PCR 274:
INTRODUCTION
TO CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

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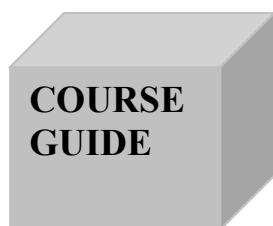
**COURSE
GUIDE**

**PCR274
INTRODUCTION TO CONFLICT
TRANSFORMATION**

Course Developer/Writer   Animasawun Gbemisola Abdul-Jelil
                          Peace and Conflict Studies Programme
                          Institute of African Studies,
                          University of Ibadan,
                          Ibadan, Nigeria

Course Editor   Dr. Olaniyi Rasheed O.

                          Department of History
                          Faculty of Arts
                          University of Ibadan

Course Coordinator   Mr. Oyedolapo B. Durojaye
                          National Open University of Nigeria,
                          Lagos, Nigeria

NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

National Open University of Nigeria
Headquarters
14/16 Ahmadu Bello Way
Victoria Island
Lagos

Abuja Office
No. 5 Dar es Salaam Street
Off Aminu Kano Crescent
Wuse II, Abuja
Nigeria

e-mail: centralinfo@nou.edu.ng
URL: www.nou.edu.ng

CONTENTS   PAGE

Introduction

PCR 274 Introduction to Conflict Transformation is a one-semester 3 credit units 200 level course. It is available for students as prerequisite towards a B.A. in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution. This course will consist of 4 modules and it has been developed using local and global examples.

The Course Guide will tell us what this course is all about, what materials will be relevant, and how to use them. It will also provide you a guide on how much time to use in order to successfully complete the course. It will also give you some guide on your tutor-marked assignments and other details, which will be found in a separate 'Assignment File'.

What You Will Learn in this Course

The general aim of the course is to give you an introduction to major issues, themes and theories that will make conflict transformation well understood, result-oriented and efficacious. This cause will provide a broader view of issues germane to conflict transformation, within the context of peace studies with the contextual aim of providing the right attitude and techniques necessary for efficient conflict transformation.

Course Aims

- To introduce Conflict Transformation as a course that empowers students on how to achieve to sustainable, durable and positive peace.
- To unearth the potentials for improvement of relationships inherent in conflicts
- To acquire robust knowledge that will make students well groomed as peace scholars and practitioners.

- • To understand the interactions and peculiarities of some concepts in peace and conflict studies.

Course Objectives

At the end of this course, you should be able to:

(1)   construct definitions of conflict and causation theories of conflict
(2)   identify the types of conflict
(3)   mention the causes of conflict
(4)   explain some conflict handling styles and pitfalls.
(5)   understand violence and theories of violence.
(6)   discuss conflict transformation and its scopes
(7)   explain what issue transformation is.
(8)   understand what actor transformation is.
(9)   describe what rule transformation is.
(10)   explain what structural transformation is.

Working through this Course

To complete this course, you are expected to read all the study units, suggested books and other relevant materials to achieve the objectives. Each unit contains tutor marked assignment and you are required to submit assignments for assessment purposes. There will be an examination at the end of the course. The course should take you a total of 15 weeks to complete. Please find below a list of the major components of the course.

Course Materials

Major of the course components are:

- Course Guide
- 4 Modules
- References/Further Reading
- Assignment Files

Study Units

There are four Modules in this course. Each Module has four Units. The Modules are designed to cover the four major aims of the course and arranged accordingly.

Module 1   Essentials of Conflict Transformation

Unit 1   What is Conflict?

Unit 2   Types of Conflict

Unit 3   Conflict Causation Theories

Unit 4   Causes of Conflict

Unit 5   Post-Conflict Community in Nigeria

Unit 6   Type of Post-Conflict Community

Module 2   Conflict Handling Styles

Unit 1   Types of Conflict handling Styles

Unit 2   Guide to Intervening in Conflicts

References/Further Readings

These books are recommended for further reading. There are more references at the end of each unit.

Adebanwi, W. (2004). "Democracy and Violence: The Challenge of Communal Clashes". In: Nigeria's Struggle for Democracy and Good Governance (eds) Agbaje, A.B.; Diamond, L. and Onwudiwe; E. Ibadan University Press, Ibadan.

Adebanwi, W. (2005). "The Carpenter's revolt: Youth Violence and the reinvention of culture in Nigeria". In: Journal of Modern African Studies. Pp. 339 – 365. Cambridge University Press. London.

Akinola, G.A. (2005). Religion and the National Question in Nigeria. History Departmental Library, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

Albert, I.O. (2001). Introduction to Third Party Intervention in Community conflicts. John Archers Publishers Limited. Ibadan.

Anifowose, R. (2003). "Urban violence in Nigeria: The case of O'dua People's Congress (OPC) Militia. In: Industrialisation Urbanisation and development in Nigeria: 1950 – 1999 (ed) Adejugbe, M.A. Lagos Concept Publishers.

Bakut, T.B. (2006). 'The Environment, Peace and Conflict in Africa'. In: Best, S.G. *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*. Ibadan. Spectrum Books Limited.

Denov, M.S. (2006). 'Wartime Sexual Violence : Assessing a Human Security   Response to War – Affected Girls in Sierra Leone'. In: Security Dialogue, Vol.37 (3) : 319 – 342 . Sage Publications.

Barash, D.P. and Webel, C.P. (2002). Peace and Conflict Studies. Sage Publications. London.

Gleditsch, N.P. (2001). 'Environmental Change, Security and Conflict'. In : Crocker, C.A; Hampson, F.N; and Aall, P. (eds). *Turbulent Peace The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*. Washington, D.C. United States Institute of Peace.

Imobieghe, T.A. (ed) (2003). Civil Society and Ethnic Conflict Management in Nigeria. Spectrum Books Limited. Ibadan.

Kukah, H.M. (1999). Civil Society and Democracy in Nigeria. Spectrum Books Limited. Ibadan.

Nolte, I. (2004). "Identity and Violence the politics of youth in Ijebu-Remo, Nigeria". In: Journal of Modern African Studies. Pp. 61 – 98. Cambridge University Press. United Kingdom.

Schmid, A. (2000). Thesaurus and Glossary of early warning and conflict prevention terms. Forum on Early Warning and Early Response London.

Sesay, A., Ukeje, C; Aina, O. and Odebiyi, A. (2003). Ethnic Militias and the future of Democracy in Nigeria. Obafemi Awolowo University Press, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. Ile-Ife.

Varynen, R. (1991). New Directions in Conflict Theory. London. Sage Publications Ltd.

Williams, I. (2006). "A Philosophical Analysis of Conflict in Africa". In: Perspectives on Peace and Conflict in Africa. Essays in honour of General (Dr.) Abdul Salam A. Abubakar (ed) Albert I.O. Peace and Conflict Studies Programme Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan in collaboration with John Archers Limited, Ibadan.

Yoroms, G. (2005). 'The Second Liberian Peace Process and the Problem of Post-conflict peace building in West Africa: Some contending issues and interests'. In: Special Research Issues Vol. 1. Ibadan, French Institute for Research in Africa.

Zartman, I.W. (2001). 'Preventing Deadly Conflict'. In: Security Dialogue Vol. 32. No. 2. June Sage Publications.

Assignment File

There are two aspects of the assessment of this course. In this file, you will find all the details of the work you must submit to your tutor for marking. The marks you obtain for these assignments will count towards the final mark you

obtain for this course. Further information on assignment will be found in the Assignment File itself, and later in this Course Guide in the section on assessment.

There are many assignments for this course, with each unit having at least one assignment. These assignments are basically meant to assist you to understand the course.

Assessment

There are two aspects of the assessment of this course. First, are the tutor-marked assignments; second, is a written examination.

In tackling these assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The assignments must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the Assignment File. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will account for 30 per cent of your total course mark.

At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final examination of three hours duration. This examination will account for the other 70 per cent of your total course mark.

Tutor-Marked Assignments (TMAs)

There are 20 tutor-marked assignments in this course. You only need to submit all the assignments. The best four (i.e. the highest four of the 20 marks) will be counted. Each assignment counts for 20 marks but on the average when the four assignments are put together, then each assignment will count 10% towards your total course mark. This implies that the total marks for the best four (4) assignments, which would have been 100 marks, will now be 30% of your total course mark.

The Assignments for the units in this course are contained in the Assignments File. You will be able to complete your assignments from the information and materials contained in your set books, reading and study units. However, it is always desirable at this level of your education to research

more widely, and demonstrate that you have a very broad and in-dept knowledge of the subject matter.

When each assignment is completed, send it together with a TMA (Tutor Marked Assignment) form to your tutor. Ensure that each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline given in the Assignment File. If, for any reason you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor before the assignment is due to discuss and possibility of an extension. Extensions will not be granted after the due date unless there are exceptional circumstances warranting such.

Final Examination and Grading

The final examination for **PCR274 Introduction to Conflict Transformation** will be of three hours' duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions, which reflect the practice exercises, and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed.

Use the time between the completion of the last unit and sitting for the examination, to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments and comment on them before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

Course Making Scheme

Table 1: *Course Marking Scheme*

ASSESSMENT	MARKS
Assignments	Four assignments, best three marks of the four counts at 30% of course marks.
Final examination	70% of overall course marks
Total	**100% of course marks**

How to Get the Most from this Course

In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time

the place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units tell you when to read, and which are your text materials or set books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise.

Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course.

The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your set books or from a Reading section.

The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

(1) Read the Course Guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.

(2) Organise a Study Schedule. Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the Course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.

(3) Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late for help.

(4) Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.

(5) Assemble the study materials. You will need your set books and the unit you are studying at any point in time.

(6)   Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.

(7)   Well before the relevant due dates (about 4 weeks before due dates). Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.

(8)   Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.

(9)   When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.

(10)   When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule. When the Assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor-marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.

(11)   After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).

Tutors and Tutorials

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor, as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group.

Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and provides assistance to you during the course. You must mail your tutor-marked assignments to your tutor well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible.

Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone, e-mail, or discussion board. The following might be circumstances in which you will find help necessary. Contact your tutor if –
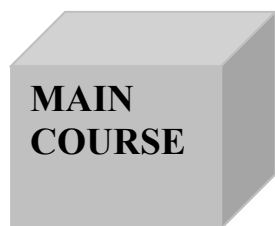
(i)   You do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings.
(ii)   You have difficulties within the exercises.
(iii) You have a question or problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face-to-face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefits from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn quite a lot from participating in the discussions.

Summary

PCR274 is an introductory course to Conflict Transformation as an academic discipline. Focus is on the genesis of conflict, its causation theories, and the basic types. It further presents some styles of handling conflicts including third party armed intervention in conflict. There is also an introduction to the concept of violence and some theories explaining some reasons for man's inclination to it. All these will in no small measure assist whoever is undertaking the task of conflict transformation. Peace-building as a central issue to the process of post-conflict transformation is also explained in order to show the nexus between the two concepts. In conclusion, the concept of conflict transformation and its' scopes are explained lucidly.

MAIN COURSE

Course Code   PCR274

Course Title   Introduction to Conflict Transformation

Course Developer/ Writer   Animasawun Gbemisola Abdul-Jelil
                           Peace & Conflict Studies Programme
                           Institute of African Studies,
                           University of Ibadan,
                           Ibadan, Nigeria

Course Editor   Dr. Olaniyi Rasheed O.
                       Department of History
                       Faculty of Arts
                       University of Ibadan

Course Coordinator   Durojaye Oyedolapo B.
                       National Open University of Nigeria,
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CONTENTS   PAGE

MODULE 1   ESSENTIALS   OF   CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

UNIT 1   WHAT IS CONFLICT

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
3.1   Dynamics of Conflict
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Readings.

1.0   INTRODUCTION

This module introduces you to the fundamentals of what constitutes a conflict in any human setting. It will discuss the dynamics of conflict and the types of conflict. These will include; ethnic conflict, class conflict, religious conflict, host-settler conflict and environmental conflict. This is necessary in order to make subsequent modules lucidly clear. The following objectives indicate what you are expected to learn at the completion of this module.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, student should be able to:

- technically understand what constitutes a conflict;
- identify different types of conflict;
- understand some theories on the causes of conflict and provide theoretical explanations on the causes of conflict; and
- know the main causes of conflict.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Concept of Conflict

Conflict has been variously defined by scholars though its' origin comes from the Latin word *confligere* which means to strike together, on the technical level it is defined as *"opposition among social entities directed against one another"* (Wright, 1990:19 quoted in Albert 2001:1 – 2). Albert (2001) underlines "opposition" as the keyword in this context when seen in contrast to "cooperation". It therefore follows that when people in a social milieu are not cooperating, then opposition either physical or psychological may be lurking around. Even when men do not cooperate with the environment by taking care of it, there exists basis of environmental conflict. It can therefore be posited that anywhere human beings exist, conflict becomes inevitable.

Transformation of conflict is also very expedient for us to turn conflicts into basis of future cooperation among social entities. All the foregoing has informed the following objectives. At the end of the course the students should be able to possess good understanding, knowledge and application of conflict transformation.

There are numerous, sometimes intertwined and sometimes seemingly conflicting definitions of conflict. Conflict can be explained as an adversarial relationship involving at least two individuals or collective actors over a range of issues such as resources, power, status, values, goals, relations, or interests. Expected outcomes include victory, defeat, domination, surrender, discrimination, neutralization, conversion, coercion, injury, or destruction and elimination of the opposite party real or imagined. It may also be the resolution, settlement, termination, stalemate or transformation of the conflict.

When deadly conflicts characterized by bestial physical violence are approved by a higher authority (state, party, religion), the killings or destructions if done in appropriate contexts i.e. without violating established norms and codes of warfare, are not usually portrayed as criminal. The most important factor is a legitimating ideology. Below are some definitions of conflict to deepen the understanding, knowledge and application.

Conflict is the struggle over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the groups or individuals involved are not only to obtain the desired values but to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals (Coser, 1956:8), quoted in Schmid (2000). Conflict is a social situation in which at least two parties (individuals, groups, states) are involved and who: strive for goals which are incompatible to begin

with or strive for the same goal, which can only be reached by one party; and/or want to employ incompatible means to achieve a certain goal (Schmid, 2000).

Conflict is "contests, competitions, disputes and tensions as well as manifest clashes between social forces. Conflict is a situation of competition in which the parties are aware of the incompatibility of potential future positions and in which each party wishes to occupy a position that is incompatible with the wishes of the other. Conflict is a goal-directed activity designed to improve the position of one party at the expense of the other. Conflict is a state of incompatibility among values, where the achievement of one value can be realized only at the expense of some other values. Conflict may arise within single organisms pursuing multiple goals as well as between organisms striving at incompatible goals (Schmid, 2000).

Conflict is a perceived divergence of interests or a belief that the parties' current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously. Conflict is the intentional mutual exchange of negative sanctions, or punitive behaviour by two or more parties, which may be individuals, corporate actors or more loosely knit quasi-groups (Schmid, 2000).Conflict is a escalated competition between two or more parties, each of which aims to gain advantage of some kind-power, resources, interests, values, needs, for example. At least one of the parties believes that the conflict is over a set of mutually incompatible goals (Schmid, 2000).

Conflict is perceived incompatibility between two or more people or groups. The incompatibility can be about needs, interests, values or aims. It may or may not be expressed in behaviour. Defined in this way conflict, conflicts seems common, natural and unavoidable. It is simply one of the energies of life. It is how this conflict energy is expressed that can make or mar any relationship.

Conflict is present when two or more parties perceive that their interests are incompatible, express hostile attitudes or… pursue their interests through actions that damage the other parties. These parties may be individuals, small or large groups and countries. According to Lund, interests can contrast in many ways:

- Over resources – territory, money, energy sources, food – and how they should be distributed.
- Over power – how control and participation in political decision-making are allocated.
- Over identity – concerning the cultural, social and political communities to which people feel tied.

- Over status – particularly those embodied in systems of government, religion or ideology (Lund, 1997: 2 – 2).

From all the above, it is evident that conflict cannot be wished away in our lives. Galtung (1996: 70 – 71) delineates conflict into two flip-sides. The first one is dispute explained as two persons or actors, pursuing the same scarce goal. The other side is dilemma described as one person or actor seeking two incompatible goals. Most of us experience both from day to day. Conflict generates resources, options and energy. The problem is how channel the energy and resources constructively.

The Chinese define conflict as 'danger' + 'opportunity'. 'Danger' is near to 'violence' and 'opportunity' near to 'challenge', the foundation of creation. This implies that instead of denying or ignoring conflict, what we need is the apt understanding and analysis of conflict. This approach is based on the thesis that there is no viable alternative to creative conflict transformation (Galtung, 1996).

There is also a need to distinguish crisis from conflict. Williams (2006) opines that crisis transcends the overt manifestation of conflicts. Although crisis cannot be said to exist without the earlier manifestation of conflict or violence, therefore crisis is usually the aftermath of violent conflict. It offers a turning point, either for good or bad, after series of conflict or violence. Francis (2006) while conceptually linking conflict to the concept of conflict resolution argues against the wholesale generalisation of recent conflicts in Africa as "mindless violence" and "senseless wars" because they typify continuation of politics and economics by other means.

4.0   CONCLUSION

This unit has introduced you to different definitions of conflict reflective of different perspectives of conflict. The objectives of the unit provides auseful guide to the identification and understanding of the fundamentals of conflict. This discourse offers a lucid introduction to the concept of conflict with apt illustrations for easy understanding. It also adds that not all conflicts are destructive because some conflicts actually provide opportunities for change among parties involved.

5.0   SUMMARY

The unit discussed conflict based on different scholarly definitions of the concept.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

1. Can conflict form the basis of cooperation among social entities? Discuss.
2. Differentiate between conflict and cooperation.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Albert, I.O. (2001). *Introduction to Third Party Intervention in Community conflicts.* Ibadan*:* John Archers Publishers Limited.

Galtung, I. (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilisation* London. Sage Publications.

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Williams, I. (2006). "A Philosophical Analysis of Conflict in Africa". In: Perspectives on Peace and Conflict in Africa. Essays in honour of General (Dr.) Abdul Salam A. Abubakar (ed.) Albert I.O. Peace and Conflict Studies Programme Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan in collaboration with John Archers Limited, Ibadan.

UNIT 2   TYPES OF CONFLICT

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

This unit will make you aware of the basic types of conflict. It will also discuss with illustrations the identified types of conflicts. This is necessary in order to make you have a firm grasp of the types of conflict. The objectives of the unit show what you are expected to learn at the end of the course.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

•   Identify different types of conflict with clarity
•   Analyse conflicts determine their contextual features without generalising.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Ethnic Conflicts

Ethnic conflict is one of the most destructive and pervasive conflicts in Africa especially since the end of the cold war. Ethnic conflicts provide a complex task to social scientists, and peace scholars this is because of its permeating effects whenever it occurs. In a attempt to ensure conceptual aptness and focus, Edmund Leach and Frederick Barth came up with the structuralist approach; this approach emphasizes the value of structural relationships in either identity formation, state formation and maintenance in defining ethnicity more than cultural factors. Another

approach to the study of ethnicity is the primordialist approach postulated by Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz. This approach emphasizes the significance of culturally distinctive characteristics such as myths of origin, ritual, religion, genealogical descent and language in distinguishing people.

The primodialist led by Cynthia Enloe, however, submitted that the main function of ethnicity is to bind the individual to a group with the assertion that awareness of a common identity constitutes its principal feature. In all, ethnicity can be described as the feeling or consciousness of belonging to a group that shares certain common socio-cultural elements (Williams, 2006).

For proper understanding of ethnic conflicts, the term ethnicity has to be lucidly explained. The word "ethnic" is derived from the Greek word "ethnos" meaning a group of people who share a common and peculiar culture. So, ethnicity can be seen as the feeling of belonging to a peculiar cultural and linguistic group, or a manifestation of ethnic consciousness in relation to other groups. If the feeling of national consciousness is not condemnable, then ethnicity which is the consciousness of being a member of a socio-cultural group cannot itself be a bad thing. This is because; ethnic consciousness can be transformed to serve positive ends in a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria.

Sadly, due to the perceived mismanagement of Nigeria's ethnicity as observed by some scholars, (Akinyemi, 2003) some Nigerians seem to view ethnic plurality or diversity as a burden instead of an asset. In as much as all groups of humanity have their respective roots and identification with one's root is part of the human existential needs, then ethnicity cannot be eliminated. According to Otite quoted in Imobighe (2003:19), "over 90% of the world's independent states are plural and are in various degrees of stability at different stages of development. It can be observed that animosity among ethnic groups is beginning to rival the spread of nuclear weapons as the most heinous threat to global peace, this shows that the issue is not limited to Nigeria alone. According to Williams (2006), there are over 5,000 ethnic minorities in the world. This figure is besides major ethnic groups. Similarly, Connor and Welsh agree that of the over 180 states in the world, only 9 to 11 percent are ethnically homogenous, meaning that most states are heterogeneous. Based on this, it may be instructive to accept the conclusion of the Minorities at Risk Project (MRP) that competition and struggles between ethnic groups have characteristically and notably induced more than 70 percent of conflicts in the world at the end of the cold war. Globally most political conflicts are wrapped in ethnic agenda.

Political, economic, psychological and cultural factors are strong causes of conflict amongst groups, if they are partially and emotionally applied. Those factors can arouse deep-seated anxieties, fears and insecurity, which usually lead to violent conflict. However, the foregoing is not convincing enough to deny the existence of ethnic conflicts. This is because pristine ethnic conflicts can be categorized as conflicts that arise from what is of symbolic value to the ethnic groups. These symbolic values are embedded issues of religious and language sometimes. The nature and values of these symbols cannot be traded-off by those concerned hence the inevitability of conflicts.

However, ethnic conflicts are not immuned from manipulation. In reality, some of the crises and conflicts termed ethnic conflict are manufactured especially for political ends. This is synonymous with the views of the constructivists, who opine that ethnicity and its many manifestations in Africa's social life are humanly instigated and not natural. This is described by Williams (2004) as "ethnic contextualism, situationalism and circumstantialism". Similarly, Williams (2006), describes this covert manipulation of ethnic conflicts as "ethnic contractionism, expansionism and flexibilism".

Also, the argument of Adebanwi (2005) on the role of the youths in the reinvention of culture through violence and rituals accentuates the reality and peculiarity of ethnic conflicts. This is because of the use of symbols such as rituals, charms and armlets – by ethnic militias such as the Oodua People's Congress and others across the country.

3.2   Class Conflict

The existence of classes in every society is well alluded to by many scholars. Sociologists such as Weber and Marx agree on the instrumentality of classes in analyzing political, economic and social conflicts in the world generally and particularly in Africa. To facilitate a proper understanding of class conflicts in Africa, it behoves answering certain questions: which groups in Nigerian societies instigate class conflicts and what are their needs and positions economically and socio politically? Are there social groups identified as classes?

The distinguishing feature in the definition of classes is the possession of economic, political, ideological, wealth, intellectual prowess, power and values by a segment of the society over the other groups (Williams, 2006). The relationship with the means of production by groups at the social basis of each society defines classes according Marx's epistemology. This is what causes antagonism, that is the essence of the existence of social classes, the dominant and wealthy few and the mass

of the dominated. In explicit terms, it presupposes oppression and servitude.

Theoretically, the history of class conflicts is located in Marx's materialistic and economic interpretation of history. This formed a major plank in the principles of communism as developed by Marx in the Communist Manifesto released in 1848. One of the cardinal principles of communism is the existence of class conflict or struggle. The cause of this is the principle of ownership of the means of production. In the words of Marx, "the history of hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle". This is directly linked to the evolution and possession of private property:

> *Since the establishment of private property, society has been divided into two hostile economic classes. Just as in the ancient world the interest of slave owners was opposed to that of the slaves, and in medieval Europe the interest of feudal lords was opposed to that of the serfs, so in our time the interest of the capitalist class, which derives its income mainly from the ownership of property, is antagonistic to the interest of the proletariat class which depends for its livelihood chiefly upon the sale of its labour power* (Williams, 2006:18).

In the opinion of Vladmir Lenin, classes are large groups of people distinguished from each other by their place in the history of social production. Also the roles of groups and their relation to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour and consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the means of acquiring it.

Classes are groups of people who can hire the labour or services of another due to the different positions they occupy in a specific system of social economy. Anikpo quoted in Williams (2006:18) identifies the centrality of production, exploitation and domination in defining social classes. It is the systematic classification of social inequalities linked to the ownership of the means of production and the inherent antagonistic confrontations are what constitute the class structures.

Class conflicts in Nigeria are usually based on political and economic issues. Fundamental to the occurrence of class conflicts in Nigeria is the struggle for political power (Williams, 2006:18). Ake argues that there is an irresolvable struggle between a prevailing dominant class and subordinate classes in respect of their hold on to power. This causes conflict and violence, which results in persistent tension and crisis. This

arises out of the attempt of the dominant class to retain their dominance and the persistent struggle against such idea by the dominated.

Williams (2006) opines that the idea of class politics is germane to discussing national conflicts in Nigeria. The interaction amongst and between classes in Nigeria reveals a setting of struggle between real bourgeois ideology and proletariat ideology. Oloruntimehin and Ayoade (2002) illustrates this by describing some urban conflicts as actually a form of class conflicts between the poor and the rich owners of the means of production in the urban settings.

Williams (2006) sums up the views of Ake and Onimode, which identify a central role for the state in the idea of class politics and its place in the foundation of conflict in Nigeria. This is because the state is seen as a major actor in the production, mediation and resolution of class conflict. Larry Diamond sees the overbearing dominance of the post-colonial Nigerian state with enormous economic resources as a source of class conflicts.

Analytically, the need of parties in class conflict can be seen more in terms of control of political power in order to strengthen their economic bases. Also, the primary parties in class conflicts in Nigeria are usually the elites. This is because they are the most involved in the struggle for the control of the means of production. In another context especially in the case of urban violence, class conflicts can be seen between the urban poor attacking the urban rich or the poor killing poor. Also, disagreement between the state and employees has sometimes taken violent dimensions, which brings a purely economic need into the study of class conflicts in Nigeria.

3.3   Religious Conflict

Any belief system or ideology that has God or gods as its theme is religion. This is what differentiates capitalism, communism and socialism from religion. This is why Ayantayo posits that religion is any system which links man to ultimate values, be it God or any other thing, which encodes a creed and a communion. Ayantayo further identifies three essential features of religion as belief, feeling and action. It is worthy to state that beliefs about God or the Supreme Being, the nature and destiny and hope in life after death are also central to religion. Suffice to note that most faiths offer adherents something that they are glad to live and die for (Kukah, 1999).

A study of conflict in Africa will not be complete without addressing religious conflict. In Sudan, the north and south are split along religious lines. This has contributed negatively to the civil war in the country.

Southern Sudan is predominantly a Christian area with history of sustained resistance to Islamisation being championed by the predominantly Muslim north. The quest to foist Islam as the national religion constitutes one of the causes of the protracted civil war in Sudan.

Religion and its liturgies is one of human inventions with mixed effects on society (Akinola, 2005). In the individual, it has the potency of inspiring the noblest spiritual values and selflessness while giving room for mortals to link with the ultimate reality or the creator.

Conversely, it can instigate beastly behaviour in men such as hypocrisy, charlatanism, sleaze, and fanatism. Religion can thus be a burden or blessing for any human society. However, some faiths like Islam, Christianity, and Judaism and to a lesser extent Buddhism have drawn global followership. Suffice to note that none of these religions is completely free from the culture and history of their founders. Also, much as religions preach such virtues as love, goodness, brotherliness, peace, equity and these are not always manifested in the relationship amongst even co-religionists, not to talk of being found among the devotees of different religions.

Can there be a religious conflict bearing in mind the values espoused by religions? The answer is yes because the two major religions, Islam and Christianity have their histories replete with stories that canonized warlords. The 'holy war' tradition in Christianity is a direct offshoot of the prescribed wars of the Old Testament and particularly pronounced during the Middle Ages, well demonstrated during the Crusades. According to Saint Bernard of Chaivaux, in the 12th century while supporting Christians driving out Muslims from Palestine:

> *A new sought of army has appeared… It fights a double war: first, the war of the flesh and blood against enemies, second the war of the spirit against Satan and vice… the soldier of Christ kills with safety; he dies with more safety still. He serves Christ when he kills. He serves himself when he is killed.* (See also Romans 13:4, quoted in Barash & Webel 2002).

The *Jihad* among Muslims also takes violent forms at times. Many Islamic scholars and clerics, however, insist that *Jihad* applies more to an internal struggle, a "war" against one's own incalcitrance and ungodly drives. Nevertheless, Muslims who die in the cause of the holy war are considered to be guaranteed entry into heaven (*Al-Janat*), (Barash & Webel, 2002). The foregoing shows the attitude of these

religions to violent conflict as approved means of protecting and advancing their religions. On another hand, Galtung (1996) argues that the presence of many religions is not what causes religious conflict.

If the Muslim rosary (*tesbaeh*) is placed beside the Holy Bible of the Christians neither of these two clashes. Therefore, it is human beings who interpret and expand religious ideologies and frontiers that instigate and prosecute religious conflict. In recent times, in Nigeria, scholars such as Ayoade and Oloruntimehin (2002), opine that there is no strictly religious conflict by describing most of the so-called religious conflicts as conflicts for reasons other than the protection of the sanctity of the tenets of their religions.

So what is a religious conflict? The clarification is necessary to enhance accurate understanding of types of conflict. A religious conflict can therefore be defined as a conflict involving believers of two different faiths for the purpose of dominating the other faith in order to expand one faith at the expense of the other. Parties in such conflict whip up religious sentiments and use religious symbols to mobilise support. With this, it becomes easy to identify a religious conflict. Therefore, it can be posited that there are actually religious conflict. Also, there can be religious conflicts between adherents of the same faith or intra-faith conflicts usually due to clashing perspectives on doctrinal issues. Thus there can be inter and intra-religious conflict.

3.5   Hosts/Indigene – Settlers Conflict or Citizenship Conflict

In concrete terms, citizenship implies the idea of belonging to a country by legal definition. Citizenship refers to the substantive, narrative ideal of membership (Williams, 2006:20). According to Aristotle, "What effectively distinguishes the citizen proper from all others is his participation in giving judgment and holding office". But there are many interpretations and limitations on participation as the yardstick for defining citizenship. Some of these are ethical, moral and political. Soysal opines that "citizenship defines hundred populations, with a specific set of rights and duties, excluding "others" on the grounds of nationality. Soysal also posits that citizenship should have a single status meaning that; "all citizens are entitled to the same rights and privileges". Soysal also argues that citizenship "denotes participatory practices and contestations in the public sphere". Jacobson posits that citizenship fulfils two important functions it determines the criteria of membership and "the conversation" between the individual and the state.

In most developing nations, citizenship has become germane to the fulfilment of political aspirations and sometimes to the realization of economic goals. The citizenship question lies at the base of the problem

of integration in most developing nations. In the opinion of Bryan Turner "the problem of citizenship has re-emerged as an issue which is central, not only to practical political questions concerning access to healthcare systems, educational institutions and the welfare state but also to traditional theoretical debates in sociology over the conditions of social integration and social solidarity". The germaness, of the issue of citizenship to national integration cannot be overemphasized. Williams (2006:21) submits that, the end of citizenship as a means of integration is equality of rights of the population.

In Nigeria, citizenship and identity often mutually interact to serve as basis of violent conflicts. Ajala (2006:1) opines that identity is set up from the past and present experience of a people or persons and acts as a criterion of values. Most indigene – settlers conflict in Nigeria have relied on identity in defining the "other" most of these identities are based religious and linguistic features. The identity an individual carries to a large extent determines whether one is an indigene of a particular community in most places in Nigeria today and the extent of his or her participation in the affairs of the community. One of the fundamental causes of indigene – settler conflict is the contest for economic and political resources.

Adebanwi (2004:343) argues that the constitution of Nigeria is flawed in defining citizenship – as basically membership of a community *indigenous* to Nigeria – in reality, people still owe very strong connections to their "states of origin" above where they live and the people among whom they live. This makes the "host states" to be reluctant from offering opportunities to 'fair-weather', citizens who can return to their state of origin at any time. These issues get more complicated if scarce resources such as arable land and political appointments are involved. The Jos riots of 2002, 2004 readily come to mind as an illustration.

3.6   The Concept of Environment

The physical environment according to Egunjobi (2006) refers to the four major sub-divisions of the earth with their enormous interlocking systems. These comprise the atmosphere, the hydrosphere (made up of the world oceans, lakes and rivers), the lithosphere, which forms the earth-crust, and biosphere (made up of all living organisms), the lithosphere, which forms the earth-crust, and biosphere (made up of all living organisms). In conventional terms, the physical environment is known in terms of water, vegetation, animals (including man), relief (topographical features) climate and soil. The following chart shows physical environmental component and their interrelationships:
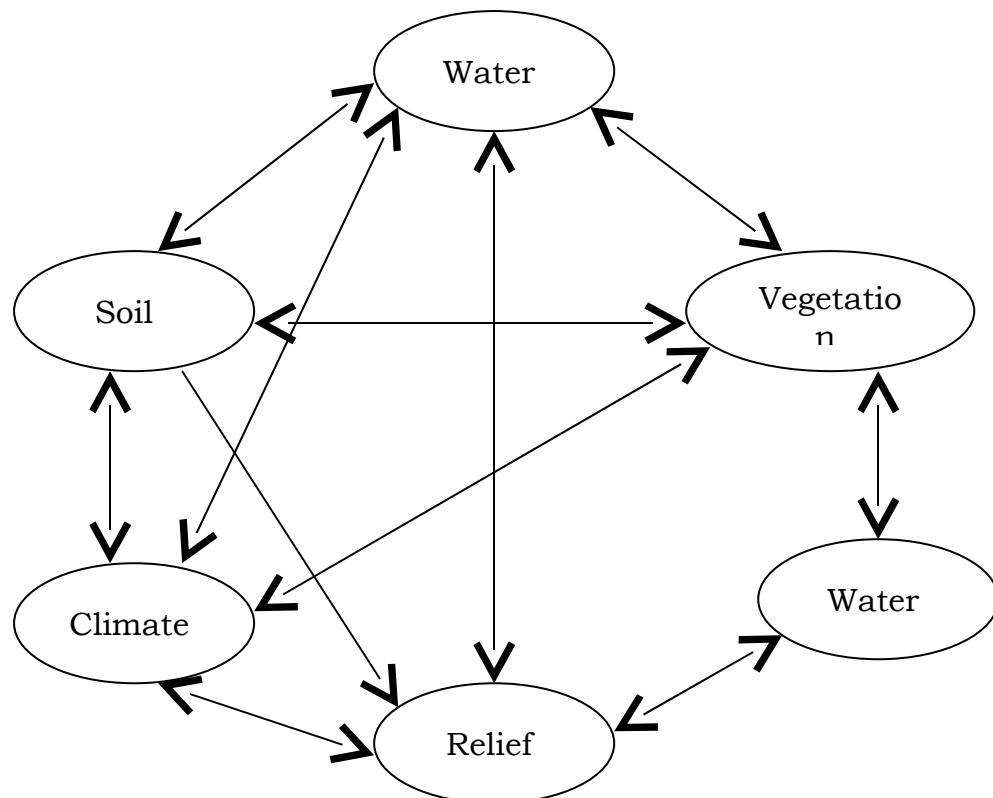
Source: Egunjobi (2006:269)

There is a causal relationship amongst all the components as depicted by the arrows in the chart.

Environmental conflict arises often as a result of undue pressure, degradation, pollution, resource depletion, resource exploitation and exploration, unfair resource sharing all of which are usually based on conflicting values and differing cultures. Consequently, the anti-environment activities of human beings make the environment harsh and inclement. Subsequently, human beings become a prisoner of the environment and try to blame other factors for human misdemeanours by attacking verbally and physically. This in the opinion of Egunjobi (2006) forms the basis of all environment-induced conflicts. This takes the form of violent attack on people, which results in vicious degradation of the environment.

Environmental Conflict

The contest for natural resources has intensified local and International environmental clashes. Since the end of the cold war, the attention given to environmental issues in global security and international relations has been on the increase. This makes a study of environmental conflict compelling. Practically, the struggle within and between states for the control, exploitation, manipulation and access to ecological resources defines environmental conflict (Williams, 2006:21).

Two types of environmental conflicts attract our attention, one is internal and the other external. The first one is the Niger-Delta conflict within Nigeria over natural and environmental resources. The second one is the international environmental conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria over the Bakassi Pennisula. The environmental conflict in the Niger-Delta is multi-dimensional. First, it is inter-governmental between the states in the Niger-Delta and the federal government. Another dimension to it, is the hostage taking and vandalisation of oil installations by militants directed against oil corporations and the federal government. Frrynas (2001) analyses the environmental conflict in the Niger-Delta that:

> *Oil and environmental conflict are rooted in the inequitable social relations that under gird the production and distribution of profits from oil, and its adverse impact on the fragile ecosystem of the Niger Delta. It involves the Nigerian state and oil companies on the one side and the six million people of the estimated 800 oil-producing communities concentrated in the 70,000 Km Niger-Delta on the other.*

It can be inferred that disagreement over goals and interests on the proceeds from oil in the Niger Delta remains the central point in the incessant conflicts in the zone. This can also be located within the larger context of inter-ethnic struggle for political power and resources in Nigeria:

> *In the inter-ethnic struggle for resources in Nigeria the most crucial asset was central of federal government. Two major historical factors account fro this. One is the partisan character of the state... the state was biased in group struggles and made no pretence about being neutral in inter-group relations... The other factor is associated with the interventionist role of the state in the economic life of the society. It was the state that set up capitalism in the country. Therefore it actively intervened in production and distribution of goods and services, often in favour of one or the other of the contending groups and classes.* See also (Ogbogbo, 2006 and Frynas, 2001).

It is pertinent to state that the types of conflict may occur in both rural and urban settings within intra-community and inter-community setting and sometimes-international settings. Also, most of these conflicts are prosecuted in order to control the reins of powers, often-political power.

Egunjobi (2006: 268) describes the physical environment as a system made up of parts, sub-parts and sub-sub-parts. In this system, there exists an inter-link from the biggest to the smallest scientifically comprehensible part. Whatever happens to a part by way of changes affects the rest whether positively or negatively. Therefore, the need for harmony becomes imperative.

For conceptual and empirical objectives, the human being is one of the many components of the system. The other components are trees, rocks, soil, animals, birds, insects, water bodies and elements of weather constitute other components. However, human beings have the capacity to control or influence other parts of the system. This is why the sustenance of environmental peace and harmony is inextricably link to the activities of human beings, especially during conflicts.

Gleditsch (2001) argues that scarcity of environmental resources informed by neo-Malthusian logic that conflicts may arise when the available resources can not cope with a given population also leads to exacerbate environmental conflicts. Environmental conflict can also arise due to abundance of resources if the distribution of such resources is skewed. Gleditsch (2001) distinguishes among three types of resource scarcity that can generate environmental conflict these are: *demand – induced scarcity,* which is due to population growth; *supply – induced scarcity*, which is caused by the depletion and degradation of resources; and *structural scarcity*, arising from the distribution of resources. The implication of this is the prevalence of environmental insecurity which implies environmental destruction and resource scarcity (Gleditsch, 2001).

4.0   CONCLUSION

It is suggested that the main types of conflicts prevalent in Africa have been presented in unique way that will enable identification. Also, different definitions and meanings of conflict have also been presented in order to theoretically and practically identify a conflict, and what differentiates it from crisis.

5.0   SUMMARY

The definition and meanings of conflict have been presented. Also, various types of conflicts have been explained broadly and lucidly. The unit placed emphasis on enabling students to identify and differentiate various types of conflict in order to avoid simplistic and misleading generalisation of conflicts.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1.   List and discuss three types of conflict.
2.   What makes an ethnic conflict different from a religious conflict in Nigeria?

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UNIT 3   CONFLICT CAUSATION THEORIES

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
        3.1   Types of Theories
        3.2   Theories of Conflict
4.0 Conclusion
5.0 Summary
6.0 Tutor-Marked assignment
7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Theories are statements of facts often derived from a scientific process for the purpose of explaining phenomena, although theories are not peculiar to the sciences alone. However, not all facts are borne out of theories. A theory can therefore be lucidly described as a notion or concept derived from a process that involves the analysis of a set of principles and propositions in relation to one another for the purpose of explaining a phenomena (Faleti, 2006). The purpose of a theory is to explain what has happened and to provide an insight into how to address future occurrence of such happenings. This makes the use of models useful because they both help to create and understand a problem. This section attempts to present theories that explain why conflicts especially social conflicts occur. This has been done in order to show that there is a dividing line between violence and conflicts.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

•   Know what a theory is and what a theory is not.
•   Use theory to explain any type of conflict.
•   Understand different types of theory and their right application.
•   Understand the empirical and theoretical distinction between violence and conflict.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Types of Theories

Theories deepen and enhance academic learning. They also reveal the level of knowledge stock available in a discipline. This is why it is expedient to present different theories about the causes of conflict especially violent conflicts. Moreso, acquaintance with theories of conflict will help in the subsequent transformation of conflict. Faleti (2006) suggests that there are generally four types of conflict theories these are; *analytic, normative, scientific,* and *metaphysical.*

Analytical theories are found mostly in logic and mathematical sciences providing mostly statements of facts upon which other facts are based. However they do not address issues of everyday life. *Normative* theories propound a set of ideals which should be desired by human beings. These include ideologies, principles and so on. *Scientific* theories have universal applications; they are empirical, verifiable, observable and predictable because they explain the relationship among events and actions mostly in a causal manner.

Metaphysical theories are not always testable or predictable they rely more on rational judgement for testability and validity. Faleti (2006) illustrates this with the *theory of natural selection*, a metaphysical theory, which state that: "if the specie survives for long, then it must possess certain characteristics which are well adapted or are adaptable to a particular environment in which it thrives. If, on the other hand, the species fails to survive or thrive for long as other species within the same environment, then, it must possess characteristics that are not suitable for its' adaptation".

The above quotation is not derived from any scientific test but simply based on rational inference. However, the inability to test most metaphysical theories does not render them invalid or useless, because they can be combined with other theories in understanding and analysing problems. Suffices to note that for the purpose of conflict transformation, analytic theories can be very apt.

3.2   Theories of Conflict

A good number of scholars have proposed different theories of conflict from the level of the individual to the level of the society.

Conflict does not always start between two parties. Even within one individual, there can be a conflict. This type of conflict theory is known as the *Dilemma* type of conflict i.e. "one person, or actor pursuing two incompatible goals" (Galtung, 1996:70). When two parties or actors

pursue the same scarce goal, this is described by Galltung (1996) as the *Dispute* theory of conflict formation. The latter theory has a sharp semblance with a zero-sum game or fixed sum game according to Anatal Rapoport (Nwolise, 2004). In this context, actors hold antithetical objectives or desires. What one party wins means defeat or loss to the other party. For example, in a world cup final, when two teams contest for a trophy, once a team wins, the other team loses completely.

Galtung (1996:73) also presents *Actor* conflict and *structure* conflict. The emphasis here is to show that there can be latent conflict and that there can be manifest conflict. The fundamental difference between the two is the extent to which the conflict has become not only pronounced but demonstrated.

In actor conflict, the actor or party is conscious of what he or she wants and this influences his or her relationship with the other party or actor. The structural conflict or indirect conflict is embedded in the subconscious. Articulating is often tasking and almost impossible, in such instances, there is a contradiction strong enough to cause conflicts, but there is no awareness or articulation of it. There is even no discernment of any clear-cut objective hence, no open demonstration of feelings, this is in the realm of *Dilemma* theory. The actor conflict and dispute conflict are also similar theoretically. Galtung (1996:76) submits that Actor conflicts are conscious, structural conflicts are not, they can both be of the dilemma or dispute types.

The conflict formation theory of Galtung (1996:80) explains basis of the emergence or manifestation of conflict. A formation or setting can be *harmonious* or *symbiotic* (meaning co-life enhancing) so far as the attainment of a goal by a party is correlated with the goal attainment of the other party. A harmonious marriage should have this feature, the satisfaction of one party going together with the satisfaction of the other. However, if the reverse is the case, then there is disharmony. Nevertheless, we should not be blind to the cooperative and harmonious aspects that may actually be the foundation for conflict transformation.

Ayoade and Oloruntimehin (2002) provide theories on causation of conflicts. The first one is the *additive theory,* when the statements of the actors have no logical or intelligible link to the triggers of the conflict. The *cumulative* theory describes a situation where actors actions are delayed till the situation gets unbearable, most social unrests involving the especially the urban poor fall into this category. The *consecutive* causation theory describes a situation where each perceived action is enough to spark social turmoil largely due to deep-seated real and imagined grievances though actors hardly accept these reasons as they

feel they are obsolete. There is also the micro-macro causation theory of conflict. This is played out when minor disagreements that could have been settled amicably are used as an excuse to violently replay the hostility between or among larger ethnic groups or organisations by individuals at lower levels.

There is also the *community relations theory* that assumes that conflict is caused by continued polarisation, mistrust and hostility between different groups within a community. The *principled negotiation theory* posits that conflict is caused by incompatible positions and a fixed-sum or zero-sum view of conflict by the parties. *Human needs theory* opines that deep-rooted conflict is as a result of insatiable basic human needs – physical, psychological and social. Security, identity, recognition, participation and autonomy cited in this context. The *identity theory* assumes that conflict stems from feelings of threatened identity. This is usually rooted in unresolved past loss and suffering. Incompatibilities between different cultural communication styles has informed the *inter cultural miscommunication theory,* (Fisher at al, 2000)

The *structural conflict theory* with two branches comprising the radical structuralists and the liberal structuralists. According to Faleti (2006), the radical structuralists are mostly from the Marxist dialectical school comprising the likes of Marx, Engel and Lenin. The liberal structuralists include Ross (1993), Scarborough (1998), and Galtung (1990). The structural theory of conflict assumes that social conflicts arise due to imbalance in the structure of social system in a given locale. This has strong leaning on Marxists' theory of *historical materialism*. The structuralist opine that societies with unjust and exploitative organization that makes one class subservient to another, especially when the subservient constitute the majority are prone to conflicts.

This has been traced to the discrimination and imbalance inherent in the access to the means of production which favours the few at the expense of the majority. Most capitalist societies characterized by the exploitation of the proletariat are referred to by Marxists and radical structuralists as prone to social conflicts. They argue that such structural imbalance can only be solved through a revolution or a civil war spearheaded by the proletariat. The liberal structuralists advocate the removal of exploitative structure through new policies with human face.

The *realists* also theorise on the cause of conflict based on strong reservation for the *idealists.* Morgenthau (1973) prominent realist flaws idealism for relying on rational political order hinged on universally valid abstract principles. The *realist* theory of conflict faults the idealist theory for believing that human nature is malleable and good (Faleti, 2006). The *realists* trace the cause of conflicts to the inherent flaws in

human nature because the human nature is selfish, individualistic and naturally conflictive. At the inter-state level, the *realists* opine that in the pursuit of national interest therein lies the inevitability of conflicts among states.

In the global view of the *realist,* the wars or conflicts burst out among states not only because some states opt for war in preference for peace (such as Hitler's Germany in 1939) but because of the unenvisaged and unintended consequences of the actions of those who prefer peace to war as they try to improve on their security. This is because in trying to enhance their security some states threaten the security of other states. Levy (2001) describes World War I as an "inadvertent war" between states that did not desire war but found themselves entangled in war because they could not constructively manage their differences.

 Furthermore, Levy (2001) theorises that there can also be destructive conflicts among states based on what he described as; *systemic-level sources, societal-level sources*; and *individual-level sources* of international conflict. At the *systemic-level*, the prevailing system regulating the conduct of international relations at any point in time at the international level can precipitate conflicts. This is illustrated by the description of the world-wars and the European war against Napoleon a century earlier as wars fought to achieve the balance of power which led to the birth of a military coalition to checkmate the aspiring leviathans. All these led to wars because of the prevailing system at that time that favoured the balance of power concept.

At the *societal-level*, wars or conflicts break-out at the international scene because of attempts by one or some countries to impose or spread their own political or economic ideology though this also enhances peaceful relations amongst states. This illustrated with the concept of *democratic peace,* which assumes that democratic states hardly go to war against one another. According Levy (2001), the "democratic norm and culture model" implies that democratic state are naturally opposed to war and have the developed the attitude and the ability to constructively prevent the generation disputes into conflicts because of the norms of peaceful conflict resolution that evolves from such the democratic political culture. Empirical evidences, however, suggest that democratic states are prone to wars just like the authoritarian states. This is because some of them still fight imperial wars and worse-still they have been initiators of war in some cases even against the authoritarian states perhaps under the guise of spreading the frontiers of democracy. Therefore, it may be posited that the concept of democratic peace is still not a guarantee for global peace because it has not stopped wars between the democracies and the authoritarian states on one hand and

neither has obliterated occasional tension and upheaval within the democracies.

Levy (2001) observes that international conflicts can also be explained by the theory of individual-level sources of international conflict. This theory argues that the belief system of individual political actors, their philosophies of world politics, their perception of information and decision making, and their emotional states and personalities can cause conflicts. This implies that different political decision makers will act differently in the same situation due to the afore-mentioned features. Unlike in the systemic and societal-level theories, individuals also make the difference in the interpretation of state foreign policy behaviour. This is because these variables have differing effects on individual leaders in their preferences for foreign policy goals, their construction of the enemy, and their beliefs on the best strategies for achieving foreign policies including how to address threats.

4.0   CONCLUSION

This unit has discussed various theories that explain why conflicts and war break out. The main objective is to make students acquire the necessary skills to understand why conflicts occur within states and at the international level in order to avoid misleading assumptions and generalizations when discussing conflicts. It is also to enhance scholarly explanations of the causes of conflicts.

5.0   SUMMARY

In this unit, we discussed theories in their normative contexts. Also, the basic types of theories were generally discussed before shifting focus to theories that explain why conflicts break-out at the intra-state and inter-state level using different instructive illustrations.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

1.   Discuss the four types of theories you came across in this unit.
2.   Pick two conflicts of your choice and do a theoretical analysis to show the theoretical context of the conflicts.

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UNIT 4   CONTEXTUAL CAUSES OF CONFLICTS

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
        3.1   Causes of Conflict
4.0 Conclusion
5.0 Summary
6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0 References/Further Readings.

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Conflicts can not be wished away in any human setting desirous of making progress because it carries with it the potentials of societal development and progress if constructively managed. However, for any conflict to be constructively managed, the contextual occurrence of the conflict must clearly understand. This is why the causes of conflicts must be well understood in order to prevent their undesirable effects.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

- Know and explain the basic causes of conflicts.
- Understand the basic particular features of each of these types of conflict.
- Relate these types of conflict to different scenarios from the individual to the corporate, communal, state and inter-state level.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Causes of Conflict

Conflicts do not burst out without causes. A good knowledge of the causes of conflicts is necessary as a pre-condition for knowing how to transform conflicts. A firm grasp of the causes of conflicts prior to transformation phase can ensure successful transformation of conflict. Some causes of conflict include contest for insufficient or imagined insufficient resources. Also contrasting value systems, religious, ideological, and general worldview of the parties involved. Furthermore, mismanagement of information can cause conflicts likewise the psychological needs of groups and individuals (Albert, 2001).

In Africa, the causes of conflicts have changed with time. Diallo in a study of some traditional African societies concludes that the main causes of war touched on disputes over property, power and honour. In some areas like the present day Senegal, land, livestock (disputes between nomads and settlers), share trade (exchange problems), and power (opposition to rulers), (succession struggles) were some main causes of conflicts. In former Upper Volta region, the Mossi who were known war managers fought mainly over succession (civil war) or for frontiers expansion, food (after epidemic) and slaves from neighbours. However, according to Diallo, these were mostly isolated raids skirmishes than lethal battles or military expeditions (Nwolise, 2004, 2006).

In Niger areas, conflicts were in the forms of raids by Tuaregs to obtain food from the Sonhrals, while pasture and points of watering caused conflicts between nomads and settlers of Peulhs and Djermans (Modingos now in Guinea). The citizens also fought to protect the state when attacked, and for honour (prestige).

Among the Ashanti of Kumasi in present day Ghana, war was fought for territorial conquest basically, which gave the Ashanti a vast empire for bigger than present day Ghana. In the communities that now constitute Igboland in Nigeria, Nwolise reveals that conflicts or wars were caused mainly by territorial discords, the demand for restitution for an injury suffered by a citizen in another community and sex. Nwolise argues that there were generally no pitched battles and expeditions over religious or ethnic differences. There were also no conflicts or wars to dethrone rulers of other states in order to impose one's ideology over another sovereign community.

In Europe, while the triggers of conflicts seem to have changed, there is no marked difference in the propelling rationale for war before 1914 and since then (Howard, 2001). Prior to 1914, war was acceptable as a norm almost universally and sometimes inevitable because it was viewed as a means of settling international disputes. Howard (2001) argues that if it had been otherwise, statesmen and soldiers would have handled the 1914 crisis differently. Howard (2001) observes that statesmen like soldiers and politicians go to war based on the calculation to achieve specific ends because their perception and decisions can not be entirely separated from the quest to control their environment, on which the continued independence of their states and cultural values depend.

Howard (2001) concludes that men whether they are soldiers, politicians or statesmen fought wars in the last two hundred years not because they are pathologically aggressive or acquisitive animals but more believe they can predict and discern threats before they become real against

them. The causes of war especially at the global scene since the pre – industrial age has not markedly changed, it is only the means employed by nations to sustain or to expand their power and influence that have changed.

In recent time, competitions for scarce or perceived to be scarce resources have heightened incidences of conflicts within states, communities and between countries. It is not uncommon to see groups within a locale fiercely contesting for resources.

Natural resources such as land and water have been the causes of many destructive conflicts in Africa mainly because of their economic potentials and insufficiency. Such community conflicts occur when these resources are not evenly shared or when one community transgresses its own borders to appropriate what belongs to another community to itself. In both cases, the deprived or cheated parties and the party whose resources are aggressed upon would definitely fight back. These conflicts could be to assent one's rights or to demand for an equitable distribution of the resources. Suffice to add that resources in these contexts go beyond financial or physical wealth to include other forms of power and at times political representation. When the above occurs parties are said to be locked in resource-based conflict.

Divergent value systems in terms of ideology, religion and general worldview also cause conflicts, conflicts of this nature are known as value based conflicts. An example of this was the violent conflict that trailed the pronouncement of the adoption of the Islamic Penal Code in some northern states of Nigeria. In a situation where other stakeholders in a locale are not ready to tolerate such values, the responses are flight, surrender or fight.

Another factor is the psychological needs of groups and individuals. The issues in contention here are some intangible but weighty objectives in the evaluation of the parties concerned. In this context, xeno-phobia and irredentism are some of the motivating factors. Albert (2001:5) opines that desire for personal and group self-actualisation; quest for individual and group respect; and efforts to project one's group to be better than the others. Some individuals are pathologically troublemakers or sadists. The presence of such people anywhere instigates conflict, thus there is bound to be chaos wherever such people are. The psychological inclinations of such people must be taken into account when discussing causes of conflicts.

Also, the management or mismanagement of information is a strong cause of conflicts. Information management or dissemination has a very high potency for peace or conflict in any setting. In a setting where

information is used to stir negate memories, there is bound to be destructive conflict. Likewise proper and ingenuous management of information can also ensure peace and stability in a setting. This can help in uniting people.

Conflicts do not occur for no reasons and no causes. Although some causes may not be immediately known, careful and skilful analyses of causes of conflict can greatly help in transforming conflict. A poor understanding of causes of conflict will, however, put paid to successful transformation of conflicts. Some basic causes of conflicts have been discussed. This is with a view of enhancing understanding of conflict causes and issues embedded in them. This will really sharpen one's conflict transformation ability.

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit treated conflict as a social phenomenon that is inevitable in the process of social engineering. It also showed that the causes of conflict and conflict itself can be basis of development in human societies if they are properly understood.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit analysed the basic causes of conflicts which are: resources, ideology, values, and the management of information. This was done in a measured manner to ensure brevity and conciseness. The unit also presented an historical review of conflicts in pre-colonial and post-colonial Africa. It is opined that an accurate knowledge of a particular type of conflict will aid the diagnosis of the conflict and the subsequent therapy for such conflict be well thought-out.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Compare and contrast the causes of conflicts in pre-colonial and post-colonial African communities. What has changed? Or compare and contrast the impact of industrialisation and globalisation has peace, show whether it is a threat or not.
2.   Discuss two causes of conflict and illustrate with empirical instances.

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UNIT 5   POST – CONFLICT COMMUNITIES IN NIGERIA: A CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSE

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The term post – conflict community in this context refers to a community that has been ravaged by a violent conflict. A war is distinguished from conflict based on the number of casualties recorded. The death toll in a war is expected to be more than 999, while an incidence can still be regarded as a conflict if the death toll is under 1000, (Crocker et al 2001). Therefore, having experienced two major wars, it can be safely opined that there are many post – conflict or post – war states in the world. However, while war has aided state – making in many European and Asian countries, the reverse has been the case in Africa where it has been a congenital phenomenon causing state – failure and state – collapse in many instances.

Sorensen (2005) pointedly identifies war as one of contributory factors to the making of modern Germany and Japan. This can also be traced to their national character and leadership, (Morgenthau, 1973). In Africa, wars and conflicts have remained sore point and a seemingly insurmountable obstacle to the developmental process of many states in Africa. This is more worrisome as the issue of peace is not part of the Millennium Development Goals despite its' dire need by many African countries, (Animasawun, 2007). In contemporary times, the existence of many post – conflict communities and countries in Africa make the continent deserving of more aids than any other continent. This is has become a bad phenomenon in Africa and in Nigeria.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, student should be able to:

- Understand what constitutes a post – conflict and post – war community.
- The causes of post – conflict community.
- Have a conceptual grasp of the defining features of a post – conflict or post – war community.
- Know the types of post-conflict communities.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Post-Conflict Communities: A Conceptual Discourse

The notion of a post – conflict and post – war community deserves proper conceptual clarity to aid lucid understanding of the concept. It is pertinent for anyone undertaking conflict transformation to have a firm grasp of the features of a post – conflict and post – war community. Also, it is important to have a good knowledge and understanding of the precipitants of a post – conflict community. The concept of community in its' normative form must also be well understood to help in distinguishing a pre – conflict community from a post – conflict community. Tied to the concept of community are the issues of culture and identity. However, the concept of community in this unit will be discussed as it relates to issues of conflict, peace and peaceful co – existence. Simply put a community can be described as just group of residing in territorially defined region. However, this is very inaccurate based on lots of researches by sociologists and anthropologists.

Cultural issues should be of serious concern to anyone involved in conflict transformation especially in a post – conflict community whether mono – cultural or multi – cultural. The personnel engaged in conflict transformation must be understand the intricacies of cultural undertones in conflict and must be able to negotiate across cultures without abusing the sensibilities of anyone. Irrespective of the interveners' status whether as diplomat or peace practitioner, there must be adeptness in managing cultural differences in the conflict transformation process. One main function of culture is that it helps in identifying groups with implications for the generation of "otherness" or "them". In instances of community conflicts or large – scale wars, culture can play a very consequential role. This is because it helps in identifying friends and enemies alike. This can be done through people's manners of speech and dressing amongst others. There are a good number of definitions of conflict.

In recent times culture has been seen to be more about software than hard ware with language being its' soft ware. Cohen (2001) explains this conception of culture; "culture encompasses meanings, conventions, and presuppositions, that is, the grammar that governs the creation and use

of symbols and signs. It can be summed up as the shared "common sense" or "local knowledge" underpinning a group's conception of reality, (Geertz, 1983) quoted in (Cohen, 2001). Therefore it can be posited that culture determines the world – view of a people and influences the way they interact with others. Cohen (2001) opines that without it, communication, coordinated activities and social engineering can be foreclosed.

It is clear from the foregoing that the role culture in constructing a peoples value and modes of interaction can not be overemphasized. This is why a more explicit presentation of some defining features of culture would be expedient to aid the process of conflict transformation. Albert (2001: 11 – 12), presents the various meanings of culture as thought of by (Schein 1995: 276 – 277)

- Observed behavioural regularities when people interact: this is seen in the language they use, the customs and traditions that evolve, and the rituals they perform in a wide range of situations;

- Group norms: the implicit or underlying values that are derived by working groups, such as the particular norm of "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay" that evolved among workers;

- Espoused values: the articulated, publicly announced principles and values that the group claims to be trying to achieve;

- Formal philosophy: the broad polices and ideological principles that guide a group's actions towards others;

- Habits of thinking , mental models and/or linguistic paradigms : the shared cognitive frames that guide the perceptions, thoughts, and language used members of a group and are taught to new members in the early socialization process ;

- Shared meanings: the emergent understandings that are created by group members as they interact with each other;

- "Root metaphors" or integrating symbols: the ideas, feelings, and images groups develop to characterize themselves, that may or may not be appreciated consciously but that become embodied in buildings; office layout and other material artefacts of the group. This stage of culture reveals the value and meaning they give to aesthetics, architecture and arts besides their cognitive or evaluative responses.

Albert (2001) explains culture as the aggregate or reflection of what people share in common. A practice, habit or comportment is cultural if it is peculiar and consistent with a people and not being easily transitory. Culture is also described as the summation of all learned behaviours of a group of people which are generally regarded as their tradition and are transmitted from generation to generation, (Albert, 2001). Lotman (1973 – 272) describes culture as the "aggregate of all non – genetically inherited information, the modes of organizing and preserving information". Culture can therefore be described as the embodiment of people's tangible and intangible values.

One indisputably and germane aspect of culture is language which not limited to verbal codings alone. Sometimes in communal or even international conflicts, its' misinterpretation serves as the genesis of conflicts leading to the emergence of post – conflict communities. Iwara (2006) defines language from a linguistic point of view as a unified system of symbols conventionally agreed among by a particular group of people to permit a sharing of meaning. These imply that the sum of language is in the values attached to them. Iwara (2006) instructs that words may be verbally expressed or the scribbled representations of sounds conventionally agreed among a definite community. This is what shows language as the making of a people because by mutual consent any group of people can create their own language. Linguistic meaning of language is exclusive to human community. This is because there are other forms of language that convey information. These are ; "animal noises, sign language, Braille, navy signals, road signs such as the colours of traffic lights, body language featuring gestures and gesticulations, making faces, body movements and postures, spatial distance between interlocutors where nearness may be an indication of emotional closeness, and even the language of silence which, upon occasion, may communicate more effectively than words".

For the purpose understanding transformation of conflicts in multi – ethnic states it is important to discuss the relatedness of language or linguistic to identity and ethnicity. Language is the means of expressing culture as the repository of a peoples' collective meaning of value. Iwara informs that language has two main functional features. These are instrumental and symbolic properties. Instrumentally, language is used for giving or expressing emotions and desires in inter – personal and social relations. Symbolically, language serves as a means of identity, illustratively, the Yoruba – native speaker views himself or herself as a member of of the Yoruba ethnic – nationality or cultural entity. Iwara, (2006) draws attention to the symbolic use of language in some countries of Africa like Somalia and Zimbabwe where politicians have tried to explore the symbolic value of language. While the recent history

of Somalia points to its' failure it has brought the designation of two languages as the official languages in Zimbabwe.

The mismanagement of the symbolic value of language can result in destructive conflicts. These have provoked violent conflict in Nigeria. There have been several violent conflict in places like Kaduna, Kano, Bauchi, Jos, Ibadan and Enugu, (Iwara,2006).

The socio – linguistic use of language also has implications for instigating, (mis)managing and resolution of conflicts. Scott (1990) discusses the use of derogatory languages as a reflection of social status in the 18th and 19th centuries Europe and Asia. This resulted in worse form of oppression for the Blacks and other subordinate groups in these countries. For example ; in Malaysia, some different verbs depicted actions of different classes of people ; while the commoners or slaves ate, the Sultan dined, commoners or slaves bathed, but the Sultan sprinkles himself, commoners or slaves walked but the Sultan progresses ; commoners slept while the Sultan reclines. Also in France the use of *vous* a second person plural verb emanated as a form courtesy from slaves to their masters while the master use *tu* to respond to their slaves. The use of *Mister* also stemmed from the use of *boy* by rulers to their slaves while the slaves replied by using the word *Mister* to address their superiors, (Scott, 1990).

During negotiations and peacemaking processes this comes to the fore because of it's implication on meaning. Cohen (2001), informs that all societies have verifiable vocabularies especially for peace and conflict with effective, and metaphorical connotations. Cohen (2001) explains further that a lexical analysis of terms and languages across cultures reveal latent sources of both fusion and friction.

3.2 Historicity and Epistemology of Post – Conflict Communities

Put simply, the term post – conflict communities refer to states or communities in the aftermath of conflicts or wars. Therefore, cognisant of the trajectories of global history, almost all states or communities would be qualified to be referred to as post – conflict communities. Also empirical evidences imply that most post – colonial states are post – conflict states, this is even made worse by the intensity and widespread nature of violent domestic conflicts in the continent since the end of the cold – war. However, the causal relationship between war or conflict, and state – making or state – building has been shown based on empirical evidences and best – practices in some countries especially in Europe and Asia, (Sorensen, 2005).

Based on the destructive nature of colonization and long histories of inter – clan wars, many African states even at independence emerged as post – conflict communities. Nevertheless, the challenges of identifying and rebuilding post – conflict communities or war – torn countries remain a contemporary challenge to peace scholars and practitioners. This is because of the empirical similarities between many states of Africa predated and laid economically and politically prostrate by long years of military rule, though without any full blown war such as Nigeria and countries in similar but worse situations because of destructive conflicts such as Liberia and Sierra Leone, (Animasawun, 2007). The similarity of the two lies in the need for reconstruction of dilapidated infrastructure and reconciliation in some places. Albert, (2004) Kukah (2007), talk about the place of truth and reconciliation in post – military Nigeria, a situation that is also obtainable in societies that have witnessed full blown wars.

Sadly in the last half of the twentieth century, an average of one million people have died annually as result of armed conflicts, (Ball, 2001). Patomaki, (2001) informs that very few wars have occurred at the inter – state level compared to the cold – war years. Out of the 110-armed conflicts recorded for the period of 1989 – 1999 only seven were between states (of which two were active in 1999). Although it has been noted that some domestic conflicts involved more than one country. Rummel quoted in (Patomaki, 2001) informs that; "during the 20th century, states murdered more than 170 million people, which is more than four times the number of deaths in all wars between and within states". Ayoob (2001) also recalls that only two that is, Indian – Pakistani war and Ethiopia – Eriteria wars can be described as inter – state wars although they could not be completely separated from the domestic socio – political realities of the countries involved.

This is indicative of a high propensity of post – communities in different parts of the world. This unfortunate and condemnable phenomenon retard development in all the affected communities. The costs are higher in missed opportunities for development and destruction of human capital. Ball (2001) puts it more succinctly thus "although socio-economic development may not come to a halt during violent conflicts, what is possible to accomplish under conditions of war tends to be birth very limited and under constant threat of reversal. What is more, the growing trend of the warring parties to plunder natural resources strategic to the survival of countries to sustain wars against such countries and sometimes neighbouring countries subtract from the countries long – term investment potentials."

The physical despoliation characteristic of post – conflict communities can be opined to be more severe in Africa than other places because of

its' negative tolls on the intangible and tangible aspects of the people' culture. Adesanya (2006) condemns and bemoans this unfortunate historical fact that hunts the continent till today. In places like Benin, Ashanti, Oron, Oyo and Ibadan, conflicts not only created post – conflict communities but also brought colossal destruction to the peoples' culture. This implies that the missed opportunities of post – conflict communities may be unquantifiable going by the loss of valuable African arts and traditions. This is to show that post – conflict communities had existed in Africa with untold damages to communities and culture.

While many countries have smarted from being post – conflict communities to become major players in global affairs, the story has been dismally different in many African countries. This is why the task of state – making must be conceptually linked to the concept of post – conflict communities in such communities. This must also be seen in the context of violent conflicts being obstacles to state – making with implications of state – failure or state – collapse. Ayoob (2001) illustrates state – making as significantly part of deliberate efforts of state to expand territorially amongst other objectives. According to the seminal article of Cohen and others quoted extensively in (Ayoob, 2001) state – making must include the following:

- The expansion of and consolidation of the territorial and demographic domain under a political authority, including the imposition of order on contested territorial and demographic space (war);
- The maintenance of order in the territory where and over the population whom, such order has been already imposed (policing) ; and
- The extraction of resources from the territory and population under the control of the state, resources essential not only to support the war – making and policing activities undertaken by the state but also to maintain the apparatuses of state necessary to carry on routine administration, deepen the state's penetration of the society and serve symbolic purposes (taxation).

An analysis of all the duties prescribed above show that the state must be well and alive to its' responsibilities of providing the needs of the citizens. However, the drawback to this idea is its negative implications for territorial or regional peace and stability because states are susceptible to inadvertently waging wars or threatening their regional security in the bid to ensure this. It can also be argued that war – making in the guise of colonization served as a state – making initiative for Europe, with a negative on the African countries.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The reality of post-conflict communities is not a new feature in the world and especially in Africa based on the histories of inter-group relations in the continent, the colonization processes and the phenomenal spate of domestic conflicts since the end of the cold-war. Also, amongst other issues, culture and language have appeared to be very salient to peace and conflict in most communities. The causal roles of theses two in the immediate and remote causes of conflicts must be adequately appreciated for sustainable peace to be achieved by agents of conflict transformation.

5.0   SUMMARY

The unit discussed the concept of a community with emphasis on the essential characteristics that define a community. The unit discussed in details, the roles of culture and language in throwing up a post-conflict community. Also, the unit presented the intrinsic link between the concepts of war-making and state-making in the emergence of a post-conflict community with a specific focus on Africa.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. Discuss the concept of a community and differentiate between a post-conflict community and a post-disaster community
2.   Mention and discuss two defining features of a community.

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UNIT 6   TYPES OF POST – CONFLICT COMMUNITIES IN NIGERIA

CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION

There exists, several post- conflict communities all over the world whose sustainability and peaceful co-existence are usually determined the nature of the conflict and the ways and manners by which the conflict is handled or resolved either by the conflicting parties themselves or by a neutral third party.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this unit, students should be able to:

- Identify different types of post-conflict communities.
- Understand problems confronting post-conflict communities.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Types of Post-Conflict Communities

The emergence of a post – conflict community is not a giving of life though natural occurrences such as disasters can throw up a community as one.

The first type of post – conflict communities are those rendered desolate by militaristic conflict handling style of the state such as Choba, Ogoniland, Odi, Ilaje, and Zaki-Biam. Anybody or agency undertaking conflict transformation in such communities must have a firm grasp of the issues that led to the conflict and must be able to correctly gauge the people' perception of the state. This will guide the conflict transformation team in knowing how to design their programmes of intervention in order not to give vent to old bitterness.

Similar to the above are communities ruined a result of either inter or intra communal conflicts. In situations where such communities are not far from one another, the conflict transformation team must be able to dexterously manage the process in order not to send the wrong or intended message. An hypothetical case suffices.

In a conflict transformation process in the aftermath of a violent conflict between two close communities, the conflict transformation team reconstructs the well belonging to a group that hitherto claimed to have been right for unjustly appropriating the land of the other community. This was done because the team realised the fundamentality of water to human existence and also assumed that shortage of water was the cause of the conflict. This was done as part of the programme of conflict transformation that they hoped to extend to the other community. However, the community yet to be attended to, still suffering from the effects of the conflict felt the conflict transformation team had taken sides and they resolved to ignore any peace initiative from them. This to took a negative toll on the conflict transformation process and the integrity of the conflict transformation team. In post – conflict communities of this type, the conflict transformation team must try to understand the intricacies of inter – group relations before intervening.

This is because; it was found out later that the community became ruined as a result of the deployment of troops to spearhead a vengeance mission for one of the communities in the neighbourhood. Therefore, in undertaking conflict transformation in post – conflict communities, the intricacies and trajectories of inter – group relations amongst the parties involved must be given due attention.

 At the international level post – conflict countries or war – torn nations arose since the colonial period till the end of the cold – war often as a result of declared wars between or among nations. In contemporary times, post – conflict countries now emerge as a result of the war on terrorism that raises a vexatious question on the concept of sovereignty. Iraq and Afghanistan provide vivid example of this. A common need by most post – conflict countries and communities are third – party interventions and sometimes state intervention in cases of domestic conflicts. It at this juncture that expertise and repository knowledge of the issues that created the particular post – conflict community must be brought to bear by the transforming team.

The second type are those laid prostrate and desolate by a combination of state military intervention and self sustaining structures of violence present in such communities like Ataba and Tombia communities in Rivers state, (Ebiri, 2004, 2006), Afiesere in Delta state,(Amaize,2006), Idi-Araba in Lagos state (Adebanjo,2007) and Kurna in Kano state.

Albert (2003) presents a terse desription of the effect of the military intervention in Odi community of Bayelsa state. Sadly, eight years after the community is worse off as no form of conflict transformation has taken place either to heal emotional wounds or to reconstruct infrastructure, (Ombe, 2007). Likewise, the Zaki – Biam community is a similar post – conflict community as it was also laid prostate as a result of the militaristic conflict handling style of the Nigerian state. Emmanuel (2007) also reports that the community that was brought to its kneels consequent upon the militaristic conflict handling style of the state, is yet to receive any form of post – conflict support from any quarters.

A third type of post – conflict communities may be described as communities in perpetual conflicts. These are communities that very prone to violence because of some reasons. Some of these reasons may be cultural, economic, political, religious or a conflation of all the enumerated. An example of this is the Takum community in Taraba state. Stephen (2007) reports that peace has taken a flight from the community for the past thirty years. This is because of an intractable conflict between the Kutebs and the Tivs. Although, in this the state government has intervened, the protracted nature of the conflict implies that there may be self – sustaining structures of violence in the communities.

In Nigeria, a negative decimal in the fourth republic is the phenomenon of violent conflicts that has produced many post – conflict communities in virtually all the geo – political zones of the country, (Animasawun, 2007). This is not limited in occurrence to any particular geo-political zone at urban and sub-urban settings. Infact, the six geo – political zones of Nigeria provide a tapestry of types of conflict. In the north there are intermittent conflicts in the contexts of religion and hosts – settlers; the middle – belt region battles protracted and conflated issues of citizenship or indigeneity with land matters that conflate with contest for political power. The Niger – Delta offers the most challenging case. This is due to the mutation of an initial plea for state and corporate attention to intractable and organized system of hostage taking, destruction of property and destruction of lives. Issues of borders disputes still resonate in the south – east region while urban violence is still a feature in some south – western states. The Nigerian state as the custodian of peace and security usually intervenes during and after conflict but this has not produced sustainable peace going by the incessancy and bestiality of these conflicts with the underlying causes either mutating or remaining unchanged, (Animasawun, 2007).

However, it is pertinent at this juncture to distinguish a post – disaster community from a post – conflict state or community. This is because of

their shared needs in some cases. A post – conflict state or community is usually in need of reconciliation and rehabilitation because of injuries done to relationships and infrastructure. However, in most post – disaster states or communities, there is more need for relief and reconstruction but their shared needs notwithstanding, the two communities can not be taken as one. Despite their particularities, the issues of human security are common to the two communities. This is because the destructive effects of some violent conflicts could sometimes be worse than the effects any natural disaster.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The fact of post – conflict communities is not a new reality especially in Africa based on the history of clans in the continent, the colonization processes and the phenomenon of domestic conflicts since the end of the cold – war. Also, amongst other issues, culture and language are very central to the making and destruction of any community. These two play a very crucial role in having peace or violence in any community. The roles they play must be well appreciated in undertaking any conflict transformation process.

5.0   SUMMARY

The unit discussed the types of post-conflict communities in Nigeria with emphasis on their causal factors and effects on the victims. The unit discussed how the militaristic conflict handling of the Nigerian state even in a democracy (1999-2007), exacerbates rather than abate conflicts in the country. Examples were also given to show the reality of such instances in different parts of the country.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

Why do we still have many post-conflict communities in many African countries, discuss with instances in relation to Nigeria?

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MODULE 2   CONFLICT HANDLING APPROACHES

Unit 1   Types of Conflict Handling Styles
Unit 2   Guide to Intervening in Conflicts
Unit 3   Tools of Pre-intervention Analysis
Unit 4   Peace - Keeping as a Conflict Handling Style

UNIT 1   TYPES OF CONFLICT HANDLING STYLES

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
          3.1   Conflict Handling Styles
4.0 Conclusion
5.0 Summary
6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 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.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

•   Understand the application of the discussed styles of handling conflicts and their inherent limitations.
•   Identify the most effective one applicable to any conflict situation to achieve the noblest objective.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   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 overemphasised.

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).

3.1.1 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-commital, joking instead of dealing with the conflict and paying undue attention to irrelevant and inconsequential issues. This kind of response to conflict situation worsens issues and propels the party 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.

3.1.2 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.

3.1.3 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, demonisation 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.

3.1.4 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.

3.1.5 Joint Problem Solving

This implies the parties in conflict netting in 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 patronising 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.

3.1.6 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 focussing 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 inter-societal/group interaction and understanding.

3.1.7 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 can not 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.

3.1.8 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 enables 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 it 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 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 can not guarantee (Burgess, 1997).

3.1.9 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. 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 effectively used in the sphere of issue transformation in the whole gamut of conflict transformation.

4.0   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 can not 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, the need to be well aware of the various means of handling it with emphasis on how to make serve a positive end.

5.0   SUMMARY

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

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1.   Critically examine the conflict handling styles you came across in this unit and suggest the most appropriate to arrive at a win – win outcome.
2.   Discuss the desirability of *dialogue* in preference to *debate* as a conflict handling style.

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UNIT 2   GUIDES TO INTERVENING IN CONFLICTS

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Prior to conflict transformation, 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.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

On completion of this unit, you should be able to:

- Identify the necessary steps to be taken before intervening in a conflict irrespective of the phase of the conflict.
- To identify factors and trends that underpins conflicts.
- To understand the background and history of the situation as well as current events.
- To understand the positions, interests, needs and perspectives of parties in conflict.
- Appreciate the imperative adequate preparation prior to intervening in conflicts.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   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 (See Module 1, Unit III). The intervenor 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 (See Module 1, Unit II).
- 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 be doing so sincerely to 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 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" maybe insisting the "settlers" must leave 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 conflict are defined based on the incompatible interests of the parties 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. It is the responses to this that will unveil the needs of the "host" community. Burton opines that needs are rarely defined materially and that is why unlike interests it can not be negotiated because they are tied to issues of security and identity. Identity and security are so germane to human existence that people do violate norms to uphold them. Also needs are usually not mutually exclusive, for instance 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 to feel safe without thinking of attacking others. Likewise if one's identity is secure, 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, stabilising 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 conceptualised 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 the ability to change what others do by coercion or inducement. Soft power or co-optive power thrives on the ability to shape what others want by making one's culture and values, including needs and interest attractive. It also tries to manipulate the agenda of political choices in a manner that prevents others from expressing their own preferences because those preferences would have been made to seem unrealistic. Most of the reasons of 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 ensures.

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-town 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 to 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 must have an analytical mind. There must be cross fertilisation of information.

4.0   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 need to carefully and painstakingly follow the steps highlighted for the successful transformation of conflicts.

5.0   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.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1.   Discuss the steps to be taken for successful transformation of conflict before intervening.
2.   Differentiate between *positions* and *needs* of parties in conflict with illustrations.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 3   TOOLS OF PRE – INTERVENTION ANALYSIS

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
        3.1   Tools of Conflict Analysis
4.0 Conclusion
5.0 Summary
6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The field of peace scholarship encompasses theory and practice thus making the acquisition and mastery of certain skills and tools compelling. The analysis of conflict is not a wishy-washy process end must be done with utmost care if conflict transformation is to be achieved. This unit presents tools of conflict analysis that have proven and tested. However, it is advisable that the application of tools of analysis must be done with detailed attention the specifics of each case – study.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

- Understand the use of tools of conflict analysis
- Analyse conflicts in ways that will proffer informed and effective steps for constructive management, resolution, or transformation.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Tools of Conflict Analysis

Conflict analysis is a practical system of examining and understanding the reality of the conflict from a variety of perspectives. The outcome determines the basis on which strategies can be worked out and actions planned. Suffice to hint that this tools and techniques of conflict analysis are not rigid. Some of these tools will be presented, these are:

- The Pyramid Tree
- The Conflict Tree
- Conflict mapping

- The Onion
- The ABC Triangle

Source: F*isher et. al. (2000:18)*

3.1.1 The Pyramid Three-Level Triangle
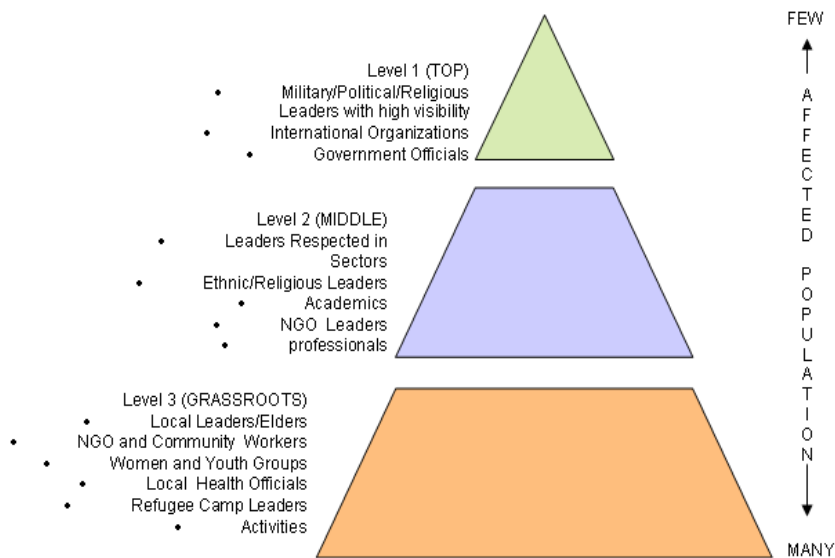
Source: *Fisher et al (2000)*

The Pyramid

This is a graphic chart showing the different levels of stakeholders in a conflict. The advantage is that it helps to identify key actors especially leaders at each level. This helps to properly know the level at which you are working and may help you know whether to include other levels including the desirability of new approaches. It further helps to consider means of building links among levels. This tool can be used to analyse a situation that involves actors at a different levels. It can also be used to assess a multi – level conflict in order to know where to concentrate one's energy.

3.1.2 The Conflict Tree
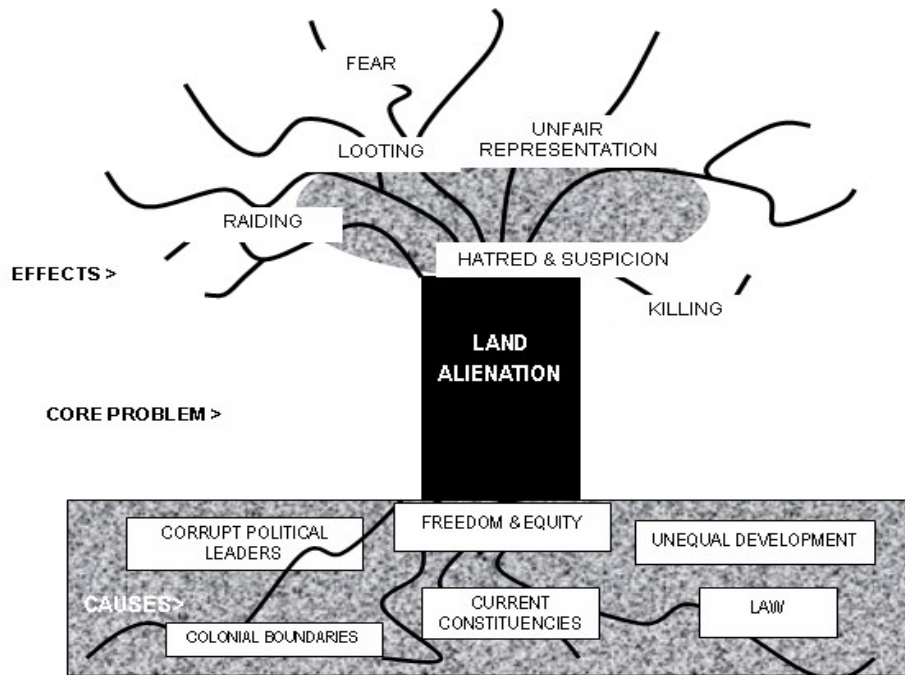
Source: *Fisher et al (2000)*

The Conflict Tree

This is a graphic tool for sorting out issues central to the conflict. The purpose is to stimulate discussions about the causes and effects on a conflict. It helps groups to agree on the core problems and how to make decisions about priorities for dealing with conflict issues. It helps to link causes to with effects and to the focus of the organizations and parties involved in conflicts. This can be used by groups with the inability to agree on the core issues in a conflict. This helps the group to order their priorities in conflict; it is especially useful in exploring values.

3.1.3 The Onion
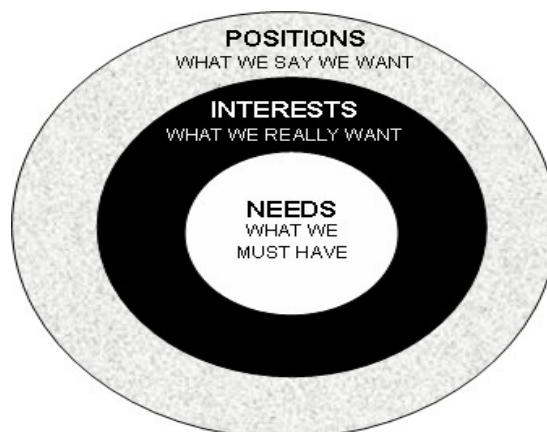
Source: *Fisher et. al. (2000)*

The Onion

This is very useful in determining what different parties in a conflict are demanding and to properly clarify their needs, interest and position in the negotiation process. Parties can through this strategise on what they hope to get from the negotiation table before going to the table. It helps in transcending the public positions of the parties to accurately know what they want i.e., their interests and needs. To locate the point of convergence in all the process that can form the basis of future discussions. It can be used when there is need to understand the dynamics of a conflict situation, when preparing for negotiation, when trying to facilitate a dialogue between parties in conflict and as part of a negotiating and mediating process. However, it is known as the doughnut rather than the onion in some circles.

.1.4   The Triangle

BEHAVIOUR

Source: *Fisher et al (2000)*
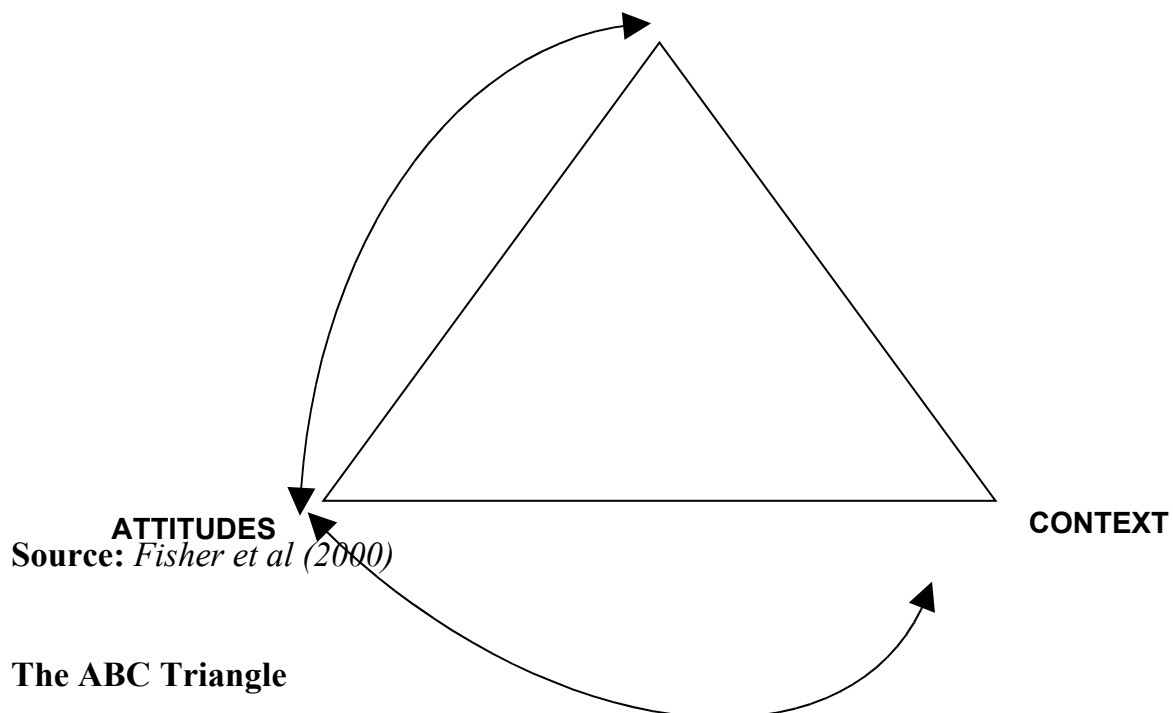
ATTITUDES   **CONTEXT**

The ABC Triangle

This tool analysis the factors related to attitude, behaviour and context of each of the parties in the conflict. The central objective for using this tool is the need to know how these factors interact to affect the parties individually and collectively. This is followed by linking these with needs and fears of the parties. Having done the aforementioned, a convenient point of intervention can then be decided. It is advisable to

use this tool at the early stage of the conflict in order to have insight into the precipitants and pathogens of the conflict. This can be followed by identifying the issues that can be addressed by the intervention and how to discover how change in the issue(s) addressed can positively affect the whole process.

3.1.5 Conflict Mapping
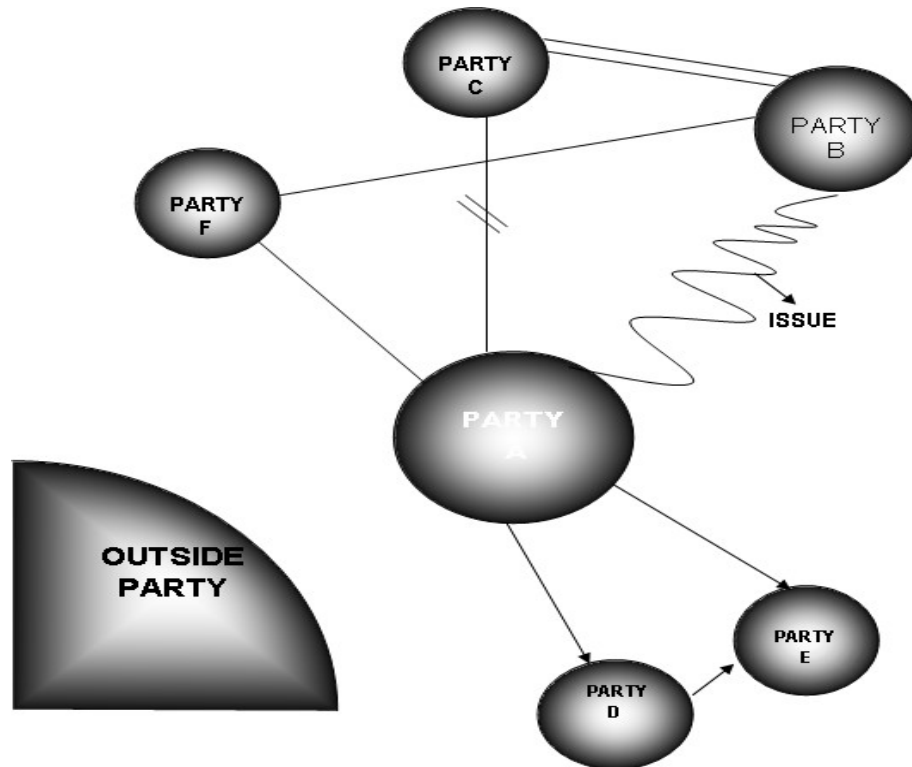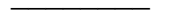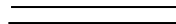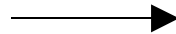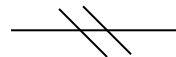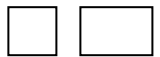
Source: *Fisher et al (2000)*

The conflict mapping is a visual device or technique for showing the relationships amongst parties in conflict. The purposes are to have a lucid understanding of the conflict, to see more clearly the relationship between the parties. For the purpose of clarifying the power relations whether it is symmetric or asymmetric and find out the locus of power. This is in order to check the correctness of one's own activities or contacts. This will help see where the allies or potential allies are. It will also help to identify the peace constituency, gate-keeping and shadow parties. This is also useful to explore and identify windows for intervention or action. To broadly evaluate what has been done. It is best to use conflict mapping early in a process alongside other tools of conflict analysis. It can be used subsequently to identify possible points of entry for action or help the process of strategy development. The conflict mapping is also used to keep track of events.

Keys: In conflict mapping, particular conventions are used although new ones may be invented.

Circles indicate the parties involved in the situation; the different sizes reflect the power of the parties in regard to the issues

Straight lines indicate links i.e. fairly close relations

Double connecting lines indicate an alliance

Dotted lines indicate informal or intermittent links

Arrows indicate the predominant direction of influence or activity

Zig-zag lines (like lightning) indicate discord, conflict

Double lines like a well across single lines indicate a broken connection.

Squares/Rectangles indicate issues, topics or things other than people.

Shadows show external parties, which have influence but are not directly involved.

Source: Fisher et al (2000).

4.0   CONCLUSION

The accurate analysis of conflict to a large extent determines the success of intervention and durability of peace attained. Although there more tools of conflict analysis three have been presented being an introductory course. Also, pre-intervention steps to be taken were presented because of its importance.

5.0   SUMMARY

This unit presented the steps to be taken before intervening in a conflict. Three of the tools of conflict analysis were also presented.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1.   What is conflict analysis and why is it necessary?
2.   Discuss a conflict and use any appropriate tool to analyse it.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 4   PEACE – KEEPING AS A CONFLICT HANDLING STYLE

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
        3.1   The Concept of Peace-keeping
4.0 Conclusion
5.0 Summary
6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Handling of conflicts can not always be through civil means there are times that armed intervention becomes necessary. In such cases, the intervention takes the form of military involvement largely comprising a combination of men and resources by the involved parties. This is why the term peace –keeping has emerged. It is not a new concept in international conflict management but it gained new currency due to the changes in the pattern of conflicts since the end of cold – war that has seen an increase in spate of intra – state conflict particularly in Africa. Since then, peace – keeping has assumed a topical attention in discourses about conflict management and conflict resolution. This unit discusses peace – keeping not to examine the efficacy, but to present as another form of conflict handling style that involves the use of the military.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

· Understand that peace – keeping characterised by the use of the military can be   another form of conflict handling style.
· Identify that peace – keeping can be used as a conflict handling style in intra – state and international conflicts.
· State what peace – keeping entails.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1   The Concept of Peace – Keeping

The concept of peace – keeping is an idea initiated and developed by the UN, which defies a straight – jacket definition, this is because even the

UN itself has no fixed definition of the concept as no definition of it is in the UN Charter. Galadima reveals that the Dag Hammarskjold, the late Secretary – General of the UN described as located in the "Chapter Six and a half" of the Charter situating it between orthodox methods of resolving disputes peacefully, such mediation and fact – finding (Chapter V1) and more forceful actions like embargoes and military intervention (Chapter V11).

In practice, peace – keeping entails the positioning of neutral, lightly armed troops as an interposition force after ceasefire to separate belligerents and ensure an atmosphere conducive for conflict resolution with the consent of the parties held as a fundamental condition. The International Academy of Peace tries to give clarity to the concept by describing it as "prevention, containment, moderation, and termination of hostilities through the medium of peaceful third party intervention, organised and directed internationally, using multi – national forces of soldiers, police and civilians to restore and maintain peace" (Diehl 1994: 5 Quoted in Galadima 2006).

However, since 1948 peace – keeping has been dynamic in description and use based on application and prevailing world orders. In contemporary times, it has been divided into three generational categories. These are first, second and third generation peace – keeping operations. This conception to a large extent determines the application of the concept of peace – keeping. According to Galadima (2006), the first generation or 'classic' peace – keeping operations entailed the post – truce interposition of peace – keeping force after obtaining the consent of the parties concerned. These were characteristic of the Cold War era and were premised on the principles of consent, impartiality and use of limited force and only in self – defence that were the core orthodox principles of the UN.

The second generation operations entailed the implementation of complex, multi – dimensional peace agreements. The UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia, the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) and the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) were all done under this arrangement. These were carried out by peace – keepers as part of negotiated political solutions and the responsibilities included non – military tasks disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of erstwhile combatants, resettlement of refugees, police training and supervision, election monitoring and other activities that touch on transition (Galadima, 2006). This new mode of peace – keeping was given vent partly because of the termination of the Cold War. Suffices to note also that some of the activities of the second generation of peace – keepers shared operational similarities with the concept of peace – building.

The third generation of peace–keeping operations have been primarily peace–enforcement operations done based on the auspices of Chapter V11 of the UN Charter not necessarily with the consent of the parties and often in intra – state conflicts as done in Somalia and Bosnia (Galadima, 2006). By intervening in the internal affairs of a country without consent, the traditional concept of sovereignty was challenged although in the two cases cited, the Security Council invoked Chapter V11 to give legality to the action. The seemingly disastrous outing at Bosnia and Somalia led to a reduction in the contributions of the five permanent members of the UN in men and resources. However, with the coming of the three generations of peace – keeping, there has been paradigm shift in whole gamut of peace support operations.

The end of the Cold War heralded a new dimension of conflicts in Africa with intra – state conflicts now more frequent and deadlier in unprecedented manner. This has led to three categories of peace support operations in Africa (Galadima, 2006). These are the ones spearheaded by the UN; the African Union and the regional bodies like the SADC and the ECOWAS. Therefore it can be posited that based on empirical evidences the application of the concept as a mechanism for intervention in conflicts has changed as it is now being used more for internal conflicts that have become bestial and lethal and more changes may not be foreclosed.

This unit is however more concerned about the effect of the new trends in peace – keeping operations especially the third generation on the conflicts they are meant to address. It is not denigrating to note that the continent of Africa has attracted more peace – keeping operations than any continent because of the prevalence and epidemic nature of conflicts within her borders. Although assessing the efficacy of peace – keeping operations vis– a–vis their mandates generates controversy. However, peace – keeping performs the functions of diffusion, stabilization and settlement of conflict, (Isumonah 2006). These functions are interrelated though they sometimes produce differing effects. Diffusion helps to save face, prevention of conflict from escalation and to discourage potential actors from involvement. Stabilization helps to maintain peace or ceasefire by mitigating anxiety, preventing incidents of skirmishes and to douse tension. Settlement provides the guarantee for the implementation of peace deal (Isumonah 2006).

From the above, it can be inferred that peace – keeping, ordinarily should have a positive effect on conflict and aid the transformation of conflicts. It is however, not always the case as peace – keeping gets hindered by some hurdles which sometimes prove insurmountable. This has led to failure of some peace–keeping operations. Most of these problems are political, organizational, constitutional and economic

(Isumonah, 2006). These problems impinge negatively though remotely on conflict transformation.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Peace–keeping has assumed a form of regional and international response to conflict and a form of conflict handling style. It is indirectly linked to conflict transformation if seen through the prism of the third generation which implies offering assistance to post – conflict states towards democratization. This also falls within the whole gamut of conflict transformation. It is therefore intricately linked to the transformation of conflict.

5.0   SUMMARY

The unit introduced and discussed peace – keeping as a form of conflict handling style without dwelling on efficacy. The application of the concept locally and internationally was presented including its operational link to the concept of peace – building.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. Explain the concept of peace – keeping.
2. How can peace – keeping affect conflict transformation?

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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**MODULE 3   PEACE   BUILDING   AND   CONFLICT
                 TRANSFORMATION**

Unit 1   Peace – Building
Unit 2   Multi – Track – Diplomacy
Unit 3   Violence: A conceptual Discourse
Unit 4   Forms of Violence
Unit 5   Conflict Transformation and Human Security

UNIT 1   PEACE BUILDING

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0   Main Content
3.1   Peace building
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The unit discusses the relevance of peace- -building as a concept to the
smooth conduct of conflict transformation. It presents different opinions
on the concept and traces the origin of the concept while linking to the
effective conduct of conflict transformation.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

•   Understand the concept of peace – building and different genres.
•   Apply it to support the process of conflict transformation.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Peace – Building

The transformation of conflict is an onerous and comprehensive task
sometimes involving the use of authorised force. Since the emergence of
the United States of America as the only reigning world super power
coupled with the termination of the East-west rivalry, the rising

incidence of conflicts in Africa has become worrisome. Since then, there has been a phenomenal rise in formation of rebel groups and militias that often threaten the authority of formally constituted forces of states. This is a consequence of the diverted interest of the international community away from intra-national armed conflicts in Africa. Therefore, for the sake of sub-regional peace and security, the noble and idea of the ECOMOG was given birth to.

Ever since , there has been more curiosity to the knitty gritty of peace keeping, peacemaking and peace building as forms of armed third party intervention in intra-national and armed conflict. This has shown more the interactive relationship between peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace building on one part and transformation of conflict. This is because the operating strategy of any of the three can make or mar conflict.

This unit will, however, concentrate on the relationship between peace building and conflict transformation because of its mutually dependent and mutually interactive nature. This is because conflict transformation and peace building occur after a period of armed conflict, unlike peace making and peacekeeping that occurs before and during armed conflicts respectively.

In practice, peace building predates the emergence of a clarified concept (Animasawun, 2006:32). A practical demonstration of this is a long-term inter-agency approach to the resolution was the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Micosia's Master Plan Project. This is a programme saddled since 1980 with redeveloping the Cypriot capital, divided by conflict into the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot zones. A 1987 (UNDP) leaflet outlines the objective of the plan: 'to (transcend) immediate political difficulties through technical collaboration designed to find solutions to common socio-economic, physical and environmental problems affecting the city'. Also, an analysis of the UN mission in Congo between 1960 and 1964 and the United States (US) 'nation-building' mission in South Vietnam during the 1960s shows the inter-relatedness between peace building, and conflict transformation.

However, in 1992, former Secretary General of the United Nations Boutros-Boutros Ghali (1992) gave clarity and coherence to the concept when he defined it as:

> *Action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict, rebuilding and institutions and infrastructures of nations*

form by civil war and strife (and tackling the)
deepest causes of conflict: economic despair,
social injustice and political oppression.

This definition came against the background of UN involvement in violent intra-state conflicts prevalent in a number of countries after the end of the cold war. Peace building has also been described by Fisher et. al. (2000:14) as: understanding activities that promote long term stability and justice. It also endeavours to create peace enhancing outcomes with due attention to the processes and outcomes.

Galtung (1996) views peace building as one of the measures of intervening in conflict in order to overcome the contradiction at the root of the conflict formation. In principle, this can be done by anybody; government, (inter governmental), civil society (inter/non-governmental), capital (transnational corporations); or by individuals of any kind. This starts by entering into a communication process with the actors involved in the conflict. This can be done at any time provided the positive and negative purposes of conflict intervention can be served. It can take place anywhere not necessarily around a table with everybody together at the same time. The benefits are for all the participants in the conflict and other stakeholders.

There are also schools of thought on peace building. These schools arose against the background of the three basic features of the concept of peace building as presented by David (1999:27). These are:

(1)   The rehabilitation, reconstruction, and reconciliation of societies that have suffered the ravages;
(2)   The creation of security – related, political and/or socio-economic mechanisms needed to build trust between the parties and prevent the resumption of violence;
(3)   An external (foreign) intervention (national multilateral or UN) to create conditions to peace.

The above-enumerated features similarities with development strategies or programmes. This has generated polarisation of views on whether peace building and development should go hand-in-gloves. The two different schools of thought on this are known as the 'exclusivist' and the 'inclusivist' schools of thought.

The 'exclusivist' posits that the two concepts should be separated. This is because peace-building is a response to security problems and should not go beyond two to three years. The 'exclusivist' asserts that development is a long term strategy or programme that is undertaken under generally peaceful conditions.

The 'inclusivist' however opines that it is development that informs and sustains peace building and that peace building would fail in the long run if it were not integrated into a part of grand plan of development. As a result, they assert that it should span periods of seven to eight years.

While a consensus holds between the two schools of thought on the interdependence of the two concepts, it is generally held that peace building is narrower in scope than development. This is because it becomes necessary essentially in one context of security problems or post conflict situations.

The issue of when to start peace building operations also produced two different schools of thought. These are 'gradualists' and the 'synergists'. The 'gradualists' argue that peace building should be the last step after a political settlement might have been reached. The 'gradualists' in a sequential order put peace making, peacekeeping and perhaps peace enforcement before peace building. The 'synergists', however, argue that, in so far as peace building aids peacekeeping, peace making and peace enforcement, it should be part of activities of preventive diplomacy undertaken before the escalation of conflict. In a similar context, there exist the 'pre-conflict' and 'post conflict' schools of thought on peace building.

Seeking the consents of parties as a condition before embarking on peace-building further widened the gap between the 'gradualists' and 'exclusivists'. The 'exclusivists' and the 'gradualists' propose that consent of the parties must be secured for peace building to be successful, effective and to be insulated from security problems. For the 'inclusivists' and 'synergists', consent of the parties in conflict should not be fundamental criterion, because peace-building is expected to have been integrated with peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace enforcement. All the schools, however, that peace building is more appropriate and effective after the cessation of hostilities. There also exists divergence of opinions on who should carry out peace building. The 'exclusivists' and 'gradualists' argue that peace building should be a strictly civilian affair. On the other hand, the 'inclusivists' and the 'synergists' posit that in dangerous situations, the military can also participate in peace building activities (Isumonah, 2006 and Albert, 2001).

From the foregoing, it becomes lucidly convincing that for conflict transformation to be well implemented, peace building cannot be neglected. This is because peace building has to be logically followed by conflict transformation *enroute* positive peace. Therefore, knowledge of

conflict transformation with a considerable measure of peace building will be inaccurate.

4.0 CONCLUSION

For the process of conflict transformation to be yield the desired results it can benefit from other fields and that informed this unit.

5.0 SUMMARY

There exists theoretically and empirically mutually dependent and mutually reinforcing relationship between conflict transformation and peace building. Therefore, an adept mastery of the basics in the two genres will immensely aid the transformation of conflict. The basics of peace building were introduced in order to show the nexus between peace building and conflict transformation.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS.

Explain the concept of post – conflict peace building and compare with conflict transformation.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 2   MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY (MTD)

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
         3.1   Multi – Track - Diplomacy
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The theme of this unit is to present the relevance of a multi – sectoral approach to conflict transformation. The similitude of this in peace studies and scholarship is represented by the concepts of Multi – Track – Diplomacy. This unit discusses the concept in order to broaden the students' scope of ideas in discovering novel means of transforming conflicts.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

• Understand the concept of Multi – Track – Diplomacy; its similarities and dis-similarities from the orthodox conception of diplomacy.
• Know how to make use of different tracks in the concept to achieve smooth transformation of conflicts.

3.0   MAIN CONTENTS

3.1   Multi – Track – Diplomacy

Diplomacy is not a new term in politics and international relations. Satow (1956:1) defines diplomacy as the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states, extending sometimes also to their relations with vassal states; or more briefly still, to the conduct of business between states by peaceful means. The success or otherwise of a country's diplomacy depends largely on the head of the government concerned because the diplomat and the ambassadors only implement orders received from his home country. However, it is the duty of the diplomat

to advice as deemed appropriate, if the head of the government will accept the advice.

Morgenthau (1993:361) describes diplomacy as the instrument of achieving permanent peace and accommodation amongst states. Barash and Webel (2002:270) reveal that in the past, diplomats were selected from the same social and economic class (upper) and in most cases they spoke the same language, literally: French. Although there is a long history of monarchs sending ambassadors to the courts of other rulers, it is generally agreed that the present system of diplomatic protocol was founded by Cardinal Richelieu, the Chief Minister – some would call, chief manipulator – of the early 17th century French King Louis XIII.

Multi-Track Diplomacy (MTD) is a conceptual framework of nine tracks designed to encompass the various activities that contribute to international peacemaking and peace-building (Animasawun, 2006). The reality, frequency and bestiality of intra-state conflicts however make the concept compelling for conflict transformation.

The concept of MTD is an expansion of the "Track One Track Two" paradigm that has defined the field during the 70s and 80s (Diamond & McDonald, 1996). Historically, the idea of two tracks from the realisation by diplomats, social scientists, conflict resolution professionals and other stakeholders that formal, official, government-to-government interactions between instructed representatives of sovereign nations were not producing the most effective methods for securing international cooperation or resolving differences or conflicts. The phrase "Track Two" was coined in 1982 by Joseph Montville to conceptualise methods of diplomacy outside the formal government arrangement.

Track Two diplomacy refers to non-governmental, informal and unofficial contracts and activities between private citizen diplomats or non-state actors. These activities have three objectives:

1.   To reduce or resolve conflict between groups or nations by improving communication, understanding and relationships;

2.   To decrease tension, anger, fear or misunderstanding by humanizing the "face of the enemy" and giving people direct personal experience of one another; and

3.   To affect the thinking and action of Track One by addressing root causes, feelings and needs and by exploring diplomatic options without prejudice, thereby laying the groundwork for more formal negotiations or for refraining policies.

The main thrust of Track Two diplomacy; as it was conceptualised in university, research and practitioner circles in the 1980s, is that the experience and expertise for addressing conflicts successfully and peacemaking are not a sole preserve of government personnel or procedures. Rather, citizens from a variety of backgrounds and with a variety of skills, have something to offer and can make meaningful difference. Examples of these were citizens in places who have taken themselves in groups and as individuals to initiate contract and dialogue between enemies. This have happened in places like the former Soviet Union, Central America, Israel and the Occupied Territories, Ireland, South Africa, and other places to "see for themselves" and to establish bonds of friendship and networks of natural support and ongoing relationships.

The interest, upsurge in non-governmental diplomacy, the theory, and the practice of private peacemaking would not have been without reasons. The first likely reason could be the increased consciousness of our worldwide environmental problems – which the planet is on interdependent and interlinked whole. Events in a particular place now have transborder and transnational effects. The human faces of suffering from war, famine and natural disaster, reinforces this interest.

Second, the overwhelming effects of war and violent conflicts within countries and across borders have heightened the need to explore other means of handling conflicts other than the formal approaches. Experiences in Angola, Somalia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Sudan and the Israeli-Arab situation justify the need for novel approaches. These situations have infused the consciousness of a whole generation with the notion that the means of dealing with wars and conflicts have to be re-evaluated to confront contemporary challenges.

Also the main formal organ for mediating world conflicts has some strong constraints on its effectiveness and impartiality. The Security Council is a political body with a veto option that allows the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, France or China to sidetrack discussion or action on any situation; and the UN Charter forbids the UN from intervening in what is euphemistically called "domestic affairs". Although the happening events in Iraq and Darfur provide an avenue to compare and contrast the reality and selective application of this norm.

In a state of inaction, alternatives arise and people step forward. This stepping forward is encouraged by frustration and disappointment that citizens face when governments and institutions fail to be effective, responsive, innovative and imaginative in handling decisively with

protracted problems locally and internationally. This frustration comes with a sense of empowerment – an idea that "if the leaders aren't doing it, let me try". As proliferation of arms across borders endangers peace and stability all over the world, the already felt and potentially devastating effects of armed conflict informs the need for pragmatic innovation in the art and science of peace. As a result, the efforts of Track One and Track Two Diplomacy alone can no longer cope with contemporary challenges. Therefore, the concept of Multi-Track Diplomacy was designed to enlarge the scope of peacemaking and make the process more participatory.

Multi-Track Diplomacy, then comes into the 21st century as an established and ready to use pill to address global insecurity. This is because as a systematic approach to conflict transformation and peace building, it embraces a large network of organisations, disciplines, methodologies and venues for working towards the prevention and resolution of violent conflict around the world. This can best be appreciated by taking cognisance of looming threats to humanity. Eight of these are enumerated:

(1)   The globalisation of violence
(2)   The breakdown of systemic integrity
(3)   The rise of rogues
(4)   The depletion of natural resources
(5)   The institutionalisation of polarisation
(6)   Challenges to the nation state
(7)   Changing power blocs
(8)   The traumatisation of the human family.

Source: *Diamond (1999: 78 – 82)*

The way issues enumerated above are managed at local and international level will determine the extent to global peace and security. In reality, this will need proactive and concerted efforts to transform these issues into basis of positive and durable peace. Multi-Track Diplomacy can face the challenges of this transformational period in seven specific and broadways by:

(1)   Maintaining flexibility in the face of the unknown
(2)   Recognising healing as the key to transformation
(3)   Building the infrastructure for peace
(4)   Taking the holistic and positive view
(5)   Making peace from the inside-out
(6)   Creating new pathways for shifting consciousness
(7)   Empowering peace-builders for local action.

Source: *Diamond (1999:83 – 85)*
The most source of power for Multi-Track – Diplomacy is the ability to empower people for conflict transformation. This is what makes it germane to this module. The nine tracks are presented below:

(1)   **Government**

This is use of official diplomacy and formal contacts especially in international conflicts

(2)   **Non-governmental/Professional**

This is the realm of professional non-governmental action trying to analyse, present, resolve and manage local and international conflicts.

(3)   **Organised Private Sector (OPS)**

This is the field of business and its actual and potential effects on peace building through the provision of economic opportunities, international friendship and understanding, informal channels of communication, community and social responsibilities and support for other peacemaking activities.

(4)   **Private Citizen**

This involves the various activities by individual citizens in conflict transformation activities. this includes citizen diplomacy, exchange programs, private voluntary organisations, and special interest groups.

(5)   **Research, Training and Education**

This track includes three related spheres: research, as it is connected to university programmes, think tanks, and special – interest research centres; training programmes that seek to provide training in practitioner skills such as negotiation, mediation, conflict resolution and third-party facilitation; and education; including kindergarten through Ph.D. programmes that cover various aspects of global or cross-cultural studies, peace and world order studies and conflict analysis management and resolution.

(6)   **Activism or Advocacy**

This track covers the field of peace and environmental activism on such issues as disarmament, human rights, social and economic justice, and advocacy of special-interest groups regarding specific governmental policies.

(7) **Religion or Faith Action**

This examines the beliefs and peace-oriented actions of spiritual and religious communities and such morality based movements as pacifism, sanctuary and non-violence.

(8) **Funding or Providing Resources**

This refers to the funding community those foundations and individual philanthropists that provide the financial support for many of the activities undertaken by the other tracks.

(9) **Communication and the Media**

This is the realm of one voice of the people: how public opinion gets shaped and expressed by the media-print, film, videos, radio, electronic systems and the arts.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The contributions of Multi-Track-Diplomacy to conflict transformation cannot be ignored. Multi-Track-Diplomacy can be deplored with corresponding intensity at the various phases of the conflict.

5.0   SUMMARY

The genre of conflict transformation in the whole gamut of peace studies and conflict resolution requires complement from other genres to be successful. Multi-Track-Diplomacy is one of such contributions; its meaning, scope and contributions were concisely presented

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

Discuss how the concept of Multi – Track – Diplomacy can be used as a tool for facilitating conflict transformation.

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UNIT 3   VIOLENCE: A CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSE

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
        3.1   Violence
4.0 Conclusion
5.0 Summary
6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0 References/Further Readings.

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Violence as concept can be inaccurately, erroneously and hastily taken as patently negative. For the purpose of deepening our understanding of the concept, it becomes imperative to study some theoretical perspectives on the factors responsible for human inclination to violence. This is because of its' germaness to issues of peace and conflict.

For the purpose of having a deepened understanding of the concept of violence, it will be beneficial to dig into the theoretical explanations of what causes violence. Aggression and violence will be used interchangeably in this unit.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand what constitutes violence.
- Know different perspectives of violence.
- Appreciate the link between a mastery of the concept for the transformation of conflict.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Violence: Conceptual Discourse

The common etiological view is that violence or aggression is a genetically controlled behaviour, rigidly stereotyped, invariant and independent of learning (Barash & Webel, 2003:121). Violence can also be spontaneous due to the need of individuals to discharge this divine tendency by behaving aggressively. Fromm quoted in Olasupo (2003:252) argues that the potential for violence is innate:

Human destructiveness is more frequent or more intense than that found in the animal kingdom and therefore must be explained as a result of specific conditions of human existence rather than as animal heredity or a neuropsychological necessity.

This view implies that it is scientifically incorrect to opine that we have inherited the tendency to be violent or embark on war from our ancestors and that we can not overcome this tendencies.

In a clear departure from instictivism, sociologists and evolutionary psychologists, pay more attention to the adaptive significance of behaviour in or the way in which behaviour patterns are maintained and promoted in a population because they contribute to the reproductive success of individuals (not species) that carry these traits.

Sigmund Freud was the creator of psychoanalysis and in many ways the founder of modern psychiatry. He is very distinguished because of his analysis on the role of the unconscious in human behaviour. Freud attributed much of man's distantly behaviours to the operation of the death instinct (Thanatos) in contrast to the life instinct (Eros). But Freud also argued that whether or not:

Thamatos exists within the human psyche or if we are just aggressive by nature, civilisation demands that people curtail their primitive tendencies toward destructive and aggressive behaviour if they are to live together with a minimum of violent conflict.

Another outstanding reason for the unravelling causes of human inclination for violence, aggression or war the narcissistic injury. Narcissism implies self-infatuation, though in moderation it is seen as normal in personality development. But when an individual with such trait situates himself within a larger group especially with the nation-state or an ethnic group, slights, injustice or injuries to the group are easy to perceive as injuries to one's self. Consequently, the ensuring "narcissistic rage" may lead to an unrelenting inclination to undo the limit; in this pursuit of vengeful "justice", great violence may be self-righteously embarked upon.

Some students of human behaviour have concluded that much of human misery, including even the penchant for war itself, derives in part from the consequences of being ill-treated as children. The neo – Kleinian psychoanalytic theorist and paediatrician D.W. Winnicott claimed that

with "good enough mothering", the "infants" proclivities toward aggression could be modified; conversely, without a nurturing environment, babies and young children which are denied of maternal love and positive reinforcement are at risk for developing pathological character and for indulging in self and other destructive behaviours.

Some egg-heads have also argued that human beings are innately depraved, nasty and evil, hinging their argument on a mixture of biology, moral courage, and rarely, theology. Based on a conservative Christian tradition, that posits that human nature is inherently flawed, Thomas Hobbes assessed the blood-letting of the English civil war and concluded there was a "general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire for power after power that ceaseth only in death". This is very synonymous with the Christian philosophy or tradition man is suffused with original sin, incapable of becoming good. John Calvin, the most influential advocate of this perspective opines that:

Even infants themselves, as they bring their condemnation into the world with them, are rendered subject to punishment of their own sinfulness… For though they have not yet produced the fruits of their iniquity yet they have had the seed in them. Their whole nature is, as it were, a seed of sin and therefore cannot be… abominable to God.

According to the Calvinist theory, due to our allegedly human sinfulness, we were sent out of the Garden of Eden, doomed to death. Therefore, we deserve to be treated wickedly or mercilessly and punished vigorously. In the light of this pessimistic Christian view, a true state of personal peace can be attained only by grace, just as a state of political peace can only exist with the second coming of Christ and until then war or violent conflict is unavoidable.

The above opinion is not shared only by pessimistic Christian, proponents of "Human nature" theory also share these view. The "human nature" theory argues that human beings have natural capacity for violence, deep-seated love for bloodletting, hatred and destruction. In his letter to Albert Einstein, Freud noted that "man has within him a lust for hatred and destruction… It is a comparatively easy task to call this into play and raise it to the level of a collective psychosis".

From this perspective popularly endorsed by theologians such as Luther, St. Augustine, John Calvin and Reinhold Nieburh as well as by religiously motivated political leaders such as Oliver Cromwell or Satirists like Jonathan Swift, war aggression or violence is an evil peculiar to humanity. Nieburh stressed that it was the "sinful character of man" that informed the "balancing of power with power". The philosophers Spinoza and Kant situated the evils human violence in the

fact that our rational faculties are often dominated by our irrational and untamed emotions. All these are however not absolutistic.

Another theoretical attempt at understanding the causation of frustration – aggression hypothesis, which was developed by John Dolland to explain individual aggressiveness. Aggressiveness is generated by frustration, which is defined as "an interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal-response at its proper time in the behaviour sequence". Therefore, if a hungry rat is presented with food, after which a glass wall is interposed between the animal and its' desire, the rat is likely to be aggressive. A similar pattern unfolds with frustrated human beings, people who have been seeking something unsuccessfully – food, political freedoms, and access to a disputed land or territory, union with others who practice similar customs – or who have obtained partial success only to be prevented from achieving their ultimate goals.

Furthermore, environmental factors are also producers of aggression. This can be traced to an individual's learning experiences and society's expectations which exert a powerful influence on the connection between frustration and aggression.

Most psychologists and sociologists maintain that human violence arises in response to experiences, rather than being borne out of our genetic make-up. According to psychologist John Paul Scott; "the chain of causation in every case eventually traces back to the outside. There is no physiological evidence of any spontaneous stimulation for fighting arising within the body. Individuals are particularly likely to fight if they have fought successfully in the past and aggression can also be a product of broken down social structures.

There is also the conditioning theory. This is associated with the work of B.F. Skinner. The theme is that behaviour will be influenced by its consequences for the individual. Certain behaviours tend to be reinforcing, that is, they make it more likely that the individual will repeat the previous behaviour. Some authorities employ the phase "instrumental aggression" to depict aggressive behaviour that is oriented primarily toward attaining some goals, such as winning a war or recovering territory rather than causing injury.

Socialisation to aggressiveness is another adduced reason for human proclivity for violence. Some societies actively encourage aggressiveness from childhood. For example, the Fulani people of northern Nigeria among whom most males seek to embody the ideals of "aggressive dominance". As boys, young Fulani males are taught to beat their cattle to present them from wandering off and to fight back unhesitantly whenever they have been attacked. If they refrain from

retaliating, they are mocked as cowards. They show virtually no emotion when struck with sticks during increasingly serious fights and by the time they are young men, the Fulani are proud of their battle scars. Not surprisingly, they are also prone to personal fighting as well as warfare.

Similarly, learning to fight and to hate involves much more than learning to box, to dwell or to partake in other forms of group violence. Systematic and deliberate education for aggressiveness warfare in ancient Spain or in modern Germany includes, besides physical education in games and contests, universal compulsory military training. The inculcation of certain attitudes, prejudices, beliefs and devotion to leaders and ideals. The whole purpose and direction of such education is toward group aggression.

Robert Menton refers to a sociological concept as; self-fulfilling prophecy. This presupposes that a belief becomes true if enough people believe that it is true. In the context of violence or aggressive behaviour, hostility triggers hostility, which not only reinforces the prior hostility but also intensifies it. Aggressive behaviour is based more on suspicion than any empirical evidence in this context.

The theory of redirected aggression describes the direction of violence against an object or person rather than the real precipitator of such violence. The Bible describes how the ancient Israelites would set aside one animal as a scapegoat which was abused and ostracised from the herd, ostensibly taking with it the sins and anger of those who remained behind, uninjured, and purified. Usually, the victims of redirected aggression are smaller or lower in power relations to the aggressors. Blacks, communists in the United States, Arab immigrants in France, religions and ethnic minorities (especially those with dark skin such as the Roma) in Russia and the countries spawned by the collapse of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, all have been victims of redirected aggression by people who have themselves been deprived or disadvantaged.

The authoritarian personality theory was informed sequel to the destruction brought by the Second World War. This included the holocaust that claimed the lives of six million Europe's Jews, besides millions of pacifists, gays, Roma, war resisters mentally disabled people, political dissidents and civilian non-combatants. Consequently, Theodor Adorno, a German philosopher and American social psychologist, Nevit Sanford, sought to know if there are personal traits and experiences that incline people toward anti-Semitism and related authoritarian and anti-democratic ideologies and practices.

Their efforts produced the F-scale (Fascist), which analyses the measure of an individual's tendency towards authoritarianism. The authoritarian personality correlates positively with a fixed hierarchical family structure with the husband on top followed by the wife, expecting unqualified obedience and respect from their children. Children of such systems are likely to be autocratic, xenophobic and militaristic in their approach to social problems. People produced by such systems often unconsciously have a relatively poor self-image or self-esteem that propels than to obey orders gullibly, even to the extent of inflicting injury on themselves or others and even if the behaviours involved are contrary to basic precepts of traditional morality, such as "thou shalt not kill".

Unlike their drive-oriented fellows, psychoanalysts Erich Fromm and Erik Erikson stress the impact of culture, society and the environment on people's propensity for engaging in violent and other anti-social conduct. They also identify the role of painful or traumatic experiences operating through non-rational psychic processes. Fromm differentiates defensive aggression and malignant aggression. According to Fromm, malignant aggression involves a passionate drive to limit others (Sadism) or oneself (masochism).

In disagreement with human nature theorists, Fromm attributes malignant aggression to social conditions rather than to innate human traits. Particularly, Fromm blames alienation, loneliness and disconnectedness from others, for the inclination by very alienated people to avenge their pain by acts of extreme destruction; they are also ripe candidates for recruitment into violent organisations. This might include the Ku Klux Klan and other neo-Nazis in the United States, skinheads in Great Britain including other terrorist and hate groups world wide.

It has also been observable that feelings of social and political alienation can also motivate psychologically same personalities to participate in social movements to oppose injustices and wars. Erikson points out that ambiguity, unresolved stresses, plus the individual's developmental problems produce totalism, a predisposition to us versus them, good versus evil, God versus devil.

In a manner suggestive of a gender appeaser Galtung (1996) argues that violence is a masculine phenomenon. This is based on the interface between male sexuality and male aggressiveness especially by soldiers during war.

In a similar vein but in a different context, to Galtung, Carpenter (2006) recognises the negative impact of gender-based violence against civil

men and boys in conflict situations. In theory, gender-based violence is violence directed at individuals because of their sex and/or of their socially constructed gender roles. Taken, in this context both men and women can inflict violence and can suffer violence. This is also inclusive of sexual violence. Notably, most scholars and commentators have focused more on gender-based violence directed at women. Although, adult civilian men and older boys are sometimes victims of wartime sexual violence. In spite of all the effect of violence on victims, conflicts and relationships is usually negative.

4.0 CONCLUSION

A proper understanding of violence sharpens the preparation of the would – be conflict transformation personnel. This must, however, be grounded in the theoretical or conceptual understanding of the phenomena in order to enhance the distinguishing of different types of violence and how to approach victims and perpetrators in the post – conflict phase.

5.0 SUMMARY

The unit has presented insight into the theoretical dimensions of violence. The knowledge will help immensely in undertaking successful and smooth transformation of conflict.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss why you think human beings are violent using the relevant theories as found in this unit.

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UNIT 4   FORMS OF VIOLENCE

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
        3.1   Forms of Violence
4.0 Conclusion
5.0 Summary
6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit attempts to deepen the understanding of violence in order to enhance smooth transformation of conflict. It is useful because it will help the person involved in the transformation to understand the enormity of the work to be done. The objectives below indicate what is expected to be known at the end of this unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

• Understand different levels and contexts of violence.
• Identify how to undertake proper and adequate transformation in the aftermath of violent conflicts

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Forms of Violence

The main characteristic of violent conflict is the bestial demonstration of physical violence. For a proper understanding of violence, intellectual enquiries must transcend the demonstration of physical violence during conflicts. This is because the display of physical violence is usually symptomatic of some other socio-political, economic or institutional maladies. Therefore, for a broad understanding of conflict transformation and its empirical implementation, the need to understand the concept of violence will be an added advantage.

In empirical terms, there is a sharp similarity between acts of violence and aggressive behaviour. This must have informed the popular opinion amongst scholars that link aggression with violence. However, it can be safely posited that, there are physical and non-physical types of

violence. According to Alain Chesnais (1981:12) who studied violence in the 18th and 19th centuries, "… the only violence which is measurable and indisputable is physical violence. It is direct injury to persons; it has three characteristics: it is brutal, external and painful. It is defined by the material use of force" (quoted in Adebanwi 2004:329), Adebanwi (2004:327) and Robin Williams (1981:26) a sociologist share similar views on violence as anything or act that cause physical damage, intentional active rather than passive and direct in its effect.

Ted Honderich a philosopher describes violence thus: *"An act of violence… is a use of considerable or destroying force against people or things, a use of force that offends against a norm."* Based on the works of Wilkinson ([1977] 1986:23 – 24) Adebanwi (2004) conceptualises violence as the illegitimate use or threatened use of coercion resulting or intended to result in the death, injury, restraint or intimidation of persons or the destruction or seizure of property. All the foregoing definitions and conceptualisations of violence have physical violence as a feature, the effects of which cannot be ignored in the transformation of conflict.

Galtung (1996) also uses six spaces to analyse the question of what defines violence. These are Nature, Person, Social, World, Culture and Time. In the category of Nature (N) and human, animals, plants, micro-organisms and viruses. Under the Person category (P) needs for survival, well-being, freedom, identity (categories that may also apply to sentiment nature). Social category (S) comprises nature, gender, generation, race, class, nation, and country. World (W) is made up of: Northwest, Northeast, Southwest, Southeast; territorial (State-system), non-territorial (Capital, civil society, people), Culture (c) has occident 1, occident II, Indic, Buddhic, Sinic, and Nipponic Time (T) comprises intra-time, *Kaivos;* and inter-time, *Khronos.* There can be violence or peace in any of these spatial categories.

Nature violence could originate in nature including in the human body, and be unintended (by any human subject). *Actor* or *direct violence* is defined in person, social and world spaces and is intended by individuals acting singly or inside collectivities. *Structural* or *indirect violence* is defined as built into the person, social and world spaces and is unintended.

Cultural violence services to legitimise direct and structural violence, motivating actors to commit direct violence or to commit counteracting structural violence; can be intended or unintended.

Time violence means negative impacts on future life generations. Extreme case: life is no longer reproducible ('sustainable').

Direct violence can be divided into two categories. These are *verbal*, *physical*, and violence harming the *body, mind* or *spirit*. All these leave behind traumas that may also reproduce violence over time. Fromm (1969) differentiates between violence directed at living things and inanimate things. *Incidental violence* arising out of actions of protest or affirmation of certain views and *intended violence* aimed strictly at the violation of others. Intended violence can originate only in (human) persons, as individuals or inside collectivities, in social and world spaces; sometimes using natural, structural and cultural violence. But the destructive effect of intended violence is very conspicuous in humans, in sentient nature, in non-sentient nature, and in damaged structures and cultures, also time violence. Extreme cases of intended violence are:

- *ecocide:* extreme violence by humans against nature;
- *Suicide:* direct, terminal violence against self.
- *Homicide:* direct, terminal violence against other;
- *Genocide:* direct, terminal violence against an entire people;
- *structurocide:* destruction of a structure; destructuration
- *culturocide:* destruction of a culture; deculturation
- *omuicide:* all of the above

From the foregoing, it is clear that acts of violence, the human agencies involved and the non-human agencies involved must be well grasped for any student of peace and conflict studies especially for the purpose of conflict transformation. Having an idea of what constitutes violence will immensely aid the understanding of the meaning and the implementation of conflict transformation.

4.0 CONCLUSION

A correct understanding of the concept of violence and its' forms aids the process of conflict transformation in the long – run. This will make the process of conflict – transformation less clumsy.

5.0   SUMMARY

The unit deepened the understanding and showed a more descriptive use of the concept of violence which can contribute enormously to the gamut of conflict transformation activities

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

List and discuss the four forms of violence with illustrations based on what you learnt in this unit.

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UNIT 5   CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND HUMAN SECURITY

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The goal of conflict transformation in a post – conflict community must be to ensure the overall well – being of all. But a major hurdle that must be crossed for conflict transformation to bring about sustainable and positive peace is the provision of human security, which is more than the deployment of troops and ammunitions. In any community or country that has been ravaged by war or violent conflict it is imperative to give utmost attention to the issues of human security to avoid a relapse of the conflict and to empower the people to constructively handle future conflicts.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, students should be able to:

- Understand the concept of security
- Know the correlative relationship between peace and security.
- Appreciate the fundamentality of human security for conflict transformation.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   The Concept of Security and Conflict Transformation

The concept of security is not a new concept in both academic and policy parlance. It is occupies a very crucial position in discourses on international relations, politics, and law and peace studies. Therefore, it has a prime place in the management, resolution and transformation of conflict. The term security became popular in the context of international politics and international relations. Richmond (n. d), reveals that the *westphalian* concept of security arguably represents the

first paradigm in the conceptualisations of security. This concept of security branded security as zero – sum game in which the gain of a country meant a loss for another country, (Animasawun 2007).

There was however, a challenge to the traditional concept of security by (Palme 1982) through the campaign for *common security* described by (Gleditsch, 2001) as a positive – sum game. This is because in contrast to the westphalian concept of security, common security ; concieves security in symbiotic context that considers the security of one country as reinforcing that of her neighbours. Next in line came the concept of *comprehensive security* that only broadened the scope of the traditional concept of security, (Gleditsch, 2001). In modern times, human security is the latest conception of security. It is generally defined as "safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and oppression, and protection from the sudden hurtful impact in the patterns of everyday life", quoted in (Gleditsch, 2001). Based on this it can be opined that if adequate attention is paid to issues of human security, there may be very few post – conflict settings around. However, the reality on ground indicates the existence of post – conflict settings crying for human security needs.

The situation has informed deeper analysis of the concept of human security, its comparison with earlier versions of the concept and this unit links it as a correlate of conflict transformation.

Schwarz, (2005) informs that there are two popular notions of human security in international debates. These are *freedom from fear* and *freedom from want*. *Freedom from fear* is narrower in concept because it focuses more security threats against the individual but *freedom from want* underscores all threats towards the individual encompassing issues of lack of development to issues of environmental scarcity, (Schawarz, 2005). A common thread in the two conceptions is that threats to citizens actually stem from predatory rulers, corrupt judges and concisely from the state itself. When compared with the Wesphalian concept of security, it becomes apparent that one of the defining features of human security is good governance based on transparency and accountability, which are cardinals of the contemporary notion of liberal democracy.

The description by (Richmond n. d) of the concept of security in the Westphalian state becomes apposite. Viewed as a conflict – generating system rather than a conflict – ameliorating or preventing system, security was based not primarily on the people's welfare but on coercion and rewards especially in the international context. This had great potentials for conflict generation especially sub – regional and regional levels. However, the concept of human security has encouraged

countries in different regions to move towards regional integration and cooperation on issues of mutual interests. This has led to the birth of organizations like the; European Union (E.U), and the African Union, (A.U).

In post – conflict settings where the transformation of conflict is imperative, the United Nations Commission on Human Security proposes two general security strategies. According to Denov (2006), these are *post-conflict protection* and *empowerment.* Protection implies 'concerted effort to develop norms, processes, and institutions that systematically addresses insecurities'. Empowerment includes efforts to guide people to 'develop their potential and become full participants in decision making'. The Commission opines that if fashioned out in a broad-based, inclusive, and participatory manner involving all stakeholders, the two strategies can ensure faster post-conflict recovery and ensure human security. All the foregoing reiterates the desirability and efficacy of the concept of human security in post-conflict communities for conflict transformation.

Conflict transformation must pay rapt attention to the issues of human security although the needs of post – conflict communities vary, there is hardly one not lacking in aspect of human security. From the war – torn countries to post – conflict communities within countries issues of human security must be assiduously pursued for conflict transformation to achieve its' stated objectives. It is when this is done that the infrastructure for sustainable peace is built. At this juncture an analysis of the response pattern of the Nigerian state deserves a mention, this because that of the people can be easily divided into two; flight or fight. However, that of the state has in come different forms. This can be divided into five parts.

3.3   State Responses to Post – Conflict Communities in Nigeria: Implications for Conflict Transformation

The pervasive nature of human insecurity in many post-conflict communities in Nigeria makes it compelling to examine the manner of State response to post – conflict communities in Nigeria. This is because the involvement of the State has not brought about the enhancement of positive peace and security in the affected communities despite the quantum of resources allegedly expended by the State. This reveals that the state intervenes in post-conflict communities in five manners that can be classified as *political, social, economic, security* and *relief,* (SCA 2003).

The *security* response is often reactive and based on crude force sometimes proving to be a cure destructive than the ailment because it

usually ignores the root causes of the conflict, (SCA 2003). Stories from Zaki-Biam, Choba, and Odi attest to this. While the *security* response proves efficacious especially in the short-term and in extreme cases especially when there is need to checkmate parallel economies by militias and stop open confrontations, the sustainability sometimes calls to question the use of hard power, (Nye, 2004) in conflict management. Wennmann (2005) cautions against over reliance on *security* response because it thrives on a *state – centric* and *westphalian* notion of security. For instance, organized armed groups change their modes of operation to more destructive one once existing strategies are no longer effective and in the face of changing internal and external variables. It is therefore illusory to opine that when one source of financing is cut, a belligerent surrenders, accepts a peace plan and voluntarily reintegrates into the larger society. An illustration of this is the Niger Delta Development Force (NDDF) which has metamorphosed into the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta, (MEND) that is now more rapacious. See also (Ogbogho, 2004; Ogbogbo, 2006 and Odu, 2006).

The *relief* response is depicted by provision of materials to meet the immediate needs of victims of conflict comprising mostly internally displaced people (IDP). This sometimes constitutes the basis of another form of conflict because of the discriminatory manner of distribution. The *political* response can be illustrated with commissions of inquiry that performs administrative and para-judicial functions. The bane of this approach is that their recommendations hardly get implemented and sometimes provide the basis for future conflict. Another type of *political* response includes the creation of new administrative units, which sometimes renames the conflict. For example, the buffer zone created by Colonel Peter Ogar one time military governor of Kwara State as one of the measures to address incessant border disputes between the Erin-ile community and the Offa community in Kwara State provided the setting for a recent social conflagration in the state (Oni, 2006; Jegede, 2006).

Nwolise (2006) describes a situation like this as government inconsistency that exacerbates conflicts. According to Nwolise (2006) failure to implement the first white paper from a judicial commission of inquiry headed by Justice Nweje set up by Colonel Attah paved the way for the devastating war of 1999-2000 in Aguleri and Umuleri. The Economic response has seen the establishment of parastatals or commissions like the Niger Delta Development Corporation (NDDC). *Social* response includes activities of organisations like the National Orientation Agency (NOA) alongside the government; however this often has minimal effect on the parties in conflict. There are also political Non-Governmental responses usually anchored by traditional rulers.

Despite all these responses, a look at different post-conflict communities in Nigeria presents a gory picture of neglect and tension that constitute pathogens of violent conflict in the affected communities. Ombe, (2007) reports that eight years after a military invasion into the Odi community in Bayelsa state, in the guise of searching for militants in the community, the community has not received any meaningful attention from any tier of government to rehabilitate human beings or to reconstruct infrastructures talk less of healing their trauma.

It may not be erroneous to infer that some of the internally displaced able-bodied men from the community participate in the general unrest in the oil-rich but neglected region. Similarly, the Zaki-Biam community in Ukum Local Government Area of Benue state was levelled in 2000. This was in the wake of a border dispute with a neighbouring town in Taraba state resulted in the killing of almost 200 peasant yam producing farmers besides the destruction to property, (Emmanuel,2007). Also in Idi-Araba since the intra – communal conflict of 2002, the only noticeable and felt post-conflict intervention sustained by the government is the military occupation of the community which some residents view as constituting a burden and nuisance to the community, (Animasawun, 2007). All the foregoing has been deemed necessary in order to establish the reality of post-conflict communities in Nigeria and their state of *inhuman* security.

4.0   CONCLUSION

It is clear from the foregoing that human security is indispensable for conflict transformation. Also, security in contemporary times is not solely based on the instruments of the state alone. This means a shift from state – centricism to a more people centred approach to governance. In the context of conflict transformation, lack of human security alone is enough to generate violent conflicts. This is because of the fundamentality of the issues of human security to human existence and a threat to the existential needs of man can go unchallenged. The role of the state in ensuring human security also comes to the fore considering its' position of authority and the quantum of resources at its' disposal.

5.0   SUMMARY

This unit has once again shown the multidisciplinary nature of peace studies and the inter–play amongst theories. This has been done to lucidly establish the correlative relationship between the concept of security, especially human security with the theory and practice of conflict transformation. So, if conflict transformation must bring about positive peace, it must be approached in a very holistic manner.

6.0TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. Discuss the relationship between conflict transformation and human security.
2. Can bad or poor governance threaten human security? Discuss with examples.
3. Show with empirical instances the conceptual link between human security and conflict transformation

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MODULE 4   CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

Unit 1   An Overview of Conflict Transformation
Unit 2   Issue Transformation
Unit 3   Actor Transformation
Unit 4   Rule Transformation
Unit 5   Structure Transformation

UNIT 1   AN   OVERVIEW   OF   CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2. 0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
        3.1   A Conceptual Overview of Conflict Transformation
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignments
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of conflict transformation is to put in place positive peace that will be congenial to the non-violent handling of conflict. Conflict transformation also enables parties in conflict to see conflict not as necessarily destructive or negative, but to always empower them to learn to tap into the opportunities embedded in conflict issues to provide shared benefits. Conflict transformation involves the transformation of issues, actor, structures and rules.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

- Have a basic idea of conflict transformation and its' features.
- Know the different complementary scopes of conflict transformation
- Appreciate its' indispensability for engendering positive peace especially at the post – conflict phase.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   A Conceptual Overview of Conflict Transformation

Without clarity of purpose and the right technical approach in handling the post-conflict situation, a relapse of conflict becomes a matter of when and not if. This is because most efforts to achieve peace in the post-conflict situation often provide at best stability or conflict containment. This is usually the case when conflict transformation is not professionally undertaken.

Therefore, what is conflict transformation? It is the aggregate of all efforts that concentrate on the developmental stages or processes of a conflict, rather than simply on its end point. Also, it pays attention to how conflict transforms relationships, communication, perceptions, issues and social organisation. Based on this, conflict transformation aims to transform the conflict from violent manifestation characterised by armed conflict and war to constructive and peaceful expression. Conflict transformation also focuses on transformation and sometimes the removal of all structures that impede sustainable positive peace. It also seeks ways of involving all stakeholders including erstwhile combatants, local individuals, communities and external third parties in a concerted way.

Conflict transformation has also been defined as an improvement of the whole context of the conflict, a positive change in the disputants' relationships or complete behavioural and attitudinal changes of the disputants. Conflict transformation entails an informed reassessment and redefinition of the disputants in order to explore avenues for new compensations and appointments. The aim of this is to transcend zero-sum (win-lose) phase to arrive at a positive-sum (win-win) agreement. New mutually benefiting arrangements are proposed and worked out in which the hitherto contested issues become less or no longer relevant and other issues and values become more dearer to all the parties in the conflict. An example is the Franco-German reconciliation after the Second World War.

Conflict transformation has also been defined as a particular approach that takes into cognisance the grievances, needs and issues of all the parties. It pays due attention to the degeneration stages of conflict to violence rather than solely on how to bring a violent conflict to a cease-fire or settlement. It confronts the structural reality of inequality, rights and injustice in the locales concerned and proposes alternative ways of addressing those realities. Conflict transformation aim to transform a conflict from violent and destructive stage into a constructive force, which will lay the basic foundation for social change. This can be

achieved by systematically and progressively removing and playing down the conditions that gave rise to conflict and violence. The objective is to have a well-founded and sustainable peace. In achieving the foregoing, due attention is paid to the actors, the issues, the rules, and the structures.

Conflict transformation is a process that takes extra efforts to transcend all the remote and immediate issues both tangible and non-tangible with the intention of making erstwhile disputants, players or stakeholders in the emergent constituency of peace (Animasawun, 2006).

In approaching conflict transformation, there are two broad approaches. These are non-violent conflict transformation associated with Gandhi otherwise known as the Gandhi theory. The second though seemingly unscrupulous approach is a combination of approaches that does not pre-suppose resolution of the incompatibilities, but tries to freeze the conflict, negate it, protect it, through all kinds of devices, including structural and direct violence. The non-violence theory or Gandhi theory is vehemently intolerant of the use of either structural violence or direct violence because it will contradict the spirit and letter of the non-violence theory. Also, non-violence is an admonition to struggle against both direct and structural violence, and an equally strong admonition not to use them in the struggle. Non-violence or Gandhi theory will also not condone the fair protractive devices earlier mentioned because they are antithetical to the non-violence theory of conflict transformation. For Gandhi; *"there is no way to peace; peace is the way; to be taken, now"*. One of the chief proponents of conflict transformation is John Lederach. In his analysis, he distinguishes conflict transformation from conflict management and conflict resolution. Conflict transformation is desirable than the two because it emphasises a broader and deeper understanding of the conflict. "Conflict resolution" suggests that conflict is destructive like fire; therefore, it should be put out quickly. It also implies that conflict is a flash or spark that can be handled once and for all in a decisive manner through mediation or other intervention processes. "Conflict management" correctly posits that conflicts could be protracted in span, which makes it difficult to be swiftly resolved, but "management" implies that people can be directly or remotely manipulated, as they were physical objects. Furthermore, the notion of management implies that its goal is the mitigation or control of volatility without dealing with the real source of the problem.

Conflict transformation transcends simply eliminating or controlling conflict, but stresses making on the dialectic or dynamic nature of conflicts. In the context of social conflict, Lederach, argues that social conflict is ordinarily created by humans who have relationships that suffer immediately there is a conflict. Therefore, cause-and-effect

relationship goes both ways from the people and the relationships to the conflict and back to the people and the relationships. Conflict changes relationships in predictable ways often negatively; it changes modes and contexts of communication processes of social organisation, altering images of the self and of the other.

Lederach also opines that conflict transformation is a prescriptive concept. This implies that on its own, conflict can have destructive consequences. However, the consequences can be regulated or transformed in order to improve self-images, relationships, and social structures depending on the way it is handled. Usually this is done by transforming perceptions of issues, actions, and other people or groups. In as much as conflict destroys relationships by altering perceptions and emphasizing on the differences between people and positions, efficacious conflict transformation can work to improve mutual understanding. Even when actors' interests, values, and needs are contrasting or irreconcilable a fair understanding of one another though contacts and communication can help. This has potentials or effects on the way conflict is expressed. This can make the expression of conflict aggressively or violently replaced by non-violent advocacy, conciliation or attempted cooperation.

For the success of conflict transformation processes have been evolved. Although different writers emphasise different aspects, nevertheless most of them seem to agree on the following for conflict transformation to be effective:

(1)   Multi-level participation; involving elements from all social levels of all the involved parties, from top decision makers through middle range opinion leaders to grass roots constituents, including those who would normally be excluded from the process and whose interests would not be represented in 'normal' negotiations.

(2)   Efforts to empower the 'underdogs' in the struggle so that between parties that are more equal than they could otherwise be.

(3)   Efforts to ensure that those directly involved in the conflict can control the transformation processes to their own satisfaction and thus make sure that any outcomes have the approval and support of those affected.

(4)   A focus not merely on immediate issues but also on long standing traumas and on any deep-rooted sense of past injustices.

(5)   Brokerage by appropriate intermediaries who understand the culture and social structures in which adversaries are embedded.

(6)   Co-creation of a new understanding of the conflict, how it arose and what it needs to be changed in order both to resolve it and to ensure that other, similar dispute do not arise in future.

(7)   An ability to create and put in place procedures that will maintain and continue the changes found necessary to resolve the current conflict and prevent others arising in future, or-when they arise – taking on a protracted and destructive form.

(8)   The mutual, inter-active education of adversaries about the nature of the socio-political and economic systems from which the conflict arose and of the dynamics of that conflict; and their training in skills that will enable them to deal with that conflict and other that may arise in future.

The above according to Mitchell helps to understand the concept of conflict transformation in three main categories. The first category comprises those dealing with personal changes, the second, those dealing with structural changes and the third those dealing with relationship changes.

Conflict transformation is geared towards positive peace and restorative justice. In theory and practice, it transcends conflict management and conflict resolution. It stresses the restoration of relationships to the status-quo-ante of the conflict.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In the light of the above, it is therefore become imperative for conflict transformation to be embraced by all sundry. This is so because it pays attention to how conflict transforms relationships, communication, perceptions, issues and social organisation rather than simply focusing on its end point as relates to conflict resolution and conflict management.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, two broad approaches to conflict transformation were discussed. The non-violent conflict transformation is associated with Gandhi is vehemently intolerant of the use of either structural violence or direct violence, while the other approach is a combination approaches that does not pre-suppose resolution of the issues or incompatibilities at stake, but tries to freeze the conflict, negate it or protect it through any available means. Despite the various approaches emphasised by different writers, most of them seem to agree on an all-encompassing conflict transformation processes.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

1.   Discuss Gandhi's theory of conflict transformation.
2.   Discuss how an effective conflict transformation can be achieved.

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UNIT 2   ISSUE TRANSFORMATION

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
       3.1   Issue Transformation
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignments
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0   INTRODUCTION

In most protracted and intractable conflicts, parties lose interest in peacemaking processes when the issues are not constructively handled for transformation. As a result of this, conflicts fester and violence persists. Issue transformation in the whole gamut of conflict transformation indisputably determines the success of the whole process. Therefore, skilful and informed handling of the issue transformation processes is very germane to the whole process of conflict transformation. In this context, the personnel and the timing are some of the central factors.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

•   Understand what issue transformation entails.
•   Understand the technicalities involved as a scholar and practitioner.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Introduction to Issue Transformation

In many instances, issues are often shaped by perception and the fear of its effects on parties concerned. These are some of the factors that impinge on conflict transformation. Schmid (2000) defines issue transformation as a change in the political agenda of the conflict, downplaying the importance of original conflict issues and emphasising shared concern for new issues. However, for issue transformation to aid any conflict transformation process the particular types of conflict must be accurately understood and analysed. Therefore, a modification of Schmid definition becomes auspicious because other than political

issues or conflicts there are other types of conflicts with vexed and salient issues that must necessarily be transformed. Issues of identity, security, religion, ecology and others also often need to be transformed. The main thrust of issue transformation is to make discordant tunes less salient while making concordant tunes better perceived and appreciated. Issue transformation also entails the dexterous handling or manipulating of issue structure and contents to enhance the possibility of conflict transformation. Issue transformation calls for the expansion of the agenda rather than restricting it to maintain social coalitions and the convergence of disparate interests.

Politically, arrangements supportive of the previous agenda will have to change. Put succinctly, the transformation simultaneously encapsulates several actors and connects issues and actors with each other. In large-scale conflicts, this may entail significant political rearrangement within most of or all the countries involved. This has to be done continuously and mindfully so as not to be seen as prying into the domestic confines or precincts of actors in order to avert violence and instability.

Surrounding most issues that need transformation are the parties' needs, interests and values, which are not always accurately and explicitly expressed by their positional statements. Interests, needs and values are the concepts that underlie most conflicts, yet one often mixed up. The concept of "interests" usually refers to what people or parties in a conflict want. They may be material things as they often are or not. They are usually negotiable people are willing to trade more or less are interest for more or less of another. For the fact that conflicts are defined based on the incompatibility of interests, it is assumed that for things like (money, land, jobs etc.) the more one person or group possesses the less the other party possesses. Therefore, when conflicts are conceptualised in the context of interest the conflict becomes a fixed-sum conflict or zero-sum game.

Needs are also things people wants in a conflict. However, they are often immaterial things such as security, identity and recognition. Needs constitute an integral part of the human being. Needs are different from interests in many significant ways. First, they are often non-negotiable. Parties in conflict rarely want to trade away their identity, security or recognition. Identity especially ethnic and religious is so fundamental to human satisfaction, that people will go to any length to protect and preserve them. This may include the violation of fundamental norms, or reduce their ability to obtain their interests, in a bid to fulfil or protect their fundament needs.

A second fundamental difference is that needs are often inextricably linked together. While interests may be arranged or shared in such a way

that only one side gets its objective, needs based issues can not be so shared because of their intangible nature. Insecurity or denigration of one party's ethnic identity or the desecration of one party's religious symbols would likely trigger violence or aggression. It is, however, theorised that, if one's identity or security is secured, than the likelihood of threatening that of others is greatly reduced.

Values are also crucial to the social well-being of man. Values are fundamental beliefs that are non-negotiable. Values are the ideas, habits, customs and beliefs that are characteristic of particular social communities (Burton, 1990). Values determine how we understand the world and how we respond to it. Similar to needs, if one's values are questioned or threatened, one gets compelled to strongly defend one's values.

Since values and needs are non-negotiable, any attempt at issue transformation as part of conflict transformation process must pay due attention to the two. In order to transform issues values and needs must be extensively and dexterously handled. This is more expedient because of the increasing occurrences of intra-state conflicts especially in many African countries mostly based on ideological conflicts, which is inextricably linked to issues of needs and values.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The saliency and centrality of issue transformation to the whole gamut of conflict resolution processes cannot be ignored. If issue transformation is successfully carried out, conflict transformation as a process receives great boost.

5.0   SUMMARY

The unit presented the basics or fundamentals of issue transformation within the whole gamut of conflict transformation. Also, the inextricable connection of concepts like values needs and interests with the practical implementation of issue transformation.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

What is issue transformation and what is the relationship between values, needs and interest with the process.

7.0   REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING S

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UNIT 3   RULE TRANSFORMATION

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Content
         3.1   Rule Transformation
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor-Marked Assignments
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Conflict transformation implies that left alone, conflict can have destructive consequences. However, the negative effects can be modified, mitigated, or transformed in order to improve self-images, relationships, and social structures. Rule transformation as part of the whole process of conflict transformation involves a change in the norms involved in the conflict and the limits within which the parties conduct their relations.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand what rule transformation entails within the whole gamut of conflict transformation.
- Identify how and when to initiate rule transformation.

3.0   MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Rule Transformation

As the popular saying goes, rules are made for human being and not vice versa. Among the Yoruba of south-western Nigeria, it is also opined that there can be no violation of rules or norms where none hitherto existed. Rule transformation as part of conflict transformation processes usually occur during intense conflict or after. Vanynen (1991) describes rule transformation as one of the measures to restructure a conflict. Rule transformation tries to redefine the norms which actors in a conflict are expected to follow in their mutual interactions. According to the structuralist approach, the rules of behaviour have been presumed to be dependent on the position of an actor in the structure and in that way on its relative power and interests. This implies that rules would only alter

the behaviour of an actor in a conflict based on the interests of the actors and the relative power it possesses to achieve the interests. In recent times, scholars such as (Vaymen, 1991) argue that rules can have independent impact on inter-actor relations. This is why it is opined that a significant transformation of rules can be expected to alter actor behaviour and hence create a new basis for managing the conflict. At this juncture, it becomes apposite to explain further that rule transformation also aims to change rules operation in a conflict setting or surrounding the issues in a conflict in a way that will at least meet the needs of the parties in conflict in order to reduce violent or destructive confrontation.

In most international conflicts or large-scale civil wars, an outsider that commands true respect of the parties may be in the best position to initiate and manage it. In order to achieve proper rule transformation some conditions are necessary. These conditions may include the disappearance of legitimate authority institutions and law and order. Zartunan (2001) illustrates this with six different cases – Lebanon, Liberia, Somalia, Zaire (Congo), Haiti and Yugoslavia. The rules have to changed or transformed in the aforementioned conflict theatres based on the stark reality that parties needed help to get out of the conflict web. The emphasis is on third-party diplomacy relying primarily on negotiation, not on military or other physical involvement although this may be involved ancillary. The six instances above confirm the efficacy of preventive diplomacy in initiating rule transformation. The cases are:

(1)   Lebanon under civil war from 1975 until 1989

(a)   **February 1976:** Arabisation of the Syrian initiative to provide incentives and modifications for the proposed Constitutional Document while the conflict was still in civilian hands;

(b)   **July 1982:** Reagan initiative that focused on the Lebanese problem, brought in Syria, and worked deliberately on a peace agreement;

(c)   **March 1984:** Saudi and US cooperation with Syria to provide incentives and guarantees and to include militia and parliamentary leaders to reinforce the Lausanne Agreement and

(d)   **December 1985:** March 1986. Saudi, Egyptian and Western involvement alongside Syria to broaden and strengthen the Damascus Accord.

(2)   Somalia under civil war after 1988

(a)   **October 1988:** UNSC, Organisation of African Unit (OAU) and Inter-Government Agency on Drought and Development (IGADD) condemnation of Hawgessia massacre, mediation of monitored ceasefire, and convocation of national reconciliation conference under US – USSR leadership;

(b)   **May 1990 – January 1991:** US – 1GADD mediation of Siad Barne's resignation (such as arranged by Mengistu in March 1991) and leadership transition through a sovereign national conference (as used elsewhere in Africa);

(c)   **March – June 1991:** Earlier UNSC authorisation of United Nations Operation in Somalia UNOSOM 1, with anus embargo and a more inclusive Djibouti congress.

(d)   **March 1992:** UNSC authorisation of humanitarian intervention, peacekeeping monitors, confidence – building measure and a reconciliation conference, with a broadened mandate for UN mediator Salumonu, as a follow-up to the Mogadishu ceasefire;

(e)   **March 1993:** Seamless transition from the United State Force in Somalia (UNITAF) to UNOSOM II, with a continuation of UNITAF policies of grassroot institutionalisation, enforcement, and policing; and

(f)   **October 1993:** Firm reaction by US Forces to deaths at the Aideed Cornal.

(3)   Liberian State collapse into civil war after 1990

(a)   **October 1985:** US desertification of fraudulent electoral results and support for the true court to end Doe's regime while political forces were still intact and the army had not been cleansed of anti-Doe forces;

(b)   **June 1990:** US evacuation of Samuel Doe to safe retirement offered by Nigeria and Togo, thus offering an opportunity for influence with Taylor;

(c)   **April – July 1992:** Inclusion of all factions and a stronger mediation role for the Canter Centre's International Negotiation Network (INN) to provide fuller implementing details and a monitored disarmament for the Yamouskrov IV agreement;

(d)   **July 1993:** Stronger mediation rule by the Canter Centre's INN and the Special Representative to the UN Secretary-General to provide for realistic disarmament and interim governance at Cotonou and;

(e) **July 1998:** Follow up to the Taylor-Kabbah agreement through redeployment of an augmented ECOMOG force along the Liberian – Sierra Leonean border and in the diamond region.

(f) **August 4, 2003:** ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) numbering 3,500 troops were deployed to Liberia. Nigeria contributed 1,500 troops to the vanguard. The mandate of ECOMIL included:

(g) Establishing zones of separation (205) between the parties to the conflict;

(h) Facilitating the functions of the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC), in accordance with the Accra Agreement on Ceasefire and Cessation of hostilities;

(i) Taking necessary steps to guarantee the security and freedom of movement of personnel of the force and of humanitarian agencies;

(j) Forming the nucleus of an International Stabilisation Force (ISF) and preparing the ground for its deployment. Sources: Zentman (2001) and Yoramus (2005).

The instances above show instances where the rule governing primary parties were altered or transformed by third-parties through acts of preventive diplomacy. There are empirical cases of rule transformation within the gamut of conflict transformation approaches.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Rule transformation provided room for wider consultation and structure talks if well constructed and implemented. To be successful third-party diplomacy must be very dexterous, brand and inclusive.

5.0   SUMMARY

This unit has provided the basic meaning and demonstration of conflict transformation. It also gave instances to juxtapose the argument.

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

What is rule transformation and what is the role of third party diplomacy in rule transformation?

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 4 STRUCTURE TRANSFORMATION

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
      3.1   Structure Transformation
4.0 Conclusion
5.0 Summary
6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignments
7.0 References/Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This is one of the features of conflict transformation that distinguishes it from conflict resolution because the latter harps on the need to bring about significant structural changes that will lead to a complete change in the structure. This is evident and justifiable even to the proponents of conflict resolution in the face of pressing challenges touching on socio – economic and political issues.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, student should be able to:

- Understand the importance of structure transformation as a congenial part of conflict transformation.
- State the difference between conflict transformation and conflict resolution.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Structure Transformation

A major distinguishing feature of conflict transformation is the transformation of necessary structures. This is one of the fundamentals of conflict transformation that makes it different from conflict resolution and conflict management. The explicit commitment to effecting structural transformation goes a long way in transforming any conflict. This is even one area where consensus exists between conflict resolution theorists and practitioners on one hand and proponents of conflict transformation. This is because a durable peace can only be achieved with some level of structural change either political or socio-economic. This is often reinforced when the implication of not effecting the structural transformation becomes imminent.

It will not be incorrect to state that one of the causes of many violent conflicts is structural imbalance, especially in plural societies. This structural imbalance could be in terms of representation in places like the army, civil service and other national or juicy (plump institutions) (Galtung, 1996). For example, the protracted and very violent intra-state conflict in places like Liberia and Sierra Leone were not unconnected to structural imbalance in terms of who gets what in the highly centralised and seemingly unitary presidential systems of those countries.

Structural transformation also entails the influencing of structures officially to prevent any win – lose outcome or feeling in the post – conflict phase. The common concerns of the transformation school includes can be categorised into two. These are the need for sustainable structural and attitudinal change within society and institutions in order to address outstanding issues connected to the conflict. The second concern is an advocacy for the erecting or revival of indigenous and locale – compliant political, social and economic mechanisms and attitudes that discourage the use of violence in resolving or handling conflicts.

Before an effective process of conflict transformation can be implemented; there must be lucid understanding of structural conflicts. As put forward by Galtung (1996), structure conflicts can be will understood when compared with actor conflict. According to Galtung (1996) an *actor conflict* involves an actor who is also the subject, conscious of what he wants, why he wants it, and how he feels about what is and what ought to be. Galtung (1996) argues that structural conflict is rarely recognised or articulated by individuals. This implies that for people identity and against a structural conflict, there must be a mobiliser or instigator examples of these include; Saro-Wiwa, and Martin Luther King.

Furthermore, Galtung posits that a situation of structural conflict implies structural violence, characterised by a vertical structure. This features the repression of freedom, particularly political freedom, and economic exploitation. A structural conflict is sustained through some ways. First, the prevention of consciousness formation and conscientisation. This is done by using agenda setting as a tool or manipulation of information from above. Second, by preventing mobilisation and organisation of those in the lower stratum of the society. Conscientisation and mobilisation are often repressed by the entrepreneurs or lords of structural conflict and violence because they are the processes needed for people to identity and articulate their interests in the community. This is why structural conflicts are not easily articulated because identifying or understanding them is often made difficult or impossible by the conflict entrepreneurs sometimes the state.

Therefore, it can be deduced that a social structure or system that allows formation of consciousness, conscientisation, mobilisation and mass organisation of people from below cannot be described as fundamentally structurally violent. In order to deal with structural conflict, Galtung offers four approaches based on the non-violence school of thought. These are *confrontation, struggle, de-coupling* and *re-coupling*.

Confrontation implies selecting and addressing an issue that is central and reflective of the conflict. This approach based on Gandhi's famous Salt March (to Dandi in Guijarat, 5 April 1930) entails starting the issue clearly and expressing the desired outcome.

Struggle for overcoming repression and/or exploitation is concerned about how the struggle is prosecuted or implemented. In the Gandhi line of non-violence this must be by the non-violence methodology, i.e. 'peace by peaceful means'. The non-violence approach posits that a violent struggle against structural violence will lead to more violence especially against a violent state that uses the carrot and sticks or hard-power in handling conflict. The assertion in this context is for the peace researcher to emphasise that conflict can only be solved if all parties are convinced that they cannot force the other(s) to submit.

Decoupling empirically means getting the exploited or repressed empowered to depend less on the structure that is exploitative. The purpose is to build autonomy and the ability for self-reliance in the masses. This implies looking elsewhere for services hitherto provided by the state.

The purpose of recoupling is to reintegrate those who were hitherto alienated from the structure or restoring people's or citizens' confidence in the state. This is usually through having an horizontal structure based on human rights rather than repression, equity instead of exploitation, autonomy instead of penetration, integration instead of segmentation, solidarity instead of fragmentation and participation instead of marginalisation. While decoupling aims to erect positive structures from below, recoupling strives to build new ones that are more inclusive and less violent from the top.

Therefore, structural transformation implies profound changes in the entire structure of inter-actor relations in a conflict setting or formation. Structural transformation is very central to conflict and its transformation especially social conflicts. The profound transformation of the structure that induced the conflict ensures the durability of the peace achieved in such circumstances.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The unit considers structure transformation as a means to sustainable peace especially as propounded by the Gandhi school of non – violence. The unit opines that structure transformation is very germane for the whole process of conflict transformation to yield the desired success.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has given the definition of structural transformation. The means of surmounting structural violence was also discussed based on the Gandhi school of non-violence.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS

1. Compare and contrast the two concepts of conflict transformation and conflict resolution towards having sustainable peace in the post – conflict state.
2. Apply the steps to structural transformation discussed in this unit to any conflict of your choice.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Adebanwi, W. (2004). "Democracy and Violence: *The Challenge of Communal Clashes". In: Nigeria's Struggle for Democracy and Good Governance* (Eds.) Agbaje, A.B.; Diamond, L. and Onwudiwe; E. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

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UNIT 5   ACTOR TRANSFORMATION

CONTENTS

1.0 Introduction
2.0 Objectives
3.0 Main Content
     3.1   Action Transformation
4.0 Conclusion
5.0 Summary
6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Readings.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

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 process of conflict transformation and shows how to go about it in order to empower the students with the required skills to properly perform the task.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, student should be able to:

- Understand the concept of actor transformation
- Identify how and when to carry out actor transformation.
- Carry out the process of actor transformation.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1   Actor Transformation

Central to conflicts either at the inter-personal or community level is human being. The way human beings view and handles any conflict determines whether it will be destructive or constructive conflicts. 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 man or the actors. Either at the inter-personal or inter-group levels there are actors involved. Particularly, 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 and 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 to.

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 marshall 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 is, 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 period of 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 potential to change the society through the individual. Although there is no fixed mode of achieving societal transformation through individual or actor transformation, it must however be based on the peculiarities of each case.

At the broader level, 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 completely the sense of helplessness about the conflict among participants, especially those at the local and grassroot levels of the parties and at increasing the sense of empowerment. This should be targeted at achieving some impacts on the way they conduct conflict; its resolution and the structures that hitherto gave rise to it. At this level of actor transformation of conflict emphasis should be on achieving major and widespread improvement in peoples:

(1)   Framing and understanding of the issues in conflict.
(2)   Acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the other-party, its claims, concerns and hopes.
(3)   Sense of responsibility for the origins of the conflict and the interactive manner in which it has inevitably been presented.
(4)   Consciousness of the other party's perspectives and objectives, and reasons for their being held.
(5)   Recognition of the need for short-term mutual re-assurance and building up of longer-term trust between the parties.
(6)   Sense of competence and capability in confronting the search for solutions to the conflict and undertaking actions to prevent repetition.
(7)   Willingness to include the interests of those not morally represented in the search for solutions, including future generations.
(8)   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.
(9)   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, demobilising 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.

4.0 CONCLUSION

However conflict transformation processes is 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.

5.0 SUMMARY

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

6.0   TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss the processes and effects of actor transformation on conflicts and relationships at the inter-personal and inter-group level.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Albert, I.O. (2001). *Introduction to third-party intervention in community conflict.* Ibadan: John Archers.

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