abilities of actors in conflict are strengthened, empowered and stimulated for proper recognition or responsiveness to eliminate difficult circumstances and reduce human differences and jointly come up with a lasting solution.

8.3. Summary

The actors in conflicts either at inter-personal, community, national or international levels determine whether it will be destructive or constructive conflict. Proper transformation actors, irrespective of the intensity of the conflict, are therefore, the only anti-dote to the attainment and sustainability of fostering of cordial post- conflict relationship.

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9| Conflict Analysis

In everyday dealings and undertakings by state and non-state actors, there is bound to be emergence of conflict, at least, occasionally. This unit exposes the students on various ways through which conflict can be analyzed. The students will understand how positions, values, issue, interests, objectives, and needs contribute to situation of conflict between two or more parties. This Unit intends to expose the students to a number of conflict analytical tools and techniques to enhance our better understanding of conflict analysis.

9.1. Conflict Analysis

Many people wonder what analysis of conflict is. In practice, how reliable, conflict analysis is, particularly in view of proffering solutions to conflict situation? Can conflict be analyzed at all levels of relationship either interpersonal, or intra-group or inter-group or communal or national or international? The concept of conflict analysis may look somehow abstract to the experience of people. Conflict analysis remains a great and difficult task particularly in this part of the world where there is value-laden problem. The primordial and sectarian sentiments, that people attach to their operations, actions, and judgmental imperatives, may affect the process and outcome of our analysis of conflict.

Therefore, conflict analysis requires objectivity and neutrality rather than personal values, emotions and manipulations. In practical terms, conflict analysis is a process that examines and unravels the root causes, dynamics, issues, and other fundamentals of conflict through various perspective mechanisms for our better understanding of the conflict. This understanding of conflict affords us a great opportunity to develop certain strategies and actions for possible termination of conflict. Conflict analysis answers questions on the background and history of conflict situation, identifying parties to the dispute. It also identifies the cultural background of the parties' relationship as well as factors responsible for such conflict and the trends of the conflict situation and the relative power of the parties. Conflict analysis is a continuous exercise, which must be undertaken from time to time to develop strategies and actions to change factors and dynamics of conflict events. This task is carried out through the use of some analytical tools and techniques. In this unit, the students will be exposed to some of these tools and techniques. When you intervene as a peace expert in a conflict, you are expected to take or rather fulfill some conditions in order to achieve at least minimum level of success. Data gathering is very important, even before you bring together the disputants. Thus, during the intervention, you gather additional information, and if there is any new information subsequently, you must incorporate all of them to your conflict analytical strategy.

This will give you a substantial direction on the choice of strategies for successful intervention, even if it would necessitate an alternative strategy other than the one (s) initially adopted in the resolution of the conflict.

The stages or conditions to consider in the analysis of any conflict situation should include:

9.1.1. Conflict History

- Consider the significant events between the disputants;
- Consider if there have been any previous disputes between the disputants;
- Examine their relationships, if there has been any change in record time;
- Have there been any past efforts to solve the conflict, and consider why these past efforts failed.

9.1.2. Context

- Examine the step taken by the disputing parties to resolve their differences
- Study the physical environment of the conflict;

- Evaluate the level and trends of communication between the parties and their decision-making principles.

9.1.3. Primary Parties

- The major parties to a conflict must be identified;
- Examine the positions of the parties;
- The interests of the parties must be evaluated;
- The values of the parties be examined;
- The analysis should also consider how the parties perceive themselves; (Examine the leadership authority to dispute settlement).
- Examine if there are any mutual interests goals or needs between the parties.

9.1.4. Power

- Relative power capabilities of the parties should be studied to know if one party is more powerful than the other;
- If there is balance of power between the disputants, what method of peace process is suitable for the success of the intervention?
- Identify the source (s) of the parties' power,
- Identify the resources at each of the parties' disposal,
- Examine how often the parties use their power, and the consequence or result of such power exercise,
- Examine untapped power bases by the parties.

9.1.5. Other Parties / Stakeholders

Here, we have the secondary parties and shadow parties who must also be considered and their relationships with the primary parties be assessed in order to understand the overall underlying problems of conflict. It is easier to identify the secondary parties than the shadow parties. Shadow parties often hide their identities but provide resources to the primary parties in the prosecution of conflict. You should, therefore, examine:

- The roles these parties play in the conflict
- The activities (either aligned or neutral) of these parties towards each of the primary parties;
- The availability of agencies or organizations either private or public whose involvement in the interaction is important to the resolution of the conflict;
- When and how, can these parties be involved in the peace process?

9.1.6. Issues

- Identify the basic issues, which the parties have already identified themselves;
- Identify the hidden or secondary issues not stated by the parties, if any. The data or relationship or values or interest or secondary issues not stated by the parties, if any,
- Consider the types of issues are these. Are they problems of information or values or interest or structure?
- Determine the most relevant intervention procedure to the identified issues;
- Examine the conflict situation closely and discover if the conflict is a new one or the consequence of improper resolution of previous conflict.
- Determine the time and effort, which must be expended on the conflict for quality resolution.

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9.1.7. The Immediate Situation

The intervenors should determine the most effective conflict management strategy to adopt according to the urgency and demand, the situation of conflict demands. For instance, if the conflict is becoming very violent, the intervenor may decide to adopt some violence reduction strategies to limit the casualty rate, which the conflict may generate.

9.1.8. Stage of Conflict

- Consider if the conflict is still stabilizing or escalating or even deescalating and the reasons for the trend;
- In the case of conflict escalation, you determine
 - If the issues are transiting from specific to general;
 - The level of size increase of the issues or resources in the conduct of the conflict by the parties;
 - If there is any transition to confrontation from disagreement;
 - The level of increase in the parties exercise of power;
 - Emerging relationships between the parties;
 - Situation of communication and propaganda between the parties;
- In the case of stabilization, the following should be considered/evaluated;
 - Any continued presence of safety-value mechanisms;
 - The level of fear of conflict escalation;
 - Existence of agreements on norms and values;
 - The level of presence of social bonds and traditional or cultural alliance between parties (in a larger organizational structure);
 - The level of external interference or threat;
 - The level of time constraints, if any, on the further use of resources.

9.1.9. Timing

- Determine the right or actual time to intervene;
- Determine the most profitable time for the success of the intervention;
- Identify the party that is more likely to derive benefits from immediate intervention.

9.1.10. Alternatives and Options for Settlement

- Consider the parties' level of knowledge and understanding of their alternatives;
- Consider the level of parties' awareness of each other's alternative or options;
- Examine the steps or efforts taken so far by the disputing parties in the achievement of their alternatives or options;
- Evaluate the realistic nature of the disputing parties.

10 | Ethnicity

10.1. Introduction

This unit deals with the idea of ethnicity, in terms of group formation and identity. It will further define and describe ethnic conflict as it is seen today in modern literature and the role of ethnicity is conflict. The Africanist perspective of what is ethnic conflict or how to resolve them based on the present of justice, fair play and recognition of what is proper for human, not necessarily based on civilized or tribal cultures.

10.2. The meaning of Ethnicity

Many scholars have tried to define ethnicity in several ways. Some have defined it concerning the group, without thinking of ethnic. For example, Nnoli (1980) defined ethnicity as 'a social phenomenon associated with interactions among members of different ethnic groups'. According to him, ethnic groups are 'social formations distinguished by their boundary's common character (language and culture). Otite (1999) defined ethnic group to be 'categories of people characterized by culture criteria of symbols including language, value systems and normative behaviour, and whose members are anchored in a particular part of the new state territory'. He defines ethnic groups as 'the contextual discrimination, by members of one group against others based on differentiated systems of socio-culture symbols'.

10.3. The Relevance of Ethnicity

In politics, ethnicity, which is structurally primordial, possesses an intrinsic absolute value, involving and demanding a level of loyalty, which transcends that given to any other group or the state. This is a relationship where a person is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbor, one's fellow believer, **not merely because of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributable to the very tie itself.** This is unlike civil ties which are characterized by amorphous, routine allegiance to the civil state, mostly sustained to a greater extent by governmental use of brutal, suffocating force and hollow ideological rhetoric. The need to differentiate between these two relationships is to show that they are important forces pulling persons in different directions at the same time, seeking for his or her loyalty. Even, with increasing homogenization through modernization and education, ethnic relevance has not been undermined, as the ethnic groups still provide a tangible source of self-identification and a basis for political action, because values and norms of the incipient national character have not grown at the expense of the values and norms of the ethnic group.

In times of personal and political crises, ethnic ties are by far more meaningful to most citizens than civil ties. The sense of security the Africans derive from the ethnic group is vital and is based on 'the feeling of security that it gives him especially as many believe that in the event of their getting into trouble, whether at home or abroad, ... only members of their families and their ethnic group will rally round to their rescue, and not the theoretical nation. *Since the ethnic group is seen as the guarantor of personal security, when the ethnic group is threatened, the members are threatened in a personal sense.* This is why they find threat toward their ethnic group as a fundamental threat to their identity and security.

They find ethnic affiliation as the primary source of satisfaction of fundamental need of identity and security, and therefore, ethnicity defines the individual's perception of, and relationship to, political issues. So crucial are ethnic identifications that they often override loyalty to the state.

Thus, the introduction of electoral processes leads to the power defining phenomenon of ethnicity that further embitters the relations among various ethnic groups. In the absence of widely-held and strongly-felt ideologies, like the third term issue in Uganda, ethnicity provides the focus for 'party' loyalty. Indeed, on

the basis of the social patterns of voting behaviour in Africa, we may submit that invariably parties and ethnic groups overlap. Since ethnicity is close to the core of individual identity, perceived slights or threats from 'outsiders' tend to generate powerful collective reactions. Such reactions are easily mobilized and politicized by the group's elite, motivated partly by genuine concern for their people and partly to nurture their political ambitions by exploiting the natural resource of collective identity.

This use of ethnicity as a political resource has led many observers of the African political landscape to conclude that ethnicity is invented for political ends, and this is not true, and it will be confusing to define an ethnic group in terms of its political interests.

In competitive politics ethnicity creates a majority-minority problem where elections more or less become a census of the adult population. Ethnic parties develop and contest extremely divisive elections; the ethnic group with the largest population takes power in the majoritarian electoral system, this is why we often hear that politics is a game of numbers. A feeling of permanent exclusion is produced on the part of those (the minority) who are locked out of office by the accident of birth. The sense of permanent exclusion generates a predisposition to violent opposition and conflicts. - *The multi-ethnic African state is inherently conflictual; stability therefore requires that 'tribalism' be transcended through modernisation.*

In conflict, the above quotation is the view of many western peace scholars who believe that the multi-ethnic nature of Africa is responsible for the myriad conflicts in the continent, but the question that comes to mind is 'how do diverse peoples with distinct political cultures, and often with negative, bitter memories and images, live amicably in a polity of an alien political system, now without the alien Leviathan which had coerced them together and imposed the system in the first place? (Amoo 1997) He went further to provide answer by analyzing that the theory of social compact and the need to recognize the identity issue which ethnicity provides, which the governance does not. 'The one vital issue which confronted Africa at independence, and persists as the principal source of conflicts, is the absence of a viable social compact to govern the relations among the diverse units within the state, while recognizing and ensuring each unit's need for identity, security, participation and, at least, some form of autonomy'. When a system does not provide security, through the protection of identity, we all know that there is going to be a conflict as this raises doubts as to the legitimacy of the formal government in power and the consequence is explosive. The unfortunate part of this government with no 'legitimacy of the people' is that is the *ownership* of the state which is perceived as the only guarantor of a group's identity and security; and what ensues, as Claude Ake (1981) observes, is 'a desperate struggle to win control of state power ... since this control means for all practical purposes being all powerful and owning everything. Politics becomes warfare, a matter of life and death.' In order to sustain this power, the perpetrators fall back on their ethnic relationship for recruitment of 'soldiers' who find it easy and appropriate to be there for their brother.

Therefore, the reverse is the case in Africa, where it is the fear of the loss of power, which corrupts and corrupts inhumanely. So, it is clear that ethnicity does not cause conflict, like the quotation above suggest, but the normal causes of conflict in the other parts of the world.

10.4. Conflict in a Multi-Ethnic Society

Conflict is a product of discomfort, disharmony, scarcity of resources and unjust approach to distribution of the scarce commodity. Also, a clash of interests as a result of pursuing of incompatible goals all leads to conflicts. It is also important to know that conflict is an inevitable part of man who is in social interaction with others. Therefore conflict can and will occur within a group and between groups too. Another school of thought also believes that conflict is good as it brings change in human society. This change John Burton (1987) believes is necessary for growth and development, or else, the society will be static. This is not to say that, the diverse a society is the main conflict it will have, no, what we are saying is that, if close societies can have conflicts, then, pluralistic societies would have conflict too. And then, mechanisms should

be put in place to manage them. This is very important, as no society can insulate itself from conflict, be it mono-ethnic or multi-ethnic.

No matter the society one lives in, she/he will still struggle for survival and will lead to conflict. For examples, homogeneous societies also have problems. The case of Somalia is very true that mono-ethnic societies do have problems. In conclusion, it will be so dangerously misleading to say that multi-ethnic society is sonorous with conflicts and mono-ethnic societies in peace.

10.5. Redefining Ethnic Conflicts

Ethnic conflicts are conflicts that are caused as a result of ethnic difference ALONE. When people get into fighting just because they are not from the same ethnic group, then, that is an ethnic conflict, but in Uganda today, many conflicts reformed to be ethnic conflicts have nothing to do with ethnicity. Most of them are religious, economic or political. But then, why do we easily call them ethnic conflicts? The answers are simple: one, the people in these conflicts definitely will belong to one ethnic group or the other, and the second reason is that, it is easy for the politicians, who unfortunately are the mediators, do not want to name the causes, which could put them in the picture as perpetrators. They quickly say one ethnic group or the ethnic group in power is marginalizing the other, when the actual problem is unhealthy political and economic policies coming from the government.

This idea is captioned in the theory of Actor-based approach instead of issue based. The issue is context-unjust laws, complains, etc are swept under the carpet, so that the parties to the conflict are discussed on the issues. Another angle to the analysis of ethnic conflict is the need to ascertain the salience of ethnicity 'as an organizing concept in the process of nation building'. Any effort to underscore the relevance of ethnicity will naturally create condition, which causes conflicts. Ethnicity is an identity issue; therefore, any effort to control the projection of who you are will inevitably lead to conflicts. Any threat to ethnicity is a threat to personal self, and security and it will vehemently be rejected. Therefore, conflicts with ethnic color need to be addressed based on the themes that have worked.

10.6. Resolving Ethnic Conflicts

10.6.1. Issue Based Approach

This is a conflict management approach that focuses attention on the issues causing the problem. When problems are focused, it is possible to say that this conflict is resource-based or religious. It helps to get to the root of the problem and address human needs, concerns, and fears. This approach tackles the issue to resolve it and therefore derives its name – the problem-solving technique. This approach is the best, as every party can go away satisfied at the end of the day, as their fears and concerns are discussed. There is a win-win situation in this process.

This approach, although the best in terms of outcome, is a very long process and strenuous as all the parties must have a chance to talk and be part of the decision process.

10.7. Self-Assessment Exercise

Discuss the impact of conflict in a multi-ethnic society.

10.8. Conclusion

Ethnicity is an issue that cannot be swept away from pluralistic societies, but the management of it needs a lot of carefulness and intelligence. Mismanagement can be very catastrophic as the promotion of it can lead to disregard for the other group, and the undermining of it can be misleading, as it is a part of our society and us. It is also important to know that, ethnicity on its own cannot cause conflict, but the manipulation of it by individuals for selfish purposes can lead to conflict. Also, it is necessary to know that,

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conflicts caused by ethnicity in any way also need the standard approach, which calls for addressing the issues, not the persons.

10.9. Summary

This unit has attempted to define the term, ethnicity. It has discussed the relevance of ethnicity, conflict in multi-ethnic Society and how to resolve these ethnic conflicts.

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11| Small Arms, Children and Girls in Armed Conflicts

Whether small, light, improvised, or weapons of mass destruction in conflict is not new, and this explains why the right of self-defense and self-determination are part of international law. What is rather new is that access to these weapons is easy and cheap. Records have it that you can exchange an AK47 for as little as a bag of grain, and studies have it that, there are more arms with the militias than in the National armies of most African countries. And what is most unacceptable is the indiscriminate use of these weapons, against those that the humanitarian laws are out to protect. The proliferation of these weapons in the hands of undisciplined actors has outpaced the efforts to ensure compliance with the basic rules of warfare. The aftermath is levels of wanton violence and streams of horrific images.

The end of the cold war and the collapse of Soviet Union led to the significant change in the dynamics of conflicts and international transfer of arms. These changes also have led to a very high level of civilian casualties and making delivery of humanitarian assistance extremely difficult. Although it is true that arms increase facilitated aggression against civilians, it is also important to know that there are other factors that contribute to the heavy toll paid by the civilians.

11.1. Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation

Small Arms and light Weapons are distinguished weapons of war that are very simple to use, small in size, and easy to carry, but have the capacity to do grave damage in especially intrastate conflicts. The proliferation of small Arms, because of their simplicity and durability, is made very easy. These weapons require very little upkeep and logistical support as they have very few moving parts. They are also very durable. Even uneducated combatants and children can easily manipulate them as they need very little training and can be easily effectively handled. The qualities of small arms include:

11.1.1. Portability and Conceal-ability

Small Arms and Light weapons can be moved about by individuals or small and light vehicles. Because of their size, concealing them is very easy. They can be hidden in legitimate goods and be smuggled across borders into conflict zones.

11.1.2. Military / Police and Civilian Uses

These weapons are used by the military and the police, and even can be acquired legally by individuals. Because they are not exclusively procured by the national military, it is then vulnerable to abuse by illegal users.

11.1.3. Low Cost and Wide Availability

For the fact that there are various legal users like the military, police and civilians, the number of manufacturers is large and this makes its availability very high. For example, in DRC, weapons could be purchased, as cheaply as buying a chicken, and in Mozambique and Angola, they are as cheap as 15 USD.

11.1.4. Lethality

These weapons are also as dangerous as the big weapons. Some of these small Arms have the capacity to fire up to 700 rounds a minute, and can cause great damage. So, having a small group of people armed with these arms, can pose a real challenge to any military. So, the above reasons and more explains why Small Arms and Light Weapons proliferation will continue to be a challenge in managing intrastate/ethnic conflicts.

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11.1.5. ECOWAS Conventions on Small Arms

Economic Communities of West African States (ECOWAS), in 1998, adopted a Moratorium on Small Arms and Light Weapons, which aimed to combat the proliferation of these weapons. It was a product of both the government and the civil society organizations. In 2002, there was a follow up meeting in Dakar Senegal, which aimed to strengthen the moratorium, so that it can become more effective. The West African region is a very volatile part of Africa because of the armed conflicts in this region coupled with cross border crime and destabilizing factor due to the heavy presence of illegal arms trafficking and usage.

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12 | Gender and Peace-building

12.1. Introduction

The UN Security Council on 31st Oct, 2000 adopted Resolution 1325, which deals with women, peace and security. This Resolution highlighted the importance of bringing gender perspectives to the center of the UN conflict prevention and Resolution, peace-building, peacekeeping, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts. This Resolution was initiated after the UN Secretary-General was invited to do a study on the impact of conflicts on women, girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution.

The studies revealed an increase in the cases of armed conflicts in the world, but over a quarter of the 53 countries in Africa were embroiled in intrastate armed conflicts in the late 1990s. The repercussions are both grave and sub-regional and most victims are civilians. An estimate of 3.2 million deaths occurred from 1990-1995, and there were mass displacement of people, and many of them are women and children. Records have it that 'while entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflicts and terrorism, women and girls are particularly affected because of their status in society and their sex' (Beijing Platform for Action).

12.2. Definitions and Understanding of Gender

12.2.1. Sex

The biological differences between males and females are defined as 'sex'. Women, for example, can give birth and nurse babies because of their biology.

12.2.2. Gender

Boys and girls are encouraged by families, schools, religious organizations, and communities to be different. These differences between expectations of males and females are known as 'gender'. Boys are socialized to have 'masculine' gender characteristics. Girls are socialized to have 'feminine' gender characteristics. Boys who have 'feminine' characteristics and girls who have 'masculine' characteristics are often punished or sanctioned by their community.

12.2.3. Gender Roles

The different behaviours, tasks, and beliefs a group considers appropriate for males and females.

12.2.4. Patriarchy

Many societies operate with a system of male authority that oppresses women through political, social, cultural, religious and economic institutions. Patriarchy denies women's positions of decision making and power.

12.2.5. Matriarchy

This is a system of social organization in which descent and inheritance are traced through the female line.

12.2.6. Gender Gap

The gender gap is the difference in the level of participation, qualifications, economic status or other indicators between males and females.

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12.2.7. Gender Discrimination

Gender discrimination is any pattern of preferential treatment of males in education, employment, and leadership roles, for example.

12.2.7.1. Gender Oppression

Gender oppression means the discrimination of females in political, educational, economic, religious, cultural, and social systems.

12.2.7.2. Gender Analysis

It is an analysis of how policies and projects affect males and females differently.

12.2.7.3. Gender Sensitization

It is an effort to raise awareness about the different needs of males and females and to increase the capacity of organizations to address these needs.

12.2.7.4. Gender Equity and Equality

It is an approach to ensure that men and women are valued equally for the roles they play and benefit equally from policies and projects such as education and compensation for work according to their needs. Gender equity takes into consideration that women have been historically disadvantaged and may need special programs to overcome this discrimination.

12.2.7.5. Gender Mainstreaming

It means the inclusion of the goal of gender equity, the use of a gender lens, and the active inclusion of women and women's groups into all institutional choices and practices.

12.2.8. Women's Empowerment

It is a process to enable women to have resources, access, skills, and self-esteem to participate fully in the decisions that control and affect their lives.

12.2.9. Feminism

Feminism can be termed as a global struggle to address the oppression of women and create gender equality. (Adopted from 'Training manual for Women in Peace-building, by West Africa Network for Peace-building, WANEP) 'Gender' is different from 'sex'. Sex determines the male or female biology of a person but gender is culture – socio constructions. This is the value system as allowed by the structure. Gender is shaped by culture, which is dynamic and not permanent. Cultural norms for men and women define masculine or feminine expectations. When men and women accept particular physiology and structure their beliefs based on these assumptions, they do nothing to change it, and with time, they begin to believe that it is natural, inevitable and therefore desirable sex is permanent, natural, but gender is changeable and man construed, therefore not permanent.

The world systems are structured to maintain man control. The gender hierarchy aims to value men and muscularly more than women and femininity; through direct violence like rape, domestic violence, psychological violence – sexist humor, internalization of oppression, structural violence – feminization of poverty, glass ceiling, unequal pay and social life like important, assigning different culture to men and women.

12.3. Gender Roles and Peace-building

This session aims to explore how gender (social expectations) affects man and woman's role in peace-building. Because of the different expectations, for example, men could be expected to use violence and women non-violence strategies. Women are seen as life nurturers in the society, it is expected that they show more concern when children are used to perpetuate violence. It is easier for the women to intervene and seek peace with the opposite party because, they see themselves as mothers, not minding what sides the perpetrators came from.

It will be dangerously misleading to say that women are 'naturally' peaceful. It is not so, both men and women have the ability to make peace. But women could be more creative and effective in waging peace, may be because of their emotional strength. It is traditionally believed that conflict is man dominated, but during inter-state wars, even women played noticeable roles. Also, in traditional homes, men are expected to provide for the family, while women take care of the home but during conflicts, there are roles reversals which put women in the position to provide for the family. The implications are many as studies show, but it also shows the sense that advocate for women involvement is peace-building. Conflict encourages change of role, therefore, it is important that peace-building should allow role change and involvement of women in peace making.

12.4. Why Include Women in Peace-building

People for many years have frowned at the idea of having women in decision making and leadership position, but it is changing now, because women included have proven relevant and useful. Some of the reasons identified include:

- Women make up 50% of the population of most communities and the task of peace-building is so great that leaving out half of the population for no good reason is not helpful.
- Women are the main focus in taking care of the family, before and during conflicts. If women are oppressed, victimized and excluded in the peace making process, the process will be incomplete as the central figure is absent.
- For the fact that women have both the capacity to make violence and peace, it is important that they be included in the process, so that this peace gift could be exploited.
- Both men and women experience conflict differently, it is important that all the experiences, which will account for relevant intervention in peace-building, be included in the plan. Therefore, the women need to be included in the peace-building process.
- The UN Resolution 1325 specified women involvement and therefore women should be included.
- Women have proven successful peace-building ideas, basing their strategies on inclusion and collaboration, producing outcomes that are broad-based and sustainable, it is then important that their efforts be acknowledged and expanded.
- Developing a gender sensitive peace-building program requires a deconstruction of a few assumptions that we have about the roles of men and women in conflict and post conflict situations, and women need to be part of this reconstruction.

12.5. Assumptions in Peace-building

The main assumption of peace-building is that society should return to the communities' situation before the conflict. This assumption is not only impossible, it is misleading. Before conflict, the situation was an environment based on muscularity with strict divisions of labor that excluded women from public life and leadership positions. But we know that the war period changed women's roles to assume men's roles as their men were not present to play their roles. Unfortunately, these experiences are not taken into account and considered as social gains for women in 'redefinitions of gender roles that would be non-oppressive for women and girls in a post-conflict society.

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This is well-captured in Chinkin (2004) report when she writes 'Concepts of reconstructions and rehabilitation may be misnomers in the case of women. Both concepts assume an element of going back, restoring to a previously-established position or capacity. But this, as not necessarily, is what women seek.' So, to plan a viable peace-building program in a post conflict situation is important to understand the changes that have taken place in the socio-economic life of these women. It is important to see a gender analysis.

Another wrong assumption is that these changes are temporary and things will return to status quo. The truth is that women are pressurized into the post-war system, and they will want to maintain the present status as their confidence will be increased after taking over men's responsibility. It is important to know that this plan to return to the traditional roles is not easy. Most times women are confused, not too sure to exact their new found positions or do they return to the old tradition. It is important that post conflict reconstruction remembers to see the women side of the intervention.

The other problem that must be considered is developing a post-conflict intervention in the issue of women's participation in the peace-making process. The same male was lords, is also peace negotiation, same men just wearing different clothes. It is important to consider the role of women during the war to determine their role in post-conflict. For example, if women played the role of 'heroic mothers' during the war, at the end of the war, they are expected to play the role of the productive agents to replenish the nation with sons who did in the war.

Also, if they were seen as 'victims of war', they are not expected to have confidence to contribute to the peace process. They are seen as weak, vulnerable, unable to articulate their needs, and may not notice the change in gender roles, and understand them as empowered. Meintyes capture this, Pillay and Turshen write 'It seems likely that many (women) do not consciously internalize or conceptualize the changes in their roles, without a conscious translation, there can be no concerted efforts to defend women's opportunities and gains in peace time'.

Finally, if women are seen as 'trouble makers' during the conflict time because they organize themselves and mobilize for peace, they must be part of the peace time, although they will not be taken seriously as they will be seen as acting in their capacity as domestic agents. If their efforts will lead to change of status and role, the men will not take them seriously.

The last assumption is that, women, who come to peace tables, are not really part of the poor group, but a representative of the elite. This argument aims to marginalize the women and justify the men peacemakers to work without the women.

12.6. Self-Assessment Exercise

Explain gender roles in peace-building.

12.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is important to know that peace-building must be gender based to be able to do a good job of 50% of the people. The contribution of women to the peace-building process is not so important that they cannot be excluded and still a viable intervention will be planned. But the dangers that must be guarded against are the understanding of who women are and what roles they played during conflict.

12.8. Summary

So, to enhance the participation of women in the peace process, national and international actions must discontinue describing women as victims of war belonging to the vulnerable group. The danger associated with this definition is that, they are never considered unstructured to the war, and therefore too weak and confused to make relevant input or impact in the peace process. This makes it easy for the men to claim to be the voice of the women. This is not true and can never help improve on the security of women as

they cannot understand the female experience. As long as only men's experiences are expressed at the peace table, without the participation of women, there can't be sustainable peace-building in the society.

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13| International Peace Institutions in Africa

The escalation of conflicts in Africa has led to the expansion of activities in peace-making. In West Africa, we have conflicts or wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea. There are wars in the Horn of Africa, Burundi, Rwanda and DR Congo in the Great Lakes, and Angola and in Southern Africa and Lesotho booms. These conflicts range from intra to interstate, they are all complex, have regional dynamics and security implications in the region, creating transnational linkages, thus making them more difficult to resolve.

These conflicts, underpinned by economic agenda, have militarized the civilian populace, recruitment of children, abuse of human rights and humanitarian laws and massive displacement of people with women and children making the highest numbers. The implications of these wars pose a lot of security questions for the continent, and many organizations have come up to play roles of various kinds to bring in peace.

13.1. West Africa

This is the most politically violent region in Africa. Between 1960 and 1990, seventy-two successful coups have taken in Africa and thirty-five of them occurred in this sub-region. Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is made up of fifteen countries and one third of them have been involved in one-armed conflict or the other. Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau were embroiled in protracted conflicts that went on for years, and Senegal confronted a separatist war in Casamance, Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire are not left out, as Nigeria was involved in internal conflict in the 60s, and Cote d'Ivoire is currently fighting within the country.

Analyzing the conflicts in the region can be traced to four factors – the Charles Taylor factor, the Franco-Nigerian Rivalry, Exploitation of Natural Resources and conflicts and the fourth, the proliferation of Small Arms and light weapons in the region.

13.2. Peace Institution and Roles in Peace Making Internal and Continental Organizations

13.2.1. The Organizations of African Unity (OAU/AU)

In 1990, OAU Heads of State and Governors made a Declaration recognizing the hindering of conflicts in the economic development of the continent. They resolved to work together to resolve the conflicts and move the continent forward towards peace and development.

During the OAU/AU summit held in Cairo in 1993, they established a Mechanism for Conflict Preventions, Management and Resolution (MCPMR). With the establishment of this mechanism, they have accepted the fact that peace and stability are necessary preconditions for social and economic development.

The OAU Conflict Management Center has 3 Units – the Early Warning System Unit, Regional Desk Offices Unit and the Field Operations Unit, run by four professional staff and seventeen consultants. The operational arm of the OAU Conflict Management Center is the Early Warning System Unit, which is supposed to have a database of information on the member states. This information on the history, politics, society, economic and potential sources of conflicts will guide the organization on intervention plans to prevent conflicts in the continent. Although, OAU have the potential to co-ordinate the Early Warning System, its capacity to perform is very limited.

13.2.2. United Nations

The United Nations (UN) was originally conceived to be a coalition of nations that came together to fight the German and Japanese wars. Although the organization has gone through many transformations, she still made some landmark achievements, like the pressure to end colonization, and apartheid. She also pushed

for economic reforms to reduce poverty in third world countries, raised awareness on the need to protect the environment, and the end of the cold war era, which was noticed when the UN Security Council teamed up with the United States to defeat Iraq and liberated Kuwait.

The Security Council provides the legal foundation, which is the mandate for crises management or peace-keeping operations; otherwise, there will be serious implications for the security of smaller countries and international peace, security and stability in general. Sometimes, there is an overriding of the Security Council when cases of humanitarian intervention are crucial, and the Council is taking too long to give the authorization for intervention, although this is a situation that is highly guided against.

Preventive diplomacy is another tool for the UN Security Council. Although this is very difficult, but it is the premise on which the UN was established – to prevent conflict. The UN Charter in Article 1 states that the organization's purpose is to 'take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threat to peace'. But unfortunately, the UN has been preoccupied with fighting wars, and has not been able to apply diplomacy to prevent outburst of war and conflict. The Council is mainly known for conflict management, not prevention.

Another preventive effort of the UN Security Council is the plan to disarm countries of weapons of Mass Destruction. But as we all know, the UN could not do anything when India and Pakistan declared their status when they tested their nuclear weapons in 1998. But the UN has the 'responsibility to enhance security against the threats posed by such weapons by implementing and if necessary, enforcing obligations under the relevant treaties'.

13.2.3. ECOWAS

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which was formed in the 1970s, was conceived with the aim of promoting economic development, when the region had real peace. But when it began to get volatile, and with increase in insecurity, with the outbreak of the Liberian war in 1989, with the protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defense of 1981, ECOWAS was required to send peace keeping force to Liberia to end war that had left many killed, wounded and displaced.

The ECOMOG peace keeping force was sent into Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau. The wars in the countries went on for decades and Charles Taylor is the main aggressor who was accused of invading Sierra Leone and destabilizing the region. Hundreds of Nigerian, Ghanaian and Guinean troops were drafted to defend the countries invaded by Liberia. Nigeria is known to play a leading role in ECOMOG and the Liberian President, Ellen Johnson had appealed to Nigerian Government to help rebuild the Liberian Army, and Nigerian Mayor, General Yusuf was appointed the Chief of Armed Forces to head the Liberian Armed forces in March 2006. ECOWAS also adopted non-military approach in managing conflicts in the region. They also have the ECOWAS Conflict Management and Resolution Protocol which is very active in mediation and diplomatic negotiation. They have the 'Council of Wise men' made up of retired Heads of States and respectable statesmen. They are sent to negotiate peace before, during and after conflicts. One success story is the Liberian story where General Abdulsalami mediated in Ghana in 2003/4. This led to the removal of Charles Taylor from Liberia. He was granted political asylum in Nigeria and Liberia, had to reorganize, had election in October of 2005 and President Ellen Johnson emerged as the President of Liberia, who was sworn in January 2006.

13.3. Southern Africa

The political and security situation of Southern Africa remains precarious, years after apartheid in South Africa, with twenty-five years of civil wars in Angola, which ended with the killing of UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi by government army in February 2002. The instabilities in Zimbabwe and Lesotho, and the unending war of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and the spread of HIV/AIDS has emerged a security threat in this region. Although, many states in the region are democratic and the Southern African

Development Country (SADC) seeks to seek economic development of the region, but there is the fear of South Africans dominance in view of the historical apartheid legacy of aggressive, destabilizing military roles in the SADC region in the 1980s. Tension between South Africa and her neighbours revolve around market liberation based on how much Rand Pretoria is ready to drop, but then more critically, are the problems of democracy and peace-building.

Southern African Development Community Effort to understand the role of SADC in conflict management in the region will be impossible without first recognizing the key security feature of the region, which is the overwhelming military and financial strength of South Africa. SADC predecessor – South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) established in 1980 specifically to counter the South African military and economic might, and political dominance. But it also aimed to create a free trade area, establish frame work to ensure macroeconomic stability, facilitate financial and capital markets, encouraging public-private partnership and building regional infrastructures. But much of all, these plans are rhetoric. The organization is short staffed and only 5% is dedicated to security work. Since the creation of SADC in 1996, little is done to achieve regional collective security, because of the political rivalry between South Africa and Zimbabwe who have opposing views of the functions of the political organ.

Unlike the ECOMOG of West Africa, the SADC Security organ established in the mid 1980, refused to establish a study force to which member states can contribute soldiers. Until the organs get operationalised, and strengthened, SADC cannot play effective role in conflict management in the region.

13.4. East and Central Africa

The Great Lake, South Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Eastern Congo region has experienced complex, multiplicity of interlocking regale and international forces that are either escalating the conflicts, or mitigating them; therefore, making peace making complicated. Conflicts in this sub-region keep moving from one country to the other. In 1993, over 200,000 died in Burundi, in 1994, there was genocide in Rwanda claiming about one million people, in 1996, it went back to Burundi and DRC, where about 2.5 million people are reported killed since August of 1998. The DRC war has created about 600,000 refugees and two million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). And the insecurity in Congo-Brazzaville continued to affect security of DRC.

In 1997, the former Congolese leader, General Denis Sassou-Nguesso overlooked the government of Pascal Lissouba ending a four- month old elected government. Surprisingly, France and Angola supported the undemocratic government by providing him military and logistical support from 1979-1992. This war left 40,000 refugees and 500,000 IDPs. There has been wars and counter wars that had led to many deaths, refugees and IDPs in the DRC. The military clash between Uganda and Rwanda in the DRC has not only damaged their alliances, but aim to spark off wider arms competition and regional instability.

- The security dynamics in this region must be understood within the context of four main factors ethnicity and political governance
- The economic factor fueling the conflicts
- The geographical interest of various actors and
- Regional responses of conflict

13.5. Ethnicity and Political Governance

Just like in different parts of the world and Africa in particular, ethnicity manipulation affiliation and claim has been a source of conflict in Rwanda and Burundi. The ethnic difference between the Tutsi and Hutu was translated into inclusion or exclusion in governance. The scramble for resources in the DRC is the major source of conflict in that country. These minerals include diamonds, gold, silver, iron, zinc, copper, cobalt, etc. Countries in this region are involved in the Congo war because they were extracting resources found in the

area. For example, Uganda and Rwanda became greater exporters of diamond, and copper even though, they don't have it in their countries.

The DRC conflict has a regional character where countries outside DRC have a geographical regional reason to get involved. Some of them argue that, their involvement is important because they need to protect their own countries and border. For example, DRC has a 55,000 army and 62,000 soldiers from 6 other African countries. There is no institutionalized mechanism for responding to conflicts in the region. It is easy for one country to spearhead peace process, as all of them are involved in the conflict.

13.6. Peace Institutions in Eastern and Southern Africa

Central African Customs and Economic Union of 1981 and the Economic Community of the Great Lake States were merged to establish the Economic Community of Central Africa States (ECCAS) in 1983. It was made up of eleven countries with an aim to pursue economic development, regional cooperation and establish a Central African Common Market. In an attempt to address the conflict in the region, Early Warning Mechanism was created in 1996. In 1997, there was a proposal for interstate security cooperation mechanism for the sub-region, with the aim to develop a legal and institutional framework to promote and strengthen peace and security.

Then, the Conseil de Paix et de Securite de l' Afrique Centrale (COPAX) was created to

- Prevent, manage and resolve conflicts in Central Africa and
- To undertake any necessary action to deal effectively with political conflicts and
- To promote, preserve and consolidate peace and security in the sub-region.

All these institutes are mere rhetoric because they are not effective due to narrow national interest. For examples, members of the sub-region do not agree on the relationship between ECCA and COPAX. Another institution established is for peace and sustainable development is the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) in 1994. Although, the economic development of the region motivated the establishment, it has acknowledged the importance of peace for development to take place. The 2000 summit discussed the resources. They even looked into other sub-regional organizations in Africa to shop for ideas and strategy.

13.6.1. The International Authority on Development (IGAD)

The International Authority on Draught and Desertification (IGADD) made up of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda was established in 1986 and Eritrea joined after its independence in 1993. The aim was to serve as an early warning mechanism for humanitarian emergencies and coordinating responses to crisis on the Horn of Africa. Although, the initial plan was for draught, desertification and food security, it has to expand to include conflict management prevention and resolution in 1996 and changed the name to IGAD because issues of conflict were undermining the effort for food security.

IGAD had a 2 track approach as the one based in Nairobi deals with peculiar issues like Sudan peace process and the other is based in Djibouti addresses issues which member states have formed a consensus on such as the establishment of a Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) with emphasis on campaign against Small Arms and humanitarian issues.

13.6.2. The East African Community (EAC)

The Heads of States of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania met in November 1999 and signed a treaty establishing The East African Community, which entered into force in July 2000. The aim of this treaty is to 'improve the standard of living of the population by facilitating an adequate and economically, social and ecologically sustainable development process that allows an optimal utilization of the available resources'

(IPA 2002). Also, like other organizations, EAC also realized that security and political stability are a prerequisite for sustainable development and they did not hesitate to include conflict management in EAC concentration. The general belief in the pursuit of economic growth is 'that economic prosperity and regional integrations will have the multiplier effect of reducing the possibility of conflict and enhancing security'. Also, like other organizations, EAC also realized that security and political stability are a prerequisite for sustainable development and they did not hesitate to include conflict management in EAC concentration.

13.7. The Horn of Africa

The region of the Horn of Africa comprises Djibouti, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Somalia. Careful analysis also reveals that they also form the East and Central Africa members. Herberson (2001) in 'State Formation and Political Identities on the Horn of Africa' observes that 'the region is in the process of redefining the fundamentals that relate to the social contract and who should govern the region reveals an overlap of differing the interdependence of the security system as well as posing critical challenges to regional peace'.

They are embroiled in intra-interstate conflicts and do not have the capacity to deal with them. Except for Sudan that has plenty of oil; the other countries have very little natural resources and are threatened by famine and drought. There is no consideration for the wishes of the ethnic communities who are arbitrarily split or lump together under the pressure for national unity, centralization of government has chosen at the abandonment of federalism. The people see the government as a different entity or refer to them in past tense. The dynamics of the conflicts in the region revolves around these three factors – the legacy of the super power rivalry, the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons and the forced migration of population.

13.8. Self-Assessment Exercise

Regional and sub-regional peace institutions are necessities.

13.9. Conclusion

The African conflict has taken a regional angle and this explains why there are regional peace efforts in managing the conflicts. The regional organizations, which started off as an economic plan, end up including peace plans because they realized the need for peace, as a pre-requisite for meaningful development.

13.10. Summary

In summary, there are institutions, at national, regional and international levels that are dedicated to peace making in Africa, although, they have very limited capacity to do an effective job. There is a need to strengthen the capacities of these organizations to effectively mitigate conflicts in Africa. For the fact that the continent has realized the need to have a peace mechanism, but it needs to improve its capacity, it is then important to invest in these organizations and make them relevant.

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14| Conflict Prevention

Conflict prevention is often criticized not to be possible or realistic because the conflict will happen anyway. Many theories have been propounded by different authors, which could be put to fore. The **delusion theory** believes that conflict prevention is unrealistic and will not work; therefore, it is a waste of time. The **'perversion theory'** argues that the act of preventing conflict is not only unrealistic, but it also has the tendency to become a 'self-fulfilling prophesy'. These theorists believe that, the process of warning against the conflict, as a party could listen to the implication of the conflict, and therefore plan to go into it just because the analysis of the warning increased the awareness of the latter conflict. The third group is called the **coercion theorists, who argue** that the resources used for this 'unrealistic task' should be, divert to some other task realistic. Then the last is the **'believers theorists'**, they believe that conflict could be prevented if the right tasks are carried out. They argue that different tasks will be carried out for the different stages; if good results are to be achieved.

14.1. Definitions and Critiques of Conflict Prevention

Four definitions of conflict prevention will be discussed to see the different emphases. The essence of these different emphases is to also show that, the different stages of the conflict will also determine the action that will be suggested for intervention. This also shows that it is not possible to do one particular thing to prevent conflict, but various tasks could be employed:

- Conflict Prevention 'Actions, policies, procedures or institutions undertaken in particular vulnerable places and times in order to avoid the threat or use of armed force and related forms of coercion by states or groups, as the way to settle the political disputes that can arise from the destabilizing effects of economic, social, political and international change'. Conflict prevention can also include action taken after a violent conflict to avoid its recurrence. (...) Conflict prevention strives to intervene before threats to use force or coercion are made or before [either party] resort to significant armed force or coercion. This means that conflict prevention can occur at two points in a typical conflict's life history:
 - When there has not been a violent conflict in recent years, and before significant signals of violence [make] possible [the] escalation to sustained violent conflict, conflict prevention aims to keep a conflict from escalation; and
 - When there has been a recent violent conflict but peace is being restored, conflict prevention aims to avoid a relapse or re-igniting of violence' (Lund, 1997:3-2 3).
- Conflict prevention 'Measures which contribute to the prevention of undesirable conflict behaviour once some situation involving goal incompatibility has risen. (...) [The concept] refers to two types of effort: those which prevent behaviour defined within the relevant international system as undesirable, and those which attempt to confine conflict behaviour within clearly defined limits of permissible activity. The concept is not new. Older terms such as preventive diplomacy, crisis-prevention or deterrent diplomacy all refer to similar efforts' (Reychler, 1994:4)
- Conflict prevention 'An approach to conflict prevention should not only rely on removing causes of wars, but also on introducing appropriate preventers... If we accept this view, conflict prevention may be viewed not so much as the interposition of a single preventer in a complex situation.
- Conflict 'Activities normally conducted under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, ranging from diplomatic initiative to preventative deployments of forces intended to prevent disputes from escalating into armed conflicts or from spreading. Conflict prevention can include fact finding missions; conflict

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prevention is the deployment of operational forces possessing sufficient deterrence capabilities to avoid a conflict.' (British Army, 1997:2).

14.2. Stages of Conflict

According to Bloomfield (MS), 'All conflict goes through a preliminary dispute phase and may also go through one or more hostilities and post hostilities phases. In each phase, identifiable factors generate pressures that may influence the course of the case toward the next threshold and transition into another phase. These factors may be offset by other influential factors that tend toward the prevention of that transition'. He further asserted that: 'Change in the relationship among factors will alter the likelihood of a conflict undergoing transition from one phase to another; and 'The cause of conflict can be significantly altered by policy measures aimed at reinforcing violence – minimizing factors and offsetting violence – generating factors as appropriate for the phase in question.

All these try to say is that conflict is in phases and the actions required have to be relevant to it, depending in what you want to achieve. There are 3 basic stages of conflict: the latent conflict and the post-conflict or de-escalation stages.

14.2.1. The Latent Stage

This is the period which could be described as a period of false peace. It is the stage before the eruption of conflict. At this stage, conflict has not acutely manifested, and the groups have not been mobilized. A conflict can remain latent for years, due to repressions and poor articulation of political demands. At this period, factors that must be looked at are structural conditions in the society. Structures like the judiciary social institution, the economic environments are the issues that may or may not lead to conflicts.

Two things must be measured in this period to determine what is likely to happen. They are: **willingness** and the **opportunities**. No matter how bad the situation is, if the people do not have the willingness to fight for example, they will not fight. So, having the willingness to carry out a particular action is a pre-requisite for action. The second, which is the opportunity, is referred to by some authors as resources, which could be material, time, or personnel. No matter the willingness to prosecute a conflict, if you don't have the resources to carry out your desired will, there will be no conflict.

14.2.2. The Conflict Stage

This is the period of full-blown conflict. There is fighting between organized armed units, the existence or initiation of active hostility and destructive violence used by the party on either side is a carefully planned manner, and these fightings lead to loss of lives and or destruction of properties. This stage lasts for months or years and there are other smaller phases of escalation, de-escalation, cease fire and relapse of cease fires, etc.

At this stage, the wish of the parties should be to develop a management strategy, and the proximate causes must be dealt with to stop the hostility. The root causes of the conflict cannot be addressed at this stage. The proximate causes and these problems can be easily changed or corrected to bring temporary peace. Problem like ethnic bashing and propagandizing can be easily stopped. Cultural discrimination and marginalization of some ethnic groups in political appointment can be connected easily, to reduce tensions.

14.2.3. The Post Conflict Stage

This stage of conflict has different names depending on the author and her experience, but the most important characteristic of this stage is that, violent hostility has stopped: there is a cease fire, and killings have stopped. All efforts are made to avoid a re-escalation of conflict. Plans for reconstruction and repairs at all levels are beginning to emerge and what we have is fragile peace which can go either way.

14.3. Methods of Conflict Prevention per Conflict Stage

The tasks of conflict prevention vary from stage to stage. Although different authors have various stages of conflict, for the purpose of this topic, we shall divide conflict phases into 3.

14.3.1. The Latent Stage

It is the primary prevention tasks that take place here, which aims to reduce to minimum the chances of a violent conflict occurring. Proactive measures are taken to prevent the emergence of formation of positions or parties to prevent the likely outbreak of conflict between the parties. There are diplomatic activities to contain or control conflicts. This is the stage where early warning is of great use. This activity calls for accurate analysis of any latent or minor disputes, and hopes to develop strategies to resolve it.

This system varies in complexity and approach. Early warning activities include fact-finding missions, consultations, inspections, report mechanism and monitoring. Although, many critics have queried early warning and said that early warning is not the problem, but easily responded.

14.3.2. The Second / Crisis Stage

The crisis stage deals with secondary prevention tasks, which is about the containment and mitigations of ongoing crises. The whole effort made here aim to prevent vertical escalation of existing conflict. Vertical escalate means intensification of hostile behaviour which is very dangerous. Also, efforts are made to reduce horizontal escalation which deals with the spreading of the conflicts to other areas of the country. And finally, effort to mitigate the conflict will be put in place. All they aim is to confine the conflict and reduce the chances of escalation or expansion.

14.3.3. The Post Conflict Stage

This is the stage that calls for Tertiary Prevention, which aims to prevent the reoccurrence of armed conflict. Measures aim to make sure that there is no breakdown of cease fire agreements in the post conflict stage.

14.4. Conflict Prevention Task

Prevention of conflicts has been seen to be the job of international communities. This view or understanding has led to the inactions of other parties and preventable genocides have taken place. For example, the 1961 Rwandan government of Gregiore Kayibanda showed the traces of intimidation and injustice that the League of Nations recorded that the government in power is showing traces of racial dictatorship which should be curtailed, to avoid any future problems. They observed that an oppressive government is being replaced by another. So, the genocide of 1994, was seen coming since 1961, but nothing was done to prevent it. This brings us to the first task of conflict prevention.

14.4.1. Early Warning

This is a mechanism that aims to identify the threats of an outbreak of violence. Early Warning could, with time, allow various preventive measures like preventive diplomacy, humanitarian and military actions to be put in place. Early Warning must address a particular issue. This is why scholars ask this question: Early Warning, about what? There could be Early Warning about: refugee explosion, genocide, state fracture, etc. The most important issue is to control conflict escalation, already showing signs of violence. Another important concept of Early Warning is time, which asks a very difficult question to answer; because of the cares of triggers. It is not easy to determine when a conflict will erupt; because there are cases of protracted latent conflicts which could not result in full-blown conflicts because of so many internal and external factors. But triggers – impromptu/immediate events that accelerate the outbreak of a conflict could lead to conflict.

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These events could be, a natural disaster, death of a prominent politician or leader or one misfortune or other. No one has control over these events.

Then the last question is Early Warning for whom? This is because the most crucial part of warning is getting the relevant persons to heed to the warning. If the users of the warning cannot be reached because of so many other factors then, it becomes a problem. But generally warning could be for:

- The prospective victims and group at risk;
- The perpetrators (in order to deter them);
- Intergovernmental agencies such as UNCR, UNDP, WEP, UNICEF;
- Regional governments willing and able to provide their good offices and other instruments to prevent the outbreak of the disaster;
- The secretary general of the United Nations;
- Members of the security council of the United Nations;
- Other members of the international community;
- Non-governmental organizations concerned with relief;
- The mass media;
- The public;
- Eminent persons who can lend credence to the warning.

(Adopted from Schmid, 2000)

14.4.2. Surveillance

Surveillance is keeping a watch over an area to the knowledge of the opponent. It is in an operation area that will help to deter enemies from hurting the people. Surveillance can make the enemy know that they are being watched, and the message of 'be careful' is sent and an effective surveillance, is therefore, a major conflict prevention technique.

14.4.3. Stabilizing Measures

Stabilizing and confidence building measures help to reduce tension in an area. These kinds of measures, sometimes, represent the first step towards the restoration of law and order; and negotiations for a political settlement. They may take several forms:

- The establishment of an effective liaison and communication network between all parties;
- Mutual and balanced reductions in personnel and military equipment;
- The separation of forces;
- Zonal restrictions on the deployment of weapons and manpower;
- Advance reporting of military activities or exercises; and
- Joint inspections of disputed areas.

(Adopted from Schmid, 2000)

14.4.4. The Restoration of Law and Order

Before handing over the government administration to Civilian Police (CivPol) or the nation's forces, the restoration of law and order may be the principal task for a military force. The activities may range from counter-insurgency and counter-terrorist tasks to the specific protection of human rights.

14.5. Self-Assessment Exercise

Highlight and discuss the stages of conflict and how they can be prevented.

14.6. Conclusion

Conflict prevention is a multi faceted program that can go a long way in reducing violent conflict. Conflict prevention varies depending on the stage of the conflict and what one wants to prevent. Early Warning, which is one of the tasks of conflict prevention, is being highly criticized, because people think that what is important is Early Response, not warning.

14.7. Summary

In summary, conflict prevention is an aspect of conflict management that is very technical, but at the same time, very important. Even with the criticisms about how realistic the operation conflict prevention can be, reports have shown that, some conflicts can be prevented, if efforts are put in place to stop the conflict. What is mostly needed, is the political will to make things happen.

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'Peace and Conflict Studies' focuses on how the conflict surface and affect the peaceful co-existence between they communities that are caught up in conflict. The term conflict refers to disagreement between the parties based on their different interests. The book contains the methods that are used to mitigate the conflict between the parties involved. In summary the book will also help the university students in having in-depth understanding on the causes of conflict and the way to address those conflicts in the societies.



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