NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE CODE: PCR 711

COURSE TITLE: INTRODUCTION TO PEACE STUDIES

COURSE
GUIDE

PCR 711
INTRODUCTION TO PEACE STUDIES

Course Title	Introduction to Peace Studies
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NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

PCR 711
Course Guide

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INTRODUCTION

PCR 101 Introduction to Peace Studies is one- semester 3 credit units' foundation level course. It is available for students as a 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 examples. This 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 guidance 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 this course is to give you an introduction to major themes, issues and challenges in study of peace, as well introduce some of the tools, techniques and relevant peace institutions creating the connections and synergies between peace studies and other courses offered in the institution. This course will provide a wider view of issues relevant to peace, through the lens of peace studies, which the sole aim of providing the right tools and the necessary level of commitment to effect a change for the better in terms of peace, violence and conflict on all levels.

COURSE AIMS

The four major aims of the course are to:

   To introduce Peace Studies as an academic discipline, with emphasis on the genesis of peace studies, the theoretical background that supports its fundamental insights, questions, and the ethics of war and peace.
   To analyze contemporary conflict and introduce the main issues in the field of conflict mapping and conflict theory.
   To examine some of the important dimensions of peace, conflict and violence on various levels including ethnic and religious factors, questions and marginalization, justice, equality, environment and structures of international agencies and systems.
   To review some of the most approaches to peace, including missions, activities of UN organs, role of NGOs, civil society organizations, and international and human rights laws.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

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

(i)   Construct definitions of conflict and peace
(ii)   Distinguish between conflict and violence
(iii)   Identify what is positive about conflict
(iv)   Analyze a conflict they have experienced
(v)   Identify the different categories of causes of conflict
(vi)   Be able to differentiate between root causes and triggers
(vii)   Be able to differentiate between external and internal factors
(viii) Develop a comprehensive picture of the conflict – issues, stages of conflict etc.
(ix)   Help the mediator gain direction on how to intervene in the conflict
(x)   Identify all the parties to the conflict
(xi)   Know and understand the different methods of analysis

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

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 tutored 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 Readings
Assignment Files

STUDY UNITS

There are 4 Modules in this course. Each module has 5 Units. The modules are designed to cover the four major aims of the course and arranged accordingly.

Module 1 – Concepts and Theories in Peace and Conflict Studies
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Unit 2 Theories
Unit 3 Causes of Conflicts
Unit 4 Conflict Analysis
Unit 5 Peace Processes I

Module 2 – Fundamentals of Peace Studies
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    Unit 4 Factors for National Integration
    Unit 5 Civil-Military Relations and the promotion of Peace in
            Democratic Nigeria

Module 3 – Issues in Conflict Management
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    Unit 2 Peace Education
    Unit 3 African Endogenous Peace Institutions
    Unit 4 Small Arms, Children and Girls in Armed Conflicts.
    Unit 5 Post Conflict Reconstruction

Module 4 – Discourse in Peace and Conflict Management
    Unit 1   Peace Building
    Unit 2   Gender and Peace Building
    Unit 3 Human Rights
    Unit 4   International Peace Institutions
    Unit 5 Conflict Prevention

Textbooks And References

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

Albert, I.O. (2002). Introduction to Third Party Peaceful Transformation Forum Intention in Community Conflicts.   John   Archers (Publisher) Limited.

Albert, I.O. (2001), Introduction to Third Party Intervention in CommunityConflicts, PETRAF and John Archers (Publishers) Ltd.

Zartman   and   J.L.   Rasmussen   (eds.),   Peacemaking in International Conflicts, methods and Techniques, Washington DC: US Institute of Peace press.

Gayle Millers and Carol Miller Lieber (2001) Conflicts in Context: LocaltoUnderstandingGlobalSecurity. Education for Social Responsibility

Amoo Sam G. (1997) The Challenge Of Ethnicity And Conflicts In Africa: The Need For A New Paradigm. Emergency Response Division United Nations Development Programme. New York

Burton J. (1987). WorldSociety. University Press of America. Lanham Imobighe T. (ed) (2003) Civil Society and Ethnic Conflict ManagementinNigeria. Spectrum Books, Ibadan, Nigeria

Nnoli O. (1980). EthnicPoliticsinNigeria. Fourth Dimension, Enugu. Nigeria

Otite O and Olawale I. (ed) (1999) CommunityConflictsinNigeria: Management,Resolution,andTransformation. Ibadan Spectrum Books, Nigeria

Burgess, H. and Burgess, G.M. (1997), Encyclopedia of conflict Resolution, Santa Barbara, ABC - CLIO.

Goldberg, Stephen: Sander, Frank E. A.; Rogers, Nancy H. (1992) Dispute Resolution: Negotiation, Mediation and other processes, Little, Brown and Co.

Miller, Christopher A. (2004), AGlossaryofTermsandConceptsand ConflictStudies, University for Peace.

Schmid, Alex P. (2000), Thesaurus and Glossary of Early Warning Conflict Prevention Terms, Forum on Early Warning and Early Response.

Deutsch, M.A. (1973), TheResolutionofConflict, New Haven, Conn: Yale

Rubin, J. (ed.) (1981), Dynamics of Third Party Intervention: Kissinger in theMiddleEast, New York: Praeger.

Assignment File

There are two aspects to 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 to 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 Assignment 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 the 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 **PCR 101 Introduction to Peace Studies** 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 Marking 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 and 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 this Course Guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.

2. Organize 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 provide 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

PCR 101 is an introductory course to Peace Studies as an academic discipline. Focus is on the genesis of peace studies, its theoretical background, and the ethics of war and peace. It also examines how to analyze contemporary conflict and introduces the main issues in the field of conflict mapping and conflict theory. Some of the important dimensions of peace, conflict and violence on various levels including ethnic and religious factors, marginalisation, justice, equality, environment and structures of international agencies and systems are also discussed.

We wish you success in your studies.

COURSE GUIDE	

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

This module will make you aware of the definitions of conflict and peace. It will also explain the philosophies guiding the analysis of conflict and peace studies. It is important because it will help you understand the subsequent modules. The objectives below specify what you are expected to learn after going through this module.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
i.   Distinguish between conflict and violence;
ii.   Identify what is positive about conflict; and
iii.   Analyze a conflict situation.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Definitions of Conflict

Careful analysis of these definitions will reveal what they have in common. First, they indicate the inevitability of conflict in human affairs. Second, they reveal key features of conflict situations. Many of the definitions, for example, stress that conflicts involve interdependent parties who perceive some kind of incompatibility between them.

Author(s)	Definition	Key Terms
Coser 1956	Social conflict is a struggle between opponents over values and claims to scarce status power an resources	Struggle, opposition, scarcity
Deutsh 1973	A conflict exists whenever incompatible activities occur … one party is interfering, disrupting obstructing, or in some other way making another party's actions less effective	Incompatibility, inter-ference effectiveness
Hocker and Wilmot 1985	'Conflict is the interaction of interdependen people who perceive incompatible goal and interference from each other in achieving thos goals'	Behaviors, disagreement, com-petition
Pruitt and Rubin 1986	Conflict means perceived divergence of interest, or a belief that the parties' current aspirations canno be achieved simultaneously	Interests, aspirations, beliefs
Conrad 1991	Conflicts are communicative interactions among people who are interdependent and who perceiv that their interests are incompatible, inconsistent or in tension	Communication, inter-dependence tension
Folger, Poole, Stutman 1997	Conflict is the interaction of interdependent people who perceive incompatible goals and interferenc from each other in achieving these goals	Interaction interdependence, Incompatibility

3.2   Definition of Peace

Peace is defined as 'a political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices and norms'. Miller and King (2003). It is dangerously misleading to think that the absence of war means the presence of peace. It is also important to know that simply avoiding conflicts, does not mean peace, but acting in accordance to some of the conditions that must be met to guarantee peace in any society. Balance political power sharing in any region; legitimacy for decision makers and implementers in the eyes of their respective groups, supported by external parties through transparency

and accountability; recognized and valued interdependence among the people fostering long-term co-operation during disagreements, agreements, normality and crises; trusted and reliable institutions for resolving conflicts; mutual understanding of incompatibility, and every member of that community must be given a sense of respect and belonging in principle and practice, collectively and individually in accordance with international standards. All these conditions mentioned above come to guarantee positive peace. Peace sought outside the premise of social justice as mentioned above is called negative and it is not true peace.

3.3   Different Perspectives of Peace

A lot of perspectives of peace making and processes are developed over years. But for the purpose of this module, we will describe the following:

3.3.1 Ahimsa

This is religious base. It originated within the Jainism, a reforming sect of Hinduism, a faith prominent in Indian region where Gandhi grew up. Ahimsa is translated into English as 'non-violence', but in the original Sanskrit, it conveys more meanings compassing 'non-injury' to all aspects of forms of life, be it man, animal or plant.

3.3.2 Satyagraha

This is another principle of peace which was also pushed by Gandhi which means 'the pursuit of truth' or 'insistence on truth' Gandhi (1928:36) argued that there is law of nature guiding the process of acquisition. The law according to him states that whatever guided the process of acquisition, will also guide the sustenance or the keeping of that acquisition. He therefore argued that it is then better to acquire whatever thing we want, be it political, economic or social in a non-violent way, so that we can keep it the same way. 'A thing acquired by violence can be retained by violence alone' Gandhi (1928:36). The idea of satyagraha goes beyond non-violence, but 'embodied a life long pursuit of truth'.

3.3.3 Conflict Resolution

This perspective talks about mediation, negotiation and arbitration. These processes encouraged the use of neutral third party to facilitate the process of peace making. The processes could be applied to inter and intra personal and group conflicts. These processes can be

studied and practiced independently. Agreements reached with these processes can be binding, therefore enforceable in the court of law.

3.3.4 Pacifism

This is historical theory that rejects war as a means of settling disputes. This theory argues that peaceful efforts should be applied in conflicts. It was first used in 1902 at the tenth Universal Peace Conference at Glasgow, Scotland. People opt for pacifism because of religion or the belief that war is ineffective and obsolete. To some, it goes beyond no war, to include the pursuit for justice and human rights. We have absolute pacifists who believe in no war, even, for self-defence. But the conditional pacifists oppose war and violence in principle, but recognize war to be the last resort in some cases. Some pacifists engage in humanitarian acts during wars, but some just refuse to participate in any form. They may be sentenced to community services in cases of state assignments that they refused to be drafted in.

3.3.5 Just War

This theory was derived from the works of Bishop Augustino of Hippo after the fall of the Roman Empire. The theory makes case and guidelines for war. This theory has influenced much of the Western political thoughts in general and international wary laws in particular. It states 1. That the decisions be made by a legitimate constituent assembly or authority, not by aggrieved individuals, 2. That the decision be made based on the right intention and just cause, 3. That the success be reasonably attentable and 4. That the envisioned peace be preferable to the situation if war was not fought. Conditions 3-4 are termed proportionality principles.

Self Assessment Exercise

Describe the various perspectives to peace.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this Unit, you have learnt the definitions of conflict and peace, their authors, and the terms of emphasis. The objectives of the Unit and from the discussions, you would be able to tell what is positive peace, negative peace and the conditions that define conflict and peace. This preliminary attempt to define conflict as an introduction to peace studies is based on functional approach and grounded on the general proposition that conflict can only take place within the following premise of communication, interdependence, incompatibility, cooperation competition, interaction, interdependence struggle, opposition, scarcity,

strategy, bargaining, dependence, incompatibility, interests, aspirations, beliefs. Finally, peace should be sought within the premise of justice for sustainable peace or we will have negative peace.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has defined the concepts of conflict and peace. It has also examined various perspectives of peace achieve a better understanding.

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1. Describe your associations with the word "conflict."
2. Write the word "conflict" in the center of the paper and circle it. Write your words associated with conflict at the end of lines radiating from the circle. Related ideas can be grouped together.
3. To discuss the web, answer the following questions:

   a. What do you notice about the web?

   b. Are there any generalizations we might make about our associations with the word conflict?
   c. Why are most of our associations with conflict negative?
   d. What are some examples of conflicts?

Survey about Conflict and Me

When filling this out be as honest as possible!

1. Most people fight or argue when they:
2. Most people fight or argue over:
3. One good thing people get from arguing or fighting is:
4. One bad thing about arguing and fighting is:

5. For the fact that Nigeria is not engaged in any civil war in recent time, does that mean that we have peace?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Conrad C. (1991). Communication in Conflict Style – Strategy Relationships. Communication Monographs. 58: 135-155

Coser C. (1956) The Function of Social Conflict. New York. Free Press Deutsech, M. (1973). The Resolution of Conflict. New Haven Yale University Press.

Folger, J.: Marshall, P.: and Stutman, R. (1997). <u>WorkingThrough Conflict</u> Addison – Wesley Educational Publishers Inc. USA

Hocker, J.I., and Wilmot, W.W. (1985) <u>Interpersonal Conflict.</u> Dubuque,   IA: WM.C. Brown

Miller, C., and King, M. (2003) <u>AGlossaryofTermsandConceptsin PeaceandConflictStudies</u>. University for Peace, Costa Rica.

Pruitt, D. G. and Rubin, J. (1986) <u>SocialConflict:EscalationStalemate andSettlement.</u> New York, Random House.

CRESNET (2001) <u>ConflictManagementTrainingManual.</u> USAID/OTI Isaac Olawale Albert (2001) <u>IntroductiontoThirdPartyPeaceful</u>

<u>Transformation Forum</u>   <u>Intervention in Community Conflicts</u>. John Archers (Publisher) Limited

UNIT 2   THEORIES

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

This Unit will make you aware of the theories of conflict and peace. I will also explain the philosophies guiding the analysis of conflict and peace studies. It is important because it will help you understand the subsequent modules. The objectives below specify what you are expected to learn after going through this Unit.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

i.   Describe the different theories of conflict and peace; and
ii.   Identify the different perspectives guiding the study of conflict and peace

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Traditional Perspective on Conflict

Theory is defined to be 'an explanation of the relationship between elements or variable' (Folger, Pool and Stutman 1997). This implies that when we talk about conflict theories or perspectives**,** we are simply trying to understand the explanations or reason guiding the relationship of the variables involved, so, the theory of Conflict and peace studies is an explanation of the ideas guiding the study of peace and conflict in the world today.

There are basically two perspectives – the traditional and the contemporary. The traditional perspectives considers ideas outside the field of communication, namely, the psycho- dynamic perspective, field theory, experimental gaming research, the human relation perspective

and the inter- group conflict research, the human relation perspective and the inter-group conflict

The Psycho – dynamic perspective – this perspective 'probes the basis of conflicts in unconscious human need psychological dynamics' and can be traced to Freud and the Impressionists who have been ridiculed and harshly critiqued by many. However, this provides insights into our daily thinking concepts that 'the unconscious' ' the ego' and ' and 'the id' processes like repression and wish fulfillment are fundamentals to our understanding of conflict. 'Psycho –dynamic, theorists attempt to describe the mechanisms in the human mind that constrain and channel psychic energy. Their mode has three components:

1. The identity, the source of energy
2. The superego, the value system designed to constrain this energy:
3. The ego, the excusive function that relates function that relates to the identity, and superego to actual behavior described human mind as a reservoir of psychic energy 'that can be channeled into various activities. They further argued more on the effect of anxiety, frustration and self hate to be forces that could be destructive as most times, this aggression is targeted towards the 'vulnerable or acceptable targets' and not towards the actual sources of frustrations, especially when the source is powerful or valued by the person. This explains the 'perception' characteristics of conflict as identified in the definition. At times, ideas are not true, but perceived.

Although, this perspective is true to certain extent in explaining what goes on in the human mind, it does not consider the external factors, which has to do with actions, reactions and counter actions.
The second flaw of this theory is that, it did not explain how one could re-route the impulses in situations for a change of action. Also, why a particular group of people are studied like the case of the German Jews, on this theory.

The Field Theory: Kurt Lewin (1951) is the propagator of this theory. His argument was that human behavior is determined by various fields of force. This movement is called 'life space' which consists of one's important goal, the barriers and necessary requirements to attain to the perception, which is psychological and subjective. It is not objective. Falling back on the definition of conflict, it is important to know that Social external factors, not only the personal view of the person that contribute to actions and reactions that constitute the conflict synergy.

In explanting his theory, he further argued that the climate is the quality of the field, which could be pervasive when the climate is 'continent' as everyone perceives the gain of the other to be his loss. The level of

hostility will be high, but when the interdependence is 'promotive', persons involved in conflict perceive the gain of the other to be the gain of all, therefore, creating a healthy climate. Therefore, interactions, co-operative or competitive create the climate. This theory explains what goes on in organizational conflicts. When a worker is having poor assessment goes into the office of his boss for reviews, and finds the interaction competitive, he is likely to get aggressive and defensive and the result will be a pervasive climate.

One limitation of this theory is the problem of narrowness. It simplified conflict analysis to co-operation and competition. This approach could be very misleading as conflict is far more complex than that.

The second limitation is over-emphasis on perception of individuals as the main cause of conflicts, because there are other causes, beyond perception.

Experimental Game Research: Pruitt and Kimmel (1977) propagated this theory, which is similar to the Social Exchange Perspective. Both perspectives believe that two important factors must be known about conflict, - conflict involves people who are interdependent and conflict people go for interactions that are more rewarding and less costly. The social exchange perspective believes that human behavior is guided by self-interest, 'meets people's needs'. They also assume that rewards are not objective, but depending on the individual's perception.

The second assumption is that rewards and cost are seen as 'exchange of resources among participants during interaction'. The conclusion is that 'parties exchange resources to influence others behaviors in ways that produce acceptable outcomes'. Therefore, conflict will emerge when one feels that his or her outcomes are too low, and secondly, when he anticipates that there will be resistance when an effort is made to improve on these outcomes, and the other is seen to be responsible for the poor outcomes.

This theory looks at conflict as a game of chess with the following assumptions:

   The game is structured to be a composition of choices and rewards that which they receive as they select their options.
   The choice like life opportunities are limited and the players know what their choices are.
   The rewards (payoffs) they receive do not only depend on their choices, but on the choices of others.
   The choice and the rewards are known to the players; therefore, it makes it all meaningful as they are aware of the implications.

Players rewards depend on the choices they make, therefore, they make selections based on high rewards.

The game research and social exchange provide several insights into conflict interaction and conclude that 'conflict interaction can be reduced to a series of exchange governed by participants' calculations and potential outcomes'

The short fall of this approach is that it reduced the extremely wide variety of choices people have in real life to just a few that the game allows. It is very complex in real life to determine what outcomes of actions could be. Some of them come with rewards and costs; so, it is not easy to draw a line between costs and rewards.

It could be very cumbersome to go on calculating rewards and outcomes before taking an action. This is sometimes quite unrealistic.

Human Resource Perspective: This is the last of the traditional perspective. It is the most recent and it emphasizes the motivation of workers at the work place. The human relation researches believe that five distinctive types of conflict behaviors based on two independent components of conflict characteristic exist. The assertiveness concerns itself with self-satisfaction and co-operations concern itself with the well being of others. The styles that could be measured assertively or co-operatively are competing, accommodating, avoiding, collaborating and compromising.

Inter Group Conflict Research: Inter group conflict analysis emphasizes the peculiarities that go with inter group relationships. There are conflicts characters that can only be noticed because people are from different nationalities, religious or ethnic group. The peculiarities of these conflicts lie in the characteristics of the group and it is inevitable.

There are two major problems noticed in inter group conflicts. One or two groups may have economic or political interest and one group stands to gain at the defeat of the other. But, most of the time, both groups do not know these ultimate interests and groups differences are emphasized. Most times the driving force for the conflict is not known. This further complicates the intervention that could be planned for the group.

The second consideration to be noted in inter group conflicts, is that groups in conflict on their own do not have the inherent ability to execute the conflict, but depend on the interaction of the other groups to act. So, prejudice should be discouraged. It is rather important to know that the search for identity is the driving force for group affiliation and

the group he does not belong. The inter group perspective focuses on the external social group and how they generate conflict.

3.2   The Contemporary Perspectives

Contemporary perspective to conflict cut across traditional boundaries revealing a multidisciplinary approach. As many as the disciplines are, they have been grouped into two, - the cognitive and the interaction perspectives. The cognitive and interaction theories seek to be descriptive and predictive. The descriptive answer the question of <u>how</u> people do things in conflict situation, and the predictive answer the question <u>why</u> people do things to escalate conflict.

The Cognitive Perspective

This refers to those theories that believe thoughts and perception are most important in determining thoughts and perceptions are most important in determining communication behaviors. These are the theories that believe that what goes on in the mind of a person determines what he will say. They also believe that everybody is different and unique, therefore will see things differently. So, the cognitive look at ideas of communication – encoding, decoding, planning and strategizing. They also assume that the cognitive constructs are revealed in their beliefs, attitudes, values, and perceptions.

The cognitive try to answer three research questions in conflict analysis:
1. How do individuals and groups differ in their approach to conflict? For example, are women less violent than men? 2. What trait best predicts communication during conflict? Personality traits are searched here, from verbally aggressive, to assertiveness, etc and 3. How does perception influence communication during conflict? For example, what are socially acceptable conducts?

Interaction Perspective

This perspective believes that behavior has the key to understanding meanings. They argue that you cannot understand a concept outside of the context. 'Meaning cannot be discerned independent of context'. 'Situations are negotiated by actors through the behavior they enact' Situations to them is fluidic than fixed, therefore, there is much mutual influence, as 'realities and meanings between people emerge and are negotiated through the moves and counter moves of discourse'. (Folger, Marshal and Stutman 1997. Pg.48). Interaction perspectives seek to answer the following three questions: 1. What rules do people use to interpret conflict situations? 2. What is the interaction pattern in

conflict situation? 3. How do people use messages to accomplish many objectives in conflict?

The cognitive and interaction perspectives later broke further into three each, making six contemporary theories.

Verbal Aggressiveness Theory – VAT

Knowing fully well that the contemporary theories are communication oriented, the VAT being one of them argues that aggression as a trait possessed by people can be ignited based on the interaction with factors in a particular situation. Infante and Wigley, (1987) argue that verbal aggression is depended on one's level of argumentativeness which is motivated by a willingness to want to argue. If one feels satisfied arguing, they will argue, but if reverse is the case, the person will not want to argue. The implication of this is that people with low argumentative traits, are high in verbal aggressiveness, because they are frustrated and lack the skills to succeed in such situations and therefore turn to aggression in a negative trait that can lead to conflict escalation, long-lasting damage to self-concept and deterioration of relationships. It is important to encourage people to develop argumentative traits as it is positively related to career satisfaction, achievement, superior-subordinate satisfaction, organizational growth and development.

Attribution Theory

This theory applies mostly in interpersonal conflict. In analyzing conflicts, people look at the causes of the action by attributing it to the characteristic, intentions and the attitudes of the people involved. The second effect of attribution theory is that because their actions will be attributed to other factors, they are encouraged to act appropriately in different situations. Innate (internal) ability of an individual to act in a particular way is referred to as dispositional factors, while external factors like the nature of the task, luck, interferences are called situational factors. So, in analyzing any conflict situation, both dispositional and situational factors are considered. These attributions help in the choice of conflict management style that could be adopted.

Integrative Theory

This theory allows the open discussion of conflict without any negative evaluation of the parties involved. Emphasize is on the problem. It calls for problem solving (dialogue) and collaboration. The second style is avoidance, which attempts to avoid direct discussion and management of the conflict. It involves denial of conversation etc. The third method is distributive, which aims to resolve the conflict at a win/lose

situation. You could employ insults, direct criticism and negative evaluation of the other party.

There are three propositions of this theory: people like to use it because it is easy to attribute the causes of the conflict to others or situation. The second reason is that, it encourages non-cooperative modes which is easy to identify with in angry situations and the third proposition is that the choice of the method to use in resolving the conflict will affect the outcome and the degree of satisfaction in the relationship.

Social Influence Theory

This theory emphasized the use of aggressive verbal acts when they can find justification for it. As much as verbal aggressiveness is frowned at, people can still get coercive without getting the condemnation that go with it because they can find justification for it. 'At the heart of this theory lies the premise that not all coercive acts are perceived as aggressive' (Folger, Marshall, and Stutman 1997).

The Coordinated Management of Meaning CMM

This theory in conflict analysis emphasizes that meanings of conversations depend on the context or nature of the relationship between the discussants, including their self-concept cultural background. The uniqueness of an individual based on exposure and hereditary comes into play in understanding what he or she is saying. Factors like cultural patterns, life script, constructs, episodes, speech acts, content and raw data are all come together to contribute to understanding what was said. 'The coordinated management of meaning provides a basis for identifying and understanding how the same event can have different meanings for parties involved how these meanings affect their actions' Page 60 (Folger, Marshall, and Stutman 1997).

Confrontation Episode Theory

Newell and Stutman (1988 and 1991) argue that communication is not just words, but activity that two or more people come together to co-create. Social confrontation deals with conflict that has to do with conduct and rules. Before conflict can be discussed, the disputants will first and foremost find out the legitimacy of the rule guiding the relationship. The theory has six tracks – 1. No legitimacy 2. Justification 3. Deny behavior 4. Deny rule broken 5. Deny responsibility and 6. Accept responsibility.

Self Assessment Exercise

Explain the principle of traditional perspective on conflict.

4.0   CONCLUSION

To recap what we have learnt in this unit, it is important that we remember that we defined conflict and peace with analyses of the definitions with emphases on major ideas that guide the proper understanding of the concepts of peace and conflict. The different perspectives of theories that have been guiding the study of peace and conflict will be discussed in full in the cause of the course. The essence of this approach is to acquaint the students with the different schools of thoughts which will explain for the different approaches to conflict and peace studies and analyses. 'Conflict is the interaction of interdependent people who perceive incompatible goal and interference from each other in achieving those goals' (Hocker and Wilmot 1985). There are two major perspectives of conflict – the traditional and the contemporary. The traditional was further divided into four – Psychodynamic perspective, Field Theory and the Concept of Climate, Experimental Gaming and Social Exchange, The Human Relation Perspective and Inter Group Conflict Resolution.
The Contemporary Perspective and the Inter-action Perspective: This defined as 'A political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices and norms'. Miller and King (2003). Different perspectives of Peace were identified and discussed in Unit 1. – Ahimsa, Satyagraha, Conflict Resolution Strategies, Pacifism and Just War.

5.0   SUMMARY

This unit has examined various traditional and modern conflict theories. The knowledge of these theories will definitely assist us to understand the concept of conflict.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

Read through the conversation on the Parking Lot and discuss the questions below to differentiate between the different perspectives of conflict. Write on one of the questions of your choice for your TMA.

Jay: What's your problem? What the hell did you do to my Honda? I said, what did you do?

Femi: I drove into my spot and didn't see your bike. What was it doing parked there?

Kola: Look, my tire is flat. I can't move the wheel. Crushed in and
         doesn't move.
Femi: I didn't see it until I was on top of it.
Kola: You are going to have to pay for this. I can't afford this.
Femi: What was it doing in a parking space?
Kola: What's your problem? It was parked. Look at the wheel. You
came   around pretty good.
Femi: Listen, this is my spot. I didn't see it and it shouldn't have been
         there. You're lucky I stopped when I did. Look at my
         bumper. What was it doing there?
Kola: You ass. Who cares whose spot. Some jerk like you drove over
         my Honda and says, 'This is my spot'. I don't care who you are,
         you will fix my Honda.
Femi: You are one with a problem. Do you work here?
Kola: What does that have to do with anything? Stop looking at your
         bumper, it looks fine. I want your driver's license and insurance.
Femi: Who in the hell do you think you are? (Starts walking away)
Kola: You are not going anywhere (Grabs Tom's arm)
Femi: Let go of me. You are screwed. I'm calling the police. (Turns to
         move towards the office)
Jay slugs Tom from behind. The two scuffle for a few moments until
others arrive to break them apart. (Adopted from Working through
Conflict)

   a. Why did the conflict escalate to physical violence?
   b. What assumptions does your answer reveal?
   c. Do you think the change in strategy was due to a change in
       attributions the parties were making?
   d. What justifications might have been used by the involved parties
       to defend their use of aggression?
   e. Analyze your own behavior in a recent conflict using CMM
       concept.

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UNIT 3   CAUSES OF CONFLICT

CONTENT

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Conflict is any form of confrontation between two or more parties resulting from 'a situation where (these) two or more interdependent groups or systems of action have incompatible goals (Diller, 1997:6). Of course, it is universally acknowledged that conflict is inevitable. Thus, it is every moment occurrence'. This unit tends to examine various causes of conflict to arouse our better understanding of the subject matter (i.e. conflict) and as its related to our every day operations and relationships or interactions.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the time you complete this unit, you should be able to:

i.   Explain various causes of conflict; and
ii.   Relate these various causes of conflict to all levels of relationship i.e.intra-personal, interpersonal, intra-group, inter-group, national, and international.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Causes of Conflict

According to Maoz (1982), 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 striving at incompatible goals" (1982:12). This definition shows the nature of inevitability in the relationships between two or more parties. The definition further opined that one may find his aspirations not

compatible with his personal qualities, which tends to lead to frustration (conflict), and when such frustration (conflict) gets to the climax, then crisis will emerge.

It is important to note that not all conflict situations are negative; some often facilitate a transition, which create opportunity for change and even development. Please, you are advised to study well the previous units in this module in order to advance a proper understanding of the concept of conflict as well as to develop a strong mechanism for analysis and interpretation of the various sources of conflict, we are about to discuss.

3.2   List of Causes of Conflict

Though, there are several causes of conflict, but they can be categorized into the following:

Conflicts may occur due to resources;
Conflicts may take place as a result of psychological needs;
Conflicts may erupt due to values
Conflicts may emerge resulting from (mismanagement of information.

3.3   Causes of Conflict: Discourse.

Both at the intra-group, inter-group, national and international levels, many experts in peace and conflict studies have shown great concern on the rise in frequency and intensity of conflict, with major focus on the roots or causes of conflict. Thus, there is no way, a meaningful peace can be achieved without considering and analyzing the causes of conflict at all levels including intrapersonal.

A.   **Resources**: Conflicts can emerge due to resources. It is very easy to identify any conflicts that emerge consequent on resources. These conflicts erupt when two or more parties aspire for scarce resources. It is economic phenomenon of demand and supply. Thus, there is tendency for emergence of conflict in a situation whereby the aspiring parties in their demands are more than the available (scarce) resources. Some political analysts have held a contrary view, argued that conflict can emerge as a result of over-availability of resources. For instance, before the advent of 'Petro-Naira' or discovery of crude oil in Nigeria in 1970s, Niger-Delta enjoyed a relative peace, until the crude oil discovery. This discovery, rather than be a blessing, has become a curse to the region. The Region is now baptized with environmental degradation, catastrophic increase in inter

communal crisis, insurgency and counter insurgency, political exclusion and structural backwardness.

The conflict in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria can be easily identified due to the Resource nature of the conflict. The Nigeria Delta Dissidents as well as their leaders are of the view that Nigeria should reverse to Pre 1970 revenue sharing formula of 50% which later brought about the struggle for true federalism and resource control in Nigeria polity.

The major cause of the violent conflict in Liberia is "the control and exploitation of diamonds, timber and other raw materials… Control over these resources financed the various factions and gave them the means to sustain the conflict" (Report of the UN Secretary General). Here, resources play a dual role: they serve as the root cause of conflict as well as conflict sustenance element.

At interpersonal level, you may see two pupils (fighting over a pencil (resource), each laying claim to the pencil. One of them of course, may decide to let go the pencil (object of conflict) to the other pupil (party), and this will render the conflict terminated. Thus, in some cases such a concession may only achieve a negative peace, and there is need to always adopt a win-win approach because sweeping dirt under the carpet, does not make room clean, but it can only guarantee a bumper harvest of heap. Hold your breath! In the next segment of this unit, we discuss another cause of conflict i.e. psychological needs.

B.   **Psychological Needs**: Any conflict that arises due to psychological needs are those that cannot be seen. Psychological needs are psychical in nature, as they involve a mental phenomenon within an emotional framework.

Different people with different levels of perception, and one's perception determine the direction of his relationship with other parties. It is worth knowing, a wrong perception tends to generate conflict. Thus, there are different dimensions of perceptions:

-        **Intrapersonal perception**: The way an individual perceives or sees himself in a given time;

-        **Interpersonal perceptions**: Here, the way one sees other people. This may include the way a child sees his father compared to somebody else's father. Having a negative perception about other people can lead to conflict.

1

- **Perception of situation/environment**: These perceptions are informed by the happenings about us. For instance, the issue of insecurity among the workers in Nigeria has created a form of psychological torment, which has made most of these workers develop an habit of hostility, that has often resulted in a conflict situations between them and innocent citizens who often deal with government agencies. Some of these workers have begun to seek for alternative and corrupt means to limit the effect of job insecurity may have on their future or doing some strategic saving for the life after retirement. This kind of psychological need usually affects the input of an average worker because he has lost faith in the entire system where labor is disarticulated.

This example shows the multidimensional ways to conflict. Resources have made an average worker to develop a psychological need – working against insecurity. Thus, the insecurity takes different forms i.e. economic; political and social.

C.   **Values:** Conflict may also emerge due to differences in the value of the people or organizations. Value includes philosophy, religion, and ideology among others. The values describe our personalities, our potentials and our shortcomings, even our down-lows. In Nigeria, religion crises have been great problems to this nation. The main problem is not the difference in the religion practice but the conduct and operations of various religious classifications are the problems.

In the two major religions in Nigeria, it is preached that human blood is sacred and must not be shed not to incur the wrath of the Almighty God. Yet, both religions are culprits in Nigeria. In order to understand the root of a particular conflict, one must consider the issue of value. Again, before the collapse of Soviet Union at the close of 1980s, there was cold war between the west and east bloc, which were led by the USA and defunct USSR respectively. The conflict between the blocs aligned the global system, which attracted a holocaust in several parts of the world. Africa has its own share of the violent situation generated by the cold war. The effect of the west-east conflict was felt through out the world, which necessitated the establishment of Non-Alignment organization, and Nigeria was one of the members.

Still on ideology, some political elites who believe in a state-based economy will never acknowledge individuals or private

organizations control of the means of production. The conflict between Cuba and America is not basically based on resources but one ideology. America's hatred for communism (or socialism) is always demonstrated in the activities of the US against Cuba and other anti capitalist-countries like North Korea. Thus, ideology plays a big role in the generation of conflict.

D.   Management of Information: Information plays a vital role in the conduct of human and organizational interactions or relationships. Information if not well -managed can generate conflict situation. The way an average informed person perceives things will definitely be different from the way an uniformed individual will behave on a specific issue at a given time.

In Nigeria because government understands the importance of information, that is why there are various information gathering and dissemination agencies like public complaints commission, National Orientation Commission, Ministry of Information among others. This is not to say that government in Nigeria is doing enough in the management of information, that is why there exist several communal crises, sectarian armed conflicts and insurgency in Nigeria, despite the existence of various security machineries, particularly the State Security Services (SSS) and police, who ought to have developed a form of crisis or conflict prevention strategies and peace, generation mechanisms. It is unfortunate that most of our security personnel don't have the knowledge and skills of conflict management. A case study was the brutal murder of Saro-Wiwa and other Ogoni leaders. After the state killing, by Late Gen. Sani Abacha, of these Ogoni leaders, the crisis in the Nigeria Delta has taken a new and more violent dimension rather than subsiding.

At International level, the current Iraq war has shown the importance of information in the conduct of international relations. Had it been that the US Government had substantial information about Iraq, she and her allies wouldn't have gone for the war but rather adopt some diplomatic means to address the Saddam issue. Now, they have displaced Saddam, but no peace has been achieved so far in spite of huge material and human resources being pumped into the prosecution of the war. Again, at last no nuclear weapon has been found in Iraq for more than two years since the war erupted.

Self Assessment Exercise

Discuss the various levels of causes of conflict.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this Unit, we have learnt different causes or sources of conflict. Conflict as we have been made to understand in this Unit, is that conflict is inevitable but you should improve on our communication and perception, and channel enough resources to renounce or discourage violent and negative conflict. In this unit, we described the concept of conflict and as it relates with our day-to-day interactions and relationships.

5.0   SUMMARY

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1. List three sources of conflict and discuss **OR**

2. Most armed conflicts in Africa are caused by disagreement over resources. *Discuss*.

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UNIT 4   CONFLICT ANALYSIS

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

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

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this Unit, you should be able to:
i.   Describe concept of conflict analysis;
ii.   Understand different stages of conflict analysis;
iii.   Explain various tools of conflict analysis; and
iv.   Describe the conduct and working relevance of these conflict analytical tools for students and practitioners of peace and conflict studies.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Conflict Analysis

Many people wonder what analysis of conflict is. In practice, how reliable, conflict analysis is, particularly in view of proffering solutions to conflict situation? Can conflict be analyzed at all levels of

relationship either interpersonal, or intra-group or inter-group or communal or national or international? The concept of conflict analysis may look some how abstract to the experience of people. Conflict analysis remains a great and difficult task particularly in this part of the world where there is value-laden problem. The primordial and sectarian sentiments that people attach to their operations, actions, and judgemental imperatives, may affect the process and outcome of our analysis of conflict. Therefore, conflict analysis requires objectivity and neutrality rather than personal values, emotions and manipulations.

In practical terms, conflict analysis is a process, which examines and unravels the root causes, dynamics, issues and other fundamentals of conflict through the use of various perspective mechanisms for our better understanding of the conflict. This understanding of conflict affords us a great opportunity to develop certain strategies and actions for possible termination of conflict. Conflict analysis answers questions on the background and history of conflict situation, identifying parties to the dispute. It also identifies the cultural background of the parties' relationship as well as factors responsible for such conflict and the trends of the conflict situation and the relative power of the parties.

Conflict analysis is a continuous exercise, which must be undertaken from time to time to develop strategies and actions to change factors and dynamics of conflict events. This task is carried out through the use of some analytical tools and techniques. In this unit, the students will be exposed to some of these tools and techniques. When you intervene as a peace expert in a conflict, you are expected to take or rather fulfill some conditions in order to achieve at least minimum level of success. Data gathering is very important, even before you bring together the disputants. Thus, during the intervention, you gather additional information, and if there is any new information subsequently, you must incorporate all of them to your conflict analytical strategy. This will give you a substantial direction on the choice of strategies for successful intervention, even if it would necessitate an alternative strategy other than the one (s) initially adopted in the resolution of the conflict. The stages or conditions to consider in the analysis of any conflict situation should include:

1.   Conflict History

  (a)   Consider the significant events between the disputants;
  (b)   Consider if there have been any previous disputes between the disputants;
  (c)   Examine their relationships, if there has been any change in record time;

(d)   Have there been any past efforts to solve the conflict, and consider why these past efforts failed.

2.   Context

(a)   Examine the step taken by the disputing parties to resolve their differences
(b)   Study the physical environment of the conflict;
(c)   Evaluate the level and trends of communication between the parties and their decision-making principles.

3.   Primary Parties

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

4.   Power

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

5.   Other parties / Stakeholders

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

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

6.   Issues

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

7.   The Immediate Situation

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

8.   Stage of Conflict

(a)   Consider if the conflict is still stabilising or escalating or even deescalating and the reasons for the trend;

(b)   In the case of conflict escalation, you determine

    i.   If the issues are transiting from specific to general;

ii.   The level of size increase of the issues or resources in the conduct of the conflict by the parties;

iii. If there is any transition to confrontation from disagreement;

iv.   The level of increase in the parties exercise of power;

v.   Emerging relationships between the parties?

vi.   Situation of communication and propaganda between the parties;

(c)   In the case of stabilization, the following should be considered/evaluated;

i.   Any continued presence of safety-value mechanisms;

ii.   The level of fear of conflict escalation;

iii. Existence of agreements on norms and values;

iv.   The level of presence of social bonds and traditional or
cultural alliance between parties (in a larger organizational structure);

v.   The level of external interference or threat;

vi.   The level of time constraints, if any, on the further use of resources.

9.   Timing

(a)   Determine the right or actual time to intervene;

(b)   Determine the most profitable time for the success of the intervention;

(c)   Identify the party that is more likely to derive benefits from immediate intervention.

## 10. Alternatives and Options for Settlement

(a)   Consider the parties' level of knowledge and understanding of their alternatives;

(b)   Consider the level of parties awareness of each other's alternative or options;

(c)   Examine the steps or efforts taken so far by the disputing parties in the achievement of their alternatives or options;

(d)   Evaluate the realistic nature of the disputing parties.

3.2   The Onion Analytical Tool

This analytical tool is also known as Avocado or Doughnut analytical tool. Onion/Avocado/Doughnut lays the three layers – the outer; the whitish; and the inner. This analytical tool is based on the analogy of Onion where the outer layer contains the position (what we say we want). The whitish layer contains the interests of the parties in conflict, which are what they want to achieve from any particular situation. The third layer is the core cause (B) of the situation, and these are needs – these are what we must achieve from the situation. Every intervenor is expected to carry out this analysis on each of the disputants.

FIGURE 2.1

Needs
what we
must have

Interest
What we say we want

Interest
What we want
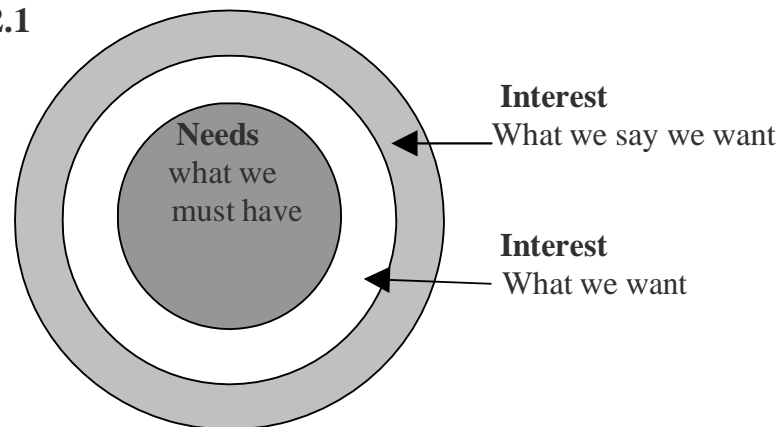
TheOnionConflictAnalyticalTool

In any conflict situation, particularly at national and international levels, one may see a large number of people agitating for the same thing (position). Here, the intervenor must exercise some caution in the analysis of the conflict. For instance in Nigeria, a large number of people are clamouring against inclusion of three tenures of four years each in the amended constitution. Their position is campaign against third term.

The analyst of any conflict situation should be conscious of the need to develop the analytical framework which will consider both the position, interest and needs of the parties. The anti third term campaigners, definitely will have different interests (what they really want). Some may not dislike totally the issue of third term but may only want President Olusegun Obasanjo to relinquish power in 2007 basically for the actualisation of their needs (what they must achieve). The needs of some of them may be to escape any further onslaught against their persons in the raging war against corruption. The needs of some of these
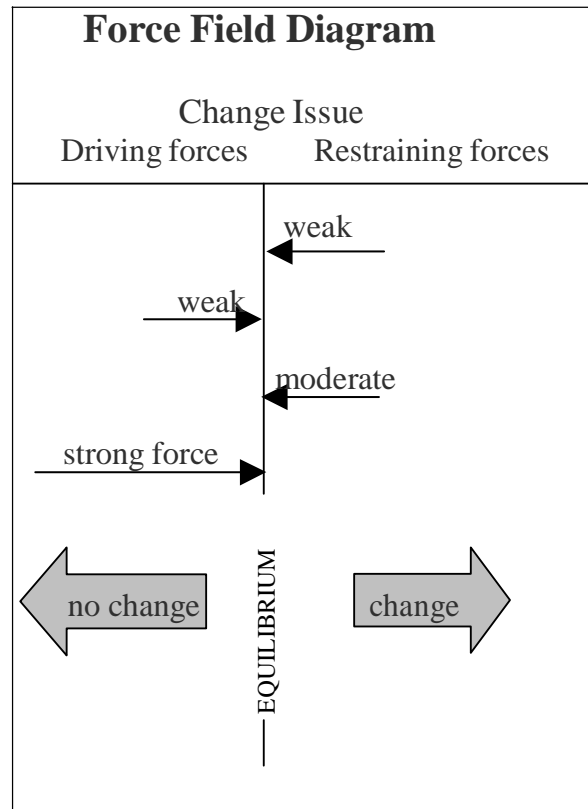
people may be achievement of political reckoning. At the same time, some may only wish that the country achieve institutionalisation of good governance, economic development, justice and respect for the rule of law, which they believe could only be achieved, if there is absence of sit-tight syndrome or long stay in leadership.

Additionally, some of these anti-third term protesters' or campaigners' needs may be power rotation to any of the other regions or regional divides other than South-West. But for those who are in support of three terms of office for the executive positions, they have different needs. Some may articulate such position (support for third term) for monetary benefits; some for political relevance and power consolidation; some for continued policy implementation of OBJ Administration for national growth; some for mere academic exercise; some for continued war against corruption among others.

Alternative Dispute Resolution process focuses more with interests and needs than positions. While the court system pays great premium on positions, which is capable of increasing the adversarial relations between the parties. It is not far fetched that it is somehow difficult to see the disputing parties shaking hands or exchanging pleasantries after court ruling; but may occur on rare cases. Apart from the positions of the parties, you are expected to analyse the interests and needs of the party. The interests can easily be identified but needs are always hidden. Understanding the needs of the parties is very important, this you can only achieve through building of trust. The parties need to trust you before they let you know their main targets or needs (what they must achieve).

3.3   Forces-Field Analysis

This analytical tool can be explored to show the different forces influencing a conflict situation. In the course of taking some action plans with the aim of facilitating a change, some other forces may either support or hinder your aspirations. This tool helps one to identify such positive and negative forces that affect or influence the desired change he aspires to make or achieve. Through this analytical tool, one will assess the strengths and weaknesses of those positive and negative forces. It also assists one to identify if there is any form of status quo. The Force Field Analysis was developed by American social psychologist Kurt Lewin (1951) as a useful tool built on the premise that forces are often driven by habits, customs, and attitudes that can affect the change process.

Force Field Diagram

Change Issue

Driving forces   Restraining forces

weak

weak

moderate

strong force

no change   EQUILIBRIUM   change

With this tool, we begin the analysis by naming some specific objective (the change we desire to achieve). We will write this objective at the top of the page and we draw a lie down the centre of the page. On one side of the line, we list all the forces that seem to support and assist the action or change, which is to happen. Next to each of the already drawn forces, we draw an arrow towards the centre, varying the length and/or thickness of the arrow to show the relative strength of each force. These arrows are pointing in the direction of the desired change. FIGURE 2.2 (Source: www.valuebasedmanagement.net)

On the other side of the line, use list all the forces that tend to hinder our desired action or change from happening. Then, we draw an arrow pointing to each of the negative forces back towards the centre, against the direction of the desired change. Thus, the length and thickness of each arrow will show its relative strength. Thereafter, we will consider which of these forces, we can influence, either to increase the strength or to minimise the negative forces, so as to increase the probability of the desired change coming into fruition.

We may wish to review our plan of action and make modifications or amendments to our strategy with the aim of increasing the strength of positive forces and to limit the effects of negative forces.

3.4　Conflict Mapping

Mapping is a technique used to represent a conflict graphically, placing the parties in relation both to the problem and to each other. When people with different viewpoints map their situation together they learn about each other's experiences and perception. How to Map a Conflict Situation

1. Decide on what you want to map, when and from what point of view. Choose a particular moment in a specific situation. If you try to map the whole of a regional political conflict in detail, the results may be so time-consuming, so large and so complex that it is not really helpful. It is often useful to do several maps of the same situation from a variety of viewpoints and see how the different parties might perceive it. Trying to reconcile the differing viewpoints is the reality of working on the conflict. It is a good discipline to ask whether those who hold a particular view would actually accept your description of their relationships with the other parties.
2. Don't forget to place yourself and your organization on the map. Putting yourself on the map is a reminder that you are part of the situation, not above it, even when you analyse it. You and your organization are perceived in certain ways by others. You may have contacts and relationships that offer opportunities and openings for work with the parties involved in the conflict.
3. Mapping is dynamic – it reflects a particular point in a changing situation and points towards action. This kind of analysis should offer new possibilities. What can be done? Who can best do it? When is the best moment? What groundwork needs to be laid beforehand? What structures built afterwards? These are some of the questions you should ask as you are carrying out the mapping.
4. In addition to the "objective" aspects, it is useful to map the issues between parties that are in conflict. Why does the conflict exist?

3.4b   Conventions in Conflict Mapping

The size of these circles represents the parties,
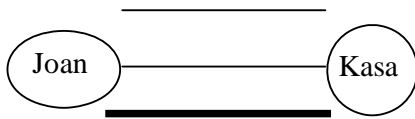
Thus, a straight line between the two parties shows that there is a good relationship between the parties.

This depicts strong relationship
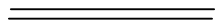
When two lines are drawn, there is a pact between the parties. The two lines represent alliance.
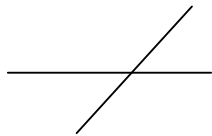
This shows a broken relationship, you may then provide the reasons for such a severance of relationship
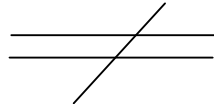
This depicts a broken pact or alliance
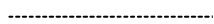
This shows intermittently the relationship that is neutral neither a friend nor an enemy.
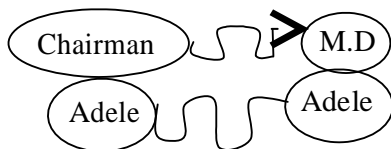
This means that Chairman has problem with the M.D, but M.D does not have any problem with the Chairman
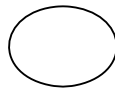
This shows the presence of shadow parties

This depicts smaller conflict.

This depicts major conflict.

It is quite important for you to know that you can develop your own (or additional) inventions other than the conventional ones discussed above. Thus, Conflict mapping, according to Albert, "enables the peace worker to gain an insight into hidden issues in the conflict --- Mapping entails keeping a graphical record of the location of a conflict, or how the parties are strategically positioned against each other" (Albert, 2001:61)

Mapping cannot give ultimate and desired result in intervention in isolation to other tools, because it does not give answer to all questions. It only presents the peacemaker or intervenor an insight to appreciate the underlying causes of conflict and the point of entry for the possible and the point of entry for the possible resolution of conflict that is why you need to understand other analytical tools.

3.5   The ABC Triangle

This analytical tool sees conflict having three underlying elements. These elements are the *context* or situation; the *behaviour* of the disputing parties and their *attitudes*. Thus, these three factors affect one another. This tool seems to analyze these factors relate one another, relating them to needs and fears of the parties.

See figure 2.3.

Fig. 2.3:
 The ABC Triangle Behaviour

Attitude   Content
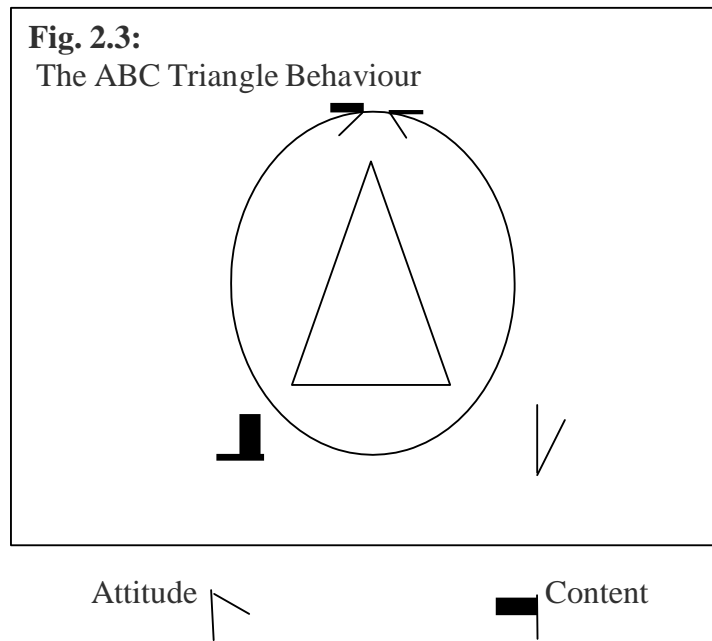
For example, a group of students may want the school management to reduce the prices of course materials, and if the school management ignores such a demand, that group of students may develop an attitude of frustration, which may bring about violent demonstration. This violent behaviour may even attract a context of further denial of rights and privileges, the school management may even maintain the initial stand of not reducing the prices of course materials, and even ask the students to pay some penalty levy for disrupting the order of the school, and the school calendar. The decision may even increase the frustration

of that group of students, which may generate more violent demonstration.

In the management of such conflict, the third party intervenor or peacemaker would look for ways or develop some interventionist strategies (particularly violence reduction strategy) to charge the context of the conflict situation. Resources must be channeled for the reduction of frustration by the peacemaker; this he/she can do by helping the disputants to focus on the long term nature of their struggle or providing outlets for non violent behaviour in order to limit the tension.

Furthermore, how do you carry out the task of an intervenor with the application of this tool? First, you draw up a separate ABC Triangle for each of the major stakeholders in the conflict. You list the key issues relating to attitude, behaviour and context from the party's viewpoint. Identify the most important need and fears, and inform each of the parties, his needs and fears as you think, and place these in the middle of the triangle of each of them. This is the product of your perception.

Thereafter, you compare and contrast the perceptions of the parties. After detecting the major object of conflict, then attention can be paid on such majority. These causes and issues, which are the products of the parties' differences, shall be focused on, and the peacemaker will make the parties see reasons on why they should change their negative perceptions as a way to bring about a positive and desired peace.

Self Assessment Exercise

Explain the concept of conflict analysis.

4.0   CONCLUSION

This Unit has presented us with the definition of conflict analysis, and the stages to undergo in order to have an effective analysis of any conflict situation. This unit also exposed us to several tools of conflict analysis as well as their relevance and shortcomings. But students should know that there are some other analytical tools that discussed in the unit or courses, which you will have opportunities to explore subsequently in the course of your academic aspirations at the National Open University of Nigeria.

5.0   SUMMARY

The Unit explains conflict analysis and its importance in the management of conflict. The Unit has also presented different tools of

conflict analysis to stimulate a better understanding and appreciation of conflict analysis, particularly in relation to conflict resolution.

6.0   TUTOR MARKET ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1.   List three conflict analytical tools, and discuss.
         or
2.   Describe conflict mapping and use any organization as a case study.
         or
3.   Use Avocado to discuss any current conflict situation in any part
          of Nigeria.

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UNIT 5   PEACE PROCESSES 1

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Peace processes are practical undertakings basically designed to identify and handle conflict in a reasonable, fair, and effective manner. Students in peace and conflict studies are expected through their training, to develop relevant conflict management skills, though their adequate application of relevant conflict management techniques, will definitely find answer to every conflict situation, either at interpersonal or intra-group or even at international and every other levels of human and state interactions, particularly within the framework of inter dependent relationships. This Unit aims to explain and examine various forms of Alternative Dispute Resolution. Their relevance and contradictions, as processes to the achievement and maintenance peaceful co existence of all members of an organizational structure and social formations, will be examined.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of this Unit, you should be able to:

i.   Analyse the Alternative Dispute Resolution as a viable mechanism for peace and conflict management;
ii.   Describe the various forms of Alternative Dispute Resolution;
iii.   Explain the reasons for adopting ADR;
iv.   Explain the advantages and forms of ADR
v.   Describe the stages, strategies and demerits of negotiation;
vi.   Define mediation and its stages;

vii.   Explain conciliation and its relevance to dispute settlement.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)

Alternative Dispute Resolution refers to various dispute management techniques, which allows for introduction of a neutral third party intervention. It denounces the gamut of traditional adversarial processes. Alternative Dispute Resolution only involves all forms of conflict management mechanisms, which are not ad-judicial; these include negotiation, mediation, and arbitration (Burgess and Burgess, 1997: 8). The principal ADR processes remain mediation and arbitration (Goldbery et al, 1992).

ADR unravels systematic and professional ways through which third party neutrality can create opportunities to promote creative joint problem solving culture as well as supervision and facilitation of mutual good agreements, which consider the needs of the parties rather than their positions. But court adjudication basically considers positional views of the parties.

Before adopting ADR approach for the resolution of any conflict, the parties in dispute should ask the following questions:

  a. Despite the broken alliance or relationship, is there any need to restore the conflict-ridden relationship?
  b. Are there any communication problems, and is it necessary to seek for the assistance of skilled neutral third party intervention, and consider the reliability of such intervention?
  c. Are we (the parties) willing to meet to settle the areas of dispute?
  d. What level of importance do we (the parties) attach to confidentiality?
  e. Do we (the parties) wish to retain full control over the outcome?
  f. How important is time?

3.2   Reasons for Adoption of ADR

  a. One of the reasons for the choice ADR is time. ADR is quicker than the traditional judicial method. People prefer ADR to court process because the latter takes a long period of time before a dispute can be determined for possible resolution, while in most cases, due to the characteristic preferences, the court processes, accord positional ethos, achieving positive peace remains a difficult task – it often presents parties as gladiators or enemies;

b.   Cost: ADR is cheaper, in spite of being faster. The cost of adopting the court process is enormous. For instance, A 5 year study conducted by Assistant United State Attorneys (AUSA's) shows the prominent status of ADR in dispute resolution. During the period, 63% success was recorded in the ADR interventions, while estimated $10, 700 was saved in litigation costs, and at least eight – nine hours of staff time, and six months of litigation time were also saved. Therefore, ADR remains the most effective (Senger, 26).

c.   Participation: ADR affords the parties a great opportunity to take part fully in the whole peace process, through which a mutually acceptable agreement can be reached. The parties ask questions from themselves with shared feelings, exploring the possibilities for restoring hope and confidence between themselves (parties) in the actualization of dispute resolution. Here is a story culled from one of the works of the Association for Conflict Resolution, based in their United State of America:

One stormy autumn morning in September 2001, in a small Midwestern River town, 20-year-old Lee was driving his huge commercial truck, delivering milk. In a hurry to make his stops, he was driving slightly over the speed limit. Suddenly, the truck hit a wet patch on the road, hydroplaned and struck a passenger car head-on, instantly killing Nicole, the other driver, age 24. The lives of family and friends of both Nicole and Lee were changed forever by this unexpected tragedy. Subsequently, Lee was charged by the criminal justice system with a felony-negligent vehicular homicide. What options were there for Lee (his mother and fiancée) and the victims (Nicole) family members?

1. *Lee could have pled not guilty and thereby diminished his level of responsibility and engaged in a lengthy, adversarial court process, with a skilled lawyer representing him, he may have pled to a lesser charge, or even gotten off completely.*

2. *Lee could have pled guilty, gone to court and received a court imposed sentence, which likely would have involved time in prison along with community service or other sanctions...*

3. *Lee could have pled guilty and been offered the opportunity to voluntary participate in a Victim Offender mediation/ Conference (VOM/C), with Nicole is surviving family members prior to sentencing.*

In a rare case of collaboration and compassion, the families chose option three and participated in a Victim Offender Mediation / Conference (VOM/C). The conference ---, lasted several hours, --- Lee

agreed to help maintain Nicole's gravesite and attend annual celebrations of Nicole's life. Nicole's family recommended no jail time and both families agreed to keep in contact – starting with a potluck picnic in a local park. A mutually acceptable agreement was signed and presented to the judge. (Raye and Roberts, 2004: 9).

ADR affords the disputing parties to discuss and debate on their differences and see the need to improve their relationship for mutual good and understanding rather than articulating a win-lose philosophy. The above incident shows how the victim and offender can come together and discuss on ways to change their conflict situation to that of tranquility and mutual respect for each other's needs.

3.2.3 Advantages of ADR

a. It does not consume much time;
b. It is more cost effective. It is of course cheaper than the traditional alternative of court process;
c. It affords the parties opportunity to control the outcome of the peace process;
d. The parties agree without compulsion from the diplomatic framework through which their dispute can be resolved;
e. It tends to improve the relationships between the parties, creating a win-win situation for the attainment of positive peace;
f. It also considers the needs of the parties.

3.3.4 Forms of ADR

Negotiation: According to Pruitt, "negotiation is a form of decision making in which two or more parties talk with one another in an effort to resolve their opposing interest --- a process by which a joint decision is made by two or more parties" (Pruitt, 1981: xi -xii). Negotiation can also be defined as "Talks between conflicting parties who discuss ideas, information and options in order to reach a mutually acceptable agreement. Initially at least, negotiations may not be face – to face" (International Alert, 1996, 111: 53).

One of the underlying properties of negotiation is that process, which involves two or more parties, who are interested in preserving or improving a relationship that conflict has seemed to distort. Thus, negotiation can also be regarded as a verbal, interactive process that is targeted at building or remolding relationships through the mutual aspirations of the parties sharing a mutual destiny, striving to jointly reach an agreement or set of agreements on issues for mutual benefits. Negotiation involves any voluntary bargaining process in which the parties, articulate a shift from enmity to friendship, discern

the need to facilitate an escape exit from the threshold of positional imperatives – for instance, in an organization, the position of the workers may be, call for the sack of the Managing Director of the organization, for not articulating well the workers' welfare at the board meetings. Here, 'sack of the M.D.' is the position of the workers, while these workers may have different 'needs' some of them clamoring for sack of the M.D. may be advancing such a position for their in ordinate ambition of becoming the successor of the M.D. For the better understanding of the subject matter, students are advised to see unit 4 of this module.

Have you read and understood the above-recommended unit? If not, see your tutorial facilitator or student counselor for professional assistance or guidance. Now, let's go back to negotiation (subject in discussion). Negotiation dominates almost all fields of international relations, not only those which can cover the shaping of new law, but also the settlement of disputes (Henkins et al, 1982: 281). Henkins et al further argue that 'the first stage of settlement is reserved to negotiation' (ibid), Negotiation does not always involve the intervention of a neutral third party, which makes it different from other forms of ADR (Show, 1997: 751). The International Court of Justice has also throws its weight behind the relevance of negotiation in the peaceful settlement of dispute in the North Sea Continent Self Case Convention, and the court held that:

The parties are under an obligation to enter into negotiations with a view to arriving at an agreement, and not merely to go through a   formal process of negotiation as a sort of prior condition --- they are under   an obligation so as to conduct themselves that the negotiation are meaningful, which will not be the case when either of them insists upon its own position without contemplating any modification of it (ICJ Reports, 1969, 3: 47).

In the German External Case, the World Court argued that an agreement to negotiate does not actually imply an obligation to reach an agreement. In the legality of the threat or the use of Nuclear Weapons, the World Court reemphasized on the Article VI of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to pursue negotiations in good faith in effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on a general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international court' (ICJ Reports, 1996).

On the disadvantage of negotiation, several scholars in the fields of peace and conflict studies as well as international law and relations, believe that negotiation is 'not always a good method of settling

international dispute' because its facts are difficult to be objectively ascertained (Malanczuk, 1997: 275). It also lacks the moderating influence of neutral third parties, and cannot curb 'extreme claims' by the contending parties especially when there is a strong bargaining power (ibid).

3.3.4b   Stages of Negotiation Process

There are various stages through which negotiation can be facilitated. According to Albert (2004:1), these stages include:

i.   Establish contact with other directly, by written words or symbols or through an intermediary;
ii.   Create at least a minimally positive professional relationship;
iii.   Identify topics to be addressed and determine how discussions will be conducted;
iv.   Transmit both substantive information and messages about the type and strength of feelings;
v.   Communicate about their desires, positions, or demands and possible needs and interests;
vi.   Generate options and assess their validity;
vii.   Seek to influence each other to obtain advantage or satisfaction;
viii.   Create procedures and ritual for gaining final approval for agreements, and
ix.   Develop ways to implement, monitor, and ensure compliance with understandings that have been reached".

3.3.4c   Strategies of Negotiation Process

There are three basic strategies of negotiation process. These include the following:

i.   Competitive bargaining: This is also known as hard bargaining and distributive, position, zero sum, or win – lose bargaining. Here, the negotiation process or bargaining tends to be conducted through a framework of competition. The bargainers see the diplomatic process as competition, in which each of them strives to achieve victory. It promotes victor, vanquished' relationship, as immediate benefits, not considering prominently the relevance of future relationships;

ii.   Compromising (Cooperative) bargaining: This is also known as soft bargaining, win some – lose some or give and take bargaining. Here, a party strongly has a desire to maintaining a future relationship with the opponent. His bargaining principle is integrative and interest based, not minding to make concessions in order to hasten a mutual agreement with the other party. But it is worth – noting that such as

desperate bid to make quick agreement may be injurious to bargainer. A good example is the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon over the ownership of Bakassi Peninsula. Gen. Gowon Administration made a rash of concessions to the Ahidjo Cameroon, in order to promote a mutual confidence through the Agreements between the parties. After collapse of Gown regime, successive administrations in Nigeria have refused to further honour these agreements because of what they have considered as the excessive nature of Gowon concessions, which reestablished the conflict situation that had long bedeviled the bilateral relations between Nigeria and Cameroon.

iii.   Collaborative bargaining: This is also known as integrative or problem solving bargaining or interest or positive – sum or – win bargaining. Here, both parties creates avenues to explore possibilities through their collaborative efforts to achieve a win – win situation where both parties agree to give premium on their respective interests without any unnecessary compromise.

3.5   Mediation

According to Schmid, mediation is a 'form of conflict management whereby a skilled and / or powerful third Party (State, International organization, NGO) acts … to facilitate communication between conflict parties that consent to the initiative to bring a partial solution (e.g) exchange of prisoners) or a settlement. The initiative for mediation usually comes from the outside or from the weaker of the conflicting parties" (Schimid, 2000: 54).

Mediation is any voluntary, non-binding process, even informal, conducted by a neutral third party with the aim of promoting the dispute settlement between the disputing parties. According to Miller, Mediation involves third party intervention, which must operate with considerable neutrality,

> "-------lacking the authority to coerce or impose judgments, conditions, or resolutions, facilitators aim to transform the dynamics of the conflict situation by introducing new relevant knowledge or information, especially regarding the negotiation process between the disputants, by revealing common interests and suggesting possible directions toward settlements (Miller and King   2004: 23 – 24).

Christopher Miller goes further to present the relevance of mediation 'in dispute resolution, particularly in acute situations',

(Ibid) *where the mediator provides an opportunity to mend the relationship of the disputing parties through the provision of valuable communication means that may awaken the mutual consciousness of the parties to consider the path of peace for mutual benefits and development of effective bilateral or multilateral mechanisms for the termination of every form of structural suspicion, for the possible realization of positive peace, as the case may be. Thus, if mediation is not well articulated, the process may only end up in peace that is negative.*

In mediation, the parties are expected to 'maintain considerable control over the process and the outcome' (Ibid). The mediator offers mediating services with the ultimate aim of bringing the contending parties together, and to suggest modalities for the peaceful resolution of dispute. The submissions of the mediator are of no binding substance on the disputants. For instance, in Koreans hostilities, the United Nations General Assembly backed a mediation process with the aim of proposing means and methods for effecting the termination of the armed conflicts, rather than bringing about negotiations between the disputing parties.

Again, upon the Pope's proposals, Cardinal Antonio Samore was appointed as a mediator to facilitate the implementation of the Beagle Channel Award in a case of dispute between Argentina and Chile (see ILM 17, 1978: 632). At international level, mediation appears a difficult task because the mediator's '---- neutral stance is often not possible without favoring one side or the other, especially in armed conflict' (Malanczuk, 1997: 276). Malanczuk goes further to argue that Great Powers have greater opportunities in the area of mediation 'due to their resources and weight', who of course, 'tend to pursue their own interests' and mediation can be said to be most effective 'in the settlement of smaller issues or local conflicts' (Ibid).

3.5b   Stages to Mediation Process.

i.   Creation of forum or medium or bargaining avenue;
ii. Collection and sharing of data basically to implore the communication problem between the disputants;
iii. Adoption of problem – solving bargaining approach within a collaboration framework;
iv. Decision making process- Mind you, time is very vital element in peace process, it is imperative for the mediator to draw a time frame for his/her diplomatic assignment in order to achieve a quick dispute settlement response from the parties.

3.6   Conciliation

Conciliation is another form of ADR. It is defined as '----- a process of formulating proposals of settlement after an investigation of facts and an effort to reconcile opposing contentions, the parties to the dispute being left free to accept or reject the proposals formulated'. (Hudson, 1994: 232). According to the US Institute of Peace, conciliation is:

The least structured of the four major conflict resolution techniques. Unlike a negotiator, arbitrator, or mediator, a conciliator frequently works in pre-negotiation situations to establish and maintain communication among disputants and, if appropriate, to move them into more formal bargaining formats. Conciliators may employ fact-finding and observation techniques, and help disputes to be resolved informally. In addition, conciliators may employ fact-finding and observation techniques, and help disputes to be resolved informally. In addition, conciliators play critical roles in helping agreements to be kept, and (in) reconciliation efforts that prevent future conflicts after agreements are reached. (The US Academy of Peace, 1981: 105).

Conciliation has been argued by some scholars of international law to be a 'combination of inquiry and mediation' (Akehurst, 1970: 1). Conciliation, on the issue of formality, is more formal than mediation but less flexible because a conciliator can formulate a new set of proposals where proposals made by a mediator are rejected by the parties, and mediator can only have a single report' (Ibid).

On the evolution of conciliation, this can be traced to the Bryan Treaties of 1913/1914. Since World War II, the role of conciliation in bilateral treaties has reduced drastically but it has not disappeared (Malanczuk, 1997: 278). Conciliation Commission usually examines the disputes and makes non- binding recommendations for a possible settlement of dispute. The basic relevance or importance of conciliation in international law and relations, in practical terms, lies on the area of study (EPIC 1, 1992: 726 – 728). Conciliation commission was established pursuant to Article 83 of the Peace Treaty with Italy of 1947. Some conciliation commission can also be established outside the framework of specific treaties as evident in the United Nations. Instance may include the Conciliation Commission for Palestine under the General Assembly Resolution 194 (iii), 1948 as well as the Conciliation Commission for the Congo under the Resolution 1474 (ES – IV) of the 1960 (Shaw, 1997: 728).

Conciliation is not regarded in some quarters, as sufficient instrument of peaceful settlement of dispute. A great example was the 'context, of tragedy in Yugoslavia' where conciliation out rightly failed to address the conflict (Malanczuk, 1997: 281), but it (conciliation) is still a vital mechanism for dispute resolution, as the successes, it has recorded

recently, has attracted international renewal of interest in the approach. We will discuss other forms of ADR and Court Adjudication in Peace Processes II.

Self Assessment Exercise

Discuss the principle of alternative dispute resolution(ADR).

4.0   CONCLUSION

The Unit explored some of the peace processes available in the field of peace and conflict management. It described the term, Alternative to Dispute Resolution as well as its relevance to the study and practice of peace and conflict management.

5.0   SUMMARY

Some of the forms of ADR were also discussed in this Unit. The unit also gave attention to advantages and shortcomings of the various forms of ADR mentioned in the Unit. The unit covers definitions, stages, relevance, demerits of ADR and some of its various forms like Mediation, Conciliation, among others.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1. Briefly discuss any three forms of ADR that you came across in this Unit.

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MODULE 2

Unit 1   Peace Processes II
Unit 2   Communication
Unit 3   Ethnicity
Unit 4   Factors for National Integration of Nigeria
Unit 5   Civil -Military Relation And The
              Promotions of Peace In Democratic Nigeria

UNIT 1   PEACE PROCESSES II

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Body
        3.1   Arbitration
        3.2   Transformative Facilitation
        3.3   Judicial Settlement/Court Adjudication
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

This Unit is the continuation of the peace processes 1 where we paid major attention on Alternative Dispute Resolution. I hope we have all understood the concept of ADR as well as its various forms. We were unable to complete this great task – forms of ADR in peace processes 1, Therefore, we will discuss some other forms of ADR in this unit. We will also pay attention on the traditional method of conflict resolution within the framework of pacifism, which is discourse on the court adjudication.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

(i)   Explain the meaning of arbitration and its relevance to conflict management;
(ii)   Differentiate between arbitration and adjudication;

(iii)   Describe transformative facilitation and its relevance to conflict resolution; and
(i)   Define court adjudication, its importance to conflict management as well as its shortcomings.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Arbitration

Arbitration is the most adopted form of ADR. According to International Law Commission, arbitration is a "procedure for the

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settlement of dispute between states by a binding award on the basis of law as a result of an undertaking voluntarily accepted" (IIYBILC, 1953: 202).

Arbitration can also be defined as "a generic term for a voluntary process in which people in conflict request the assistance of an impartial and neutral third party to make decision for them regarding contested issues" (Moore, 1996: 9). Albert adds his voice to this intellectual discourse by describing arbitration as a process, which of course:

> Is resorted to when past efforts to reach a common ground by the disputants proved abortive though both of them want the conflict to be resolved quickly, under this process, the third party with formal mandate, and upon the invitation of the disputing parties, hears the issues in the conflict and discusses them with each side in a formal, legal setting. The arbitrator conducts himself, more or less, like a judge. His decisions have legal backing and must be respected by the parties once taken (Albert, 2001: 34 – 35).

Arbitration remains a pacific mechanism in the management of conflict whereby the disputing parties their objects of disagreement, without any iota of compulsion, seeking the neutral third party intervention, selecting the majority of the members of the arbitration panel, who will take decisions, which the parties should voluntarily accept in good faith. The process of arbitration is informal, economical, private, and relatively quick.

Coercive and non coercive third party intervention

Third Party

Party A   Negotiation   Party B

Coercive		Non Coercive
Enforcement	Mediation	Pure mediation
Non-forcible coercion	Third Party	Conciliation/
Mediation with muscle		Problem solving
		Good offices
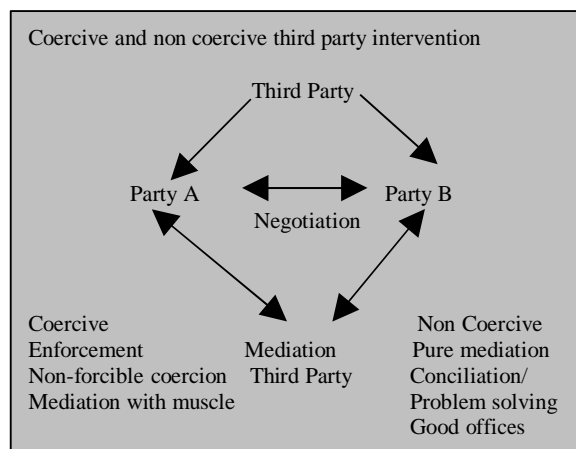
Source   Miall, Ramsbotham, Woodhouse 'Contemporary Conflict
                   Resolution', p. 11.
Quoted on http://www.netuni.nl/courses/conflict1/week1/1.10_week.html:

Arbitration is believed to have evolved in its 'mature judicial process' basically out of 'relatively informal administrative and political procedure' (Brownlie, 1960: 709). Arbitral tribunal always consists of an odd number. Arbitral tribunal is specifically set up to deal with a particular dispute or class of disputes and arbitral tribunal is of 'more flexibility' in the area of compulsory jurisdiction than a standing court. Arbitration is so important as a 'process' where some technical expertise is required', and it is capable of 'quietly' setting all categories of disputes as evident in the mixed tribunal set up after the World War 1 to settle territorial conflict or the Mexican Claims Commission, which handled a number of claims against Mexico (Shaw, 1997: 742). There has been a considerable increase in the number of international arbitration as evident in the Rann of Kutch Case (Walter, 1971: 346).

The main motive of arbitration is to conduct a neutral third party intervention, in such a way that the disputing parties will have their dispute settled without any further exhibition of adversarial attitude between the parties with the aim of achieving a win – win situation. On the question of   the   differences between arbitration and   court adjudication, Akehurst, a professor of international law distinguished the two as follows:

(a)   In domestic law, the jurisdiction is conferred on Arbitrator by agreement, which it is conferred on the judge by the general law (although the jurisdiction of a court may also be extended by agreement). But international law gives no jurisdiction to any Arbitrator or Judge, unless the disputing parties agree on such intervention;

(b)   In domestic law, it is the disputants that usually appoint the arbitrators or by someone nominated by the disputing parties, while the Judges are not. The difference is more or less valid in international law;

(c)   In domestic law, the parties can agree with the arbitrators to apply rules other than those of the ordinary law, as such agreement   cannot be found within the operation of the court in the determination of a disputed case. In international law, the parties have the utmost power and authority to request a court to apply rules other than those of ordinary laws, and such requests

or authorizations are given to arbitrators more frequently than to courts (Akehurst, 1970: 224).

On the final note, arbitration involves appointment of certain people (Arbitrators) without compulsion by the disputants, who are charged with utmost responsibility of making necessary arbitrating award, which cannot be forcefully imposed on the disputants. On the appointment final say. The composition of the arbitration should fulfill the odd number requirement. The disputants may appoint one arbitrator each and these arbitrator in consequential appoint an' umpire' (arbitrator that makes for the odd number). In the conduct of arbitral interventional, the arbitrators are expected to be 'impartial dispensers of justice', not 'minding to rule against the interest of the parties that appointed them for the true dispensation of justice, though which we can have a true resolution of conflict (ibid).

3.2   Transformative Facilitation

This is another form of ADR, which is aimed not at dispute settlement but at the transformation of disputant relationship through "empowerment and recognition" (Joseph and Bush, 2001: 192). This concept is based on the idea that conflicts are not primarily the problems to be solved but 'a crisis on --- interaction', in which parties need to be supported in constructive rather than destructive ways of 'doing conflict' (ibid).

This approach also assumes that disputing parties do not need a highly structured and staged mediation process engineered by the focus on identifying and taking up moment by moment opportunities for party empowerment and recognition.

3.3 Judicial Settlement / Court Adjudication

Court adjudication, both at local and international levels includes the activities of making decision, by courts of competent jurisdiction, on disputes according to the rules and principles of law. It is worth knowing that the highest court at the global level is International Court of Justice, while in Nigeria, the highest court is the Supreme Court.

International Court of Justice usually consists of 15 judges who are normally elected in separate electronic by the General Assembly. These judges serve a term of nine years in such a way that at least five out of these fifteen members would be due for retirement every – three years, but they can still seek for re-election. These judges, in customary terms, are obliged not to see themselves as representatives of their various governments. Thus, they should demonstrate a high degree of no

biasness in their dispensation of justice and conform to the 'main forms of civilization', and regard themselves as representing the '---principal legal systems of the world' as contained in the Article 9 of its statute.

In the settlement of international dispute, the ICJ is charged with responsibility of entertaining any case of dispute agreed by the disputants to resolve through third party adjudication. But states or nations are often reluctant to appear before the court due to the principle of optimal clause. Optimal clause according to Jennings:

Remains an underused and less satisfactory method for augmenting the competence of the court. It remains true, as it was when Waldock made his famous study of the optimal clause, that despite the principle of reciprocity, states may well decide that there is some political advantage in remaining outside a system which permits states to join more or less on their own terms at an opportune moment. It would be difficult if not practically impossible to charge system, given the difficulties of the amending the statute of the court (Jennings, 1999: 495)

If another party takes a party to the ICJ, that party taken to the ICJ may decide not to appear because of the optimal clause contained in the statute of the Court, but if it decides to defend itself at the world court, the decision of the court stands binding on the parties. Students should note that the world court (ICJ) is basically meant to decide and determine the dispute cases involving the state actors, not individuals as in domestic courts.

However, court adjudication is conflict resolution tool that affords the disputants no opportunity to appoint the third party adjudicator. The underlying element and principle of third party adjudication involves a decision that is binding within a legal framework, which may create an atmosphere of negative peace due to its philosophy of win – lose outcome (Kleiboer, 1997: 9).

The traditional court system consumes so much financial resources compared to ADR. At local level, people tend to resort to the use of violence or resign t o fate because of the financial implications of adopting a court system. Several people even on several occasions resolve to abandon their cases in court due to the financial implications the court process has on them and their individual economy. This action only attracts conflicts freezing not resolution because the issue of conflict has not been addressed. Sometimes, the disputants may decide to explore ADR for the possible resolution of their conflict. The case is even coarse, at international level, where state action incurs a lot of financial burdens as a result of legal service bills. For instance in the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon, Nigeria incurred a bill of over

$300 million, at the time, the country was ranked as one of the poorest nations in the world, where average citizen lives on less than $1 a day. At last, the decision of the court was not favourable (Kasali, 2003: 112).

The court adjudication approach also takes a longer time. In spite of routine domestic legal reforms, dispensation of justice in courts, takes a very long time, even to the frustration of the parties, which has necessitated the death of some cases of conflict in most courts. At international level, the situation is even worse, for instance in the case between Nigerian and Cameroon over the ownership of Bakassi, it took the ICJ eight years before its ruling could be delivered. In the aftermath, the parties have even resolved to negotiation, when both parties (Nigeria and Cameroon) had seen the need for mutual understanding, which would create an improvement in their communication for the peaceful settlement of dispute within a win – win framework. This formula has really helped them to some extent to resolve the conflict, rather than the court pronouncement or decision.

Self Assessment Exercise

Differentiate between arbitration and adjudication in peace processes.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In this unit, we have learnt some of the other ADR forms apart from those we discussed in Peace Processes 1. Here, we discussed arbitration and its relevance to peace making; and transformative facilitation. We went further to discuss third party ad-judication, its relevance and shortcomings were given a considerable attention**.**

5.0   SUMMARY

This unit discusses some of the ADR forms, which were not discussed in Peace Processes 1. It goes further to present some differences between the ADR and Adjudication. We should not fail to note that in the adoption of ADP, the more you go, the tougher it becomes, knowing that the process begins with negotiation to conciliation to facilitation to mediation to arbitration, even to court – annexed hybrids. The reason is their levels of formality.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

(1)   State and differentiate between any ADR and Traditional
       Approaches to conflict Management.
       Or
(2)   I prefer arbitration to adjudication, discuss.

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UNIT 2   COMMUNICATION

CONTENTS

1.0.   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Body
      3.1   What is Communication?
      3.2   Factors Affecting Communication
      3.3   Road Blocks to Communication
      3.4   Active Listening Techniques 1

1.0   INTRODUCTION

This Unit, communication, is about the important role that good communication plays in managing conflict, and the dangers of poor communication. Factors that affect communication and active listening techniques will be discussed. The importance of good communication skill in mediation will be emphasized and it is the main tool of mediation.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

i.   Describe the components of communication.
ii.   Identify the factors for smooth communication.
iii.   Identify roadblocks to communication.
iv.   Explain the techniques of active listening
v.   Describe the helpful languages for good communication

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   What is Communication?

Communication is the act of sending and receiving information and giving feedback. This is also the process of encoding messages for sending. When messages are wrongly coded, it will be very difficult to make sense out of it. The contents of our messages include our thoughts, feelings, what we see or perceive. The person sending the message is called the speaker/sender. The listener who is also called the decoder receives the message. The process of encoding and decoding a message is very important, as wrongly decoded message have the ability to cause conflicts. Communication is not complete, until there is a feedback from the decoder. The importance of feedback is to confirm that message was properly encoded and decoded.

3.2   Factors Affecting Communication

A lot of other reasons inform our encoding and decoding approaches. The factors include:

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Values: What we value in life tells who we are. Our value systems define our identity and our identity can be expressed in our communication. When our values are similar, our communications are easier and smoother, but when we have different value structure, the tendency to misunderstand is very high. This is so, because interpretation, which is the second phase of communication, is likely to be wrong when the values are not understood. The most likely feedback from wrong interpretation will be further wrong action and reactions.

Perception: Perception is our subjective understanding of situation or persons. Because perception is personal and not necessarily the objective view of things, it is very likely to influence how we communicate with the other party. If you perceive a particular religion to be inferior to yours, the possibility of your discussion of that other religion rudely will be high, and this will be noticed in your choice of words and actions.

Assumptions: This is the pro-set idea we have about things. This is a little similar to perceptions but a little stronger. Stereotype and suspicious are products of assumptions. With this present condition, our encoding and decoding of information will be highly influenced. Suspicion is belief based on mistrust and they influence us negatively. We need trust to build relationships, and communication is one of the tools for relationship building.

Communication Style: The choice of verbal or non-verbal language also affects our communication. When we speak, we communicate differently, from when we don't speak. We could be misunderstood when we talk, and we can easily make corrections. But non-verbal communication is subject to various interpretations and this will take a while to get the true interpretations. Gift items like flowers don't make much sense to people who are not from the culture where flower giving is a big issue.

So, these factors have tremendous effects on our communication and we all should know it, as the knowledge will help the process of encoding, decoding and feed backing and reduce the opportunities for confrontations. When encoders and decoders know these factors, they could make efforts to manage it. Openness, willingness and respect could help to reduce the communication barriers.

However, it is also important that we refrain from certain behaviors that make communication difficult. These are called:

3.3   Road Blocks to Communication

Ordering:	You must… You have to.. You will..
Threatening:	If you don't, then.. You had better or else..
Preaching:	It is your duty to.. You should… You ought…
Lecturing	Here is why you are wrong… Do you realize?
Providing answers:	What I would do is… It would be best for you…
Judging:	You are bad…lazy! Your hair is too long…
Excusing:	You'll feel better… It's not so bad…
Diagnosing:	You're just trying to get attention… I know what you need…
Prying:	Why? What? How? When?

(Adopted from Training and Facilitators Manual on Conflict Management by CRESNET, USAID/OTI)

3.4   ACTIVE LISTENING TECHNIQUES 1

Statement	Purpose	To do this…	Examples
Encouraging	1. To convey interest To encourage the other person to keep talking voice intonations	…don't agree or disagree …use neutral words	"Can you tell me more..?
Clarifying	1. To help you clarify what is said 2. To get more information	..ask questions …restate wrong interpretation to force the speaker to explain further	"When did this happen

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	3. To help the speaker see other point of view		
Restating	1. To show you are listening understanding what is being said 2. To check your meaning and interpretation	…restate basic ideas and facts	What I hear you saying is that "So you want your parents to trust you more?
Summarizing	1. To review progress 2. Pull together important 3. ideas and facts 4. To establish a basis for further discussion	…restate major ideas expressed including feelings	"These seem to the key ideas you've expressed."?
Validating	1. To acknowledge the worthiness of the other person	…acknowledge value of their issues and feelings … show appreciation for their efforts and actions	"I appreciate your willingness to resolve this matter…?"

(Adopted from Training and Facilitators Manual Conflict Management by CRESNET, USAID/OTI)

3.5 ACTIVE LISTENING TECHNIQUES II

- Think in the other person's place to understand
- Be impartial Do not take sides
- Do not tell your own story, problems, and feelings
- Show understanding non-verbally
- Active Listening to discover the other person's perspective
- Open body language
- Eye contact Learn the cultural differences
- Face the speaker Learn the cultural differences
- Do not give advice Do not
- Ask questions to understand Use open ended questions Clarify
- Restate, paraphrase, summarize facts & feelings

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(Adopted from Training and Facilitators Manual on Conflict Management by CRESNET, USAID/OTI)

3.6   Helpful Language

Anger Management

The "I FEEL" Message	The "YOU ARE" Message
Example Somebody is frequently late.	
Say: "I FEEL like I cannot depend on you	Instead of saying: "YOU ARE so unreliable"
The "I FEEL" message helps the other person understand YOU. It opens dialogue, offers explanations, or prompts	A "YOU ARE" message attacks and blames the other person, or makes the other person feel like

an apology	he or she has been attacked, even if this was not your intent.

The Magic Formula

Express how you feel:	"I feel annoyed…
Describe behaviour:	…when you come late…
Explain consequence for you:	…because I loose time waiting…
Offer your preferred solution:	I prefer you come on time?

PRACTICE: The "I FEEL" Message

1.   A co-worker did not finish an important job in time.
       "You never finish on time! you are…!"
Your "feel" message"

_____
—
_____
—
_____
—

2.   A partner is forgetful
       "You always forget what I ask you to do"
Your "I feel" message:

_____
—
_____
—
_____
—

3.   A team-member is making negative comments.
       "You are always such a pessimist!"
Your "I feel message:

_____
—
_____
—
_____
—

(Adopted from Training and Facilitators Manual on Conflict Management by CRESNET, USAID/OTI)

Self Assessment Exercise

What are the factors affecting communication as a tool for early warning in conflict prevention?

4.0   CONCLUSION

It is quite convincing that good communication skill is an asset to conflict management. At any stage in conflict mitigation, the ability to talk and communicate clearly avoiding the roadblocks will go a long way in making communication easy. The main tool a mediator needs to prosecute any mediation process successfully is good communication skill, which goes beyond just talking, to include listening with all parts of your body. Effective communication is essential to building peace.

5.0   SUMMARY

This unit has discussed what communication is all about. It also examine factors affecting Communication, road blocks to communication. It also explains different active listening techniques and helpful languages.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1.   How do you communicate to empower others and defuse anger?
      Or
2.   How do you speak to others that they will be able to listen without raising their defenses?

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UNIT 3   ETHNICITY

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Body
        3.1   What is Ethnicity?

1.0   INTRODUCTION

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

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this Unit, you should be able to

i.   Describe ethnicity as a study of group of people who function in particular way that works for them.
ii.   Distinguish between the two schools of thoughts – the Africanist and the Western.
iii.   Describe the Africanist approach to resolving African ethnic conflicts.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   What is Ethnicity?

Many scholars have tried to define ethnicity, in a number of ways. Some have defined it with reference to group, without thinking of ethnic. For example, Nnoli (1980) defined ethnicity to be "a social phenomenon associated with interactions among members of different ethnic groups".

According to him, ethnic groups are "social formations distinguished by the common character (language and culture) of their boundary". Otite (1999) defined ethnic group to be "categories of people characterized by culture criteria of symbols including language, value systems and normative behaviour, and whose members are anchored in a particular part of the new state territory". He defines ethic groups as "the contextual discrimination, by members of one group against others on the basis of differentiated systems of socio-culture symbols".

Analysis of these definitions, especially that of Otite (1999), is that it shows the understanding of ethnicity as it is been portrayed negatively in Nigeria. But it is clear that in Nigeria, pp from different ethnic groups live and mix freely, your ethnicity is not a problem. Ethnic diversity is not a problem, if properly managed; it could be a source of strength.

3.2   The Relevance of Ethnicity

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

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

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

Thus, the introduction of electoral processes leads to the power defining phenomenon of ethnicity that further embitters the relations among various ethnic groups In the absence of widely-held and strongly-felt ideologies, like the third term issue in Nigeria, ethnicity provides the focus for "party" loyalty. Indeed, on the basis of the social patterns of voting behaviour in Africa, we may submit that invariably parties and ethnic groups overlap. Since ethnicity is close to the core of individual identity, perceived slights or threats from "outsiders" tend to generate powerful collective reactions. Such reactions are easily mobilized and politicized by the group's elite, motivated partly by genuine concern for their people and partly to nurture their political ambitions by exploiting the natural resource of collective identity. This use of ethnicity as a political resource has led many observers of the African political landscape to conclude that ethnicity is invented for political ends, and this is not true, and it will be confusing to define an ethnic group in terms of its political interests.

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

> - *the multi-ethnic African state is inherently conflictual; stability therefore requires that "tribalism" be transcended through modernisation*

In conflict, the above quotation is the view of many western peace scholars who believe that the multi-ethnic nature of Africa is responsible for the myriad conflicts in the continent, but the question that come to mind is 'how do diverse peoples with distinct political cultures, and often with negative, bitter memories and images, live amicably in a polity of an alien political system, now without the alien Leviathan which had coerced them together and imposed the system in the first place? (Amoo 1997) he went further to provide answer by analyzing that the theory of social compact and the need to recognize the identity issue which ethnicity provides, which the governance does not. 'The one vital issue which confronted Africa at independence, and persists as the principal source of conflicts, is the absence of a viable social compact to govern the relations among the diverse units within the state, while recognizing and ensuring each unit's need for identity, security, participation and, at least, some form of autonomy'.

When a system does not provide security, through the protection of identity, we all know that there is going to be a conflict as this raises doubts as to the legitimacy of the formal government in power and the consequence is explosive. The unfortunate part of this government with no 'legitimacy of the people' is that is the *ownership* of the state which is perceived as the only guarantor of a group's identity and security; and what ensues, as Claude Ake (1981) observes, is "a desperate struggle to win control of state power ... since this control means for all practical purposes being all powerful and owning everything. Politics becomes warfare, a matter of life and death." In order to sustain this power, the perpetrators fall back on their ethnic relationship for recruitment of 'soldiers' who find it easy and appropriate to be there for their brother. Therefore, the reverse is the case in Africa, where it is the fear of the loss of power, which corrupts and corrupts inhumanely. So, it is clear that ethnicity does not cause conflict, like the quotation above suggest, but the normal causes of conflict in the other parts of the world.

3.3   Conflict in a Multi-Ethnic Society

Conflict is a product of discomfort, disharmony, scarcity of resources and unjust approach to distribution of the scarce commodity. Also, a clash of interests as a result of pursuing of incompatible goals all leads to conflicts. It is also important to know that conflict is an inevitable part of man who is in social interaction with others. Therefore conflict can and will occur within a group and between groups too.
Another school of thought also believes that conflict is good as it bring change in human society. This change John Burton (1987) believes is necessary for growth and development, or else, the society will be static.

So, if conflict is inevitable among humans, its occurrence in multi-ethnic society like Nigeria is normal. This is not to say that, the diverse a society is the main conflict it will have, no, what we are saying is that, if close societies can have conflicts, then, pluralistic societies would have conflict too. And then, mechanisms should be put in place to manage them. This is very important, as no society can insulate itself from conflict, be it mono-ethnic or multi-ethnic. No matter the society one lives in, she/he will still struggle for survival will lead to conflict. For examples, homogeneous societies also have problems. The case of Somalia is very true that mono-ethnic societies do have problems. In conclusion, it will be so dangerously misleading to say that multi-ethnic society is sonorous with conflicts and mono-ethnic societies in peace.

3.4   Redefining Ethnic Conflicts

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

This idea is captioned in the theory of Actor-based approach instead of issue based. The issue is context-unjust laws, complains etc. are swept under the carpet, so that the parties to the conflict are discussed no the issues.

Another angle to the analysis of ethnic conflict is the need to ascertain the salience of ethnicity "as an organizing concept in the process of nation building ".

Any effort to underscore the relevance of ethnicity will naturally create condition, which causes conflicts. Ethnicity is an identity issue, therefore, any effort to control the projection of who you are will inevitable lead to conflicts. Any threat to ethnicity is a threat to personal self, and security and it will vehemently be rejected. Therefore conflicts with ethnic color need to be addressed based on the themes that have worked.

3.5   Resolving Ethnic Conflicts

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

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

Self Assessment Exercise

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

4.0 CONCLUSION

Ethnicity is an issue that cannot be swept away from pluralistic societies, but the management of it needs a lot of carefulness and intelligent. Mismanagement can be very catastrophic as the promotion of it can lead to disregard for the other group, and the undermining of it can be misleading, as it is a part of our society and us. It is also important to know that, ethnicity on its own cannot cause conflict, but the manipulation of it by individuals for selfish purposes can lead to conflict. Also, it is necessary to know that, conflicts caused by ethnicity in any way also need the standard approach, which calls for addressing the issues, not the persons. 'Religion and region are deep in the Nigerian heart and cannot be swept away by fiat. The only way the military could have done that was by making an application to God to get a completely new consignment of Nigerians free from all evils'. Lateef   Jakande, former Lagos State Governor.

5.0   SUMMARY

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

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

Choose one of the following conflicts known to you in Nigeria and discuss if it is an ethnic conflict or not.

1. Aguleri – Umuhani conflict of Anambra State.
2. The Ijaw – Itsekiri conflict of Edo/Delta States.
3. Ife – Modakeke conflict of Oyo/Osun States
4. The Idi Araba conflict of Lagos State.
5. The Zango – Kataf conflict of Kaduna State.

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UNIT 4   FACTORS FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION OF NIGERIA

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objective

1.0   INTRODUCTION

State creation in Africa with the exception of Somalia was the amalgamation of autonomous large units, which was the case of Nigeria in 1914. The amalgamation of the colony of Lagos, the protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria gave birth to this day Nigeria. This act brought together about 250 ethnic nationalities; although they have various levels of conflict and inter-group relationship.

Although the amalgamation gave birth to the state called Nigeria, but it is important to note that, the aim to build a nation was not the motivation. This is very clear in the dichotomy seen between the north and the south. The south was exposed to western educations and Christianity. North was "protected" from the adulteration influences of westernization. Sir Hugh Clifford introduced parliamentary politics into the southern protectorate in 1922, which made Lagos and Calabar have elective representatives, while Sir Arthur Richard constitution of 1947, after 25 years introduced the same system in the north.

In 1939, Sir Benard Bourdillion later divided the south into western and eastern regions, while the north was left untouched, even though it is larger than the east and west put together. This structure imbalance formed the Sir Richard constitution of 1947 and this has since led to the dominance of the north. The aftermath of this regionalization "was the development of separatist and ethnic consciousness". (Onyekpe 2000). This led to the "ours and theirs" syndrome, which has since been an obstacle to the development of nationhood. It is difficult to build a nation called Nigeria, as the north and the south do not see themselves to belong to one country.

The regionalization was further compound with the western and eastern regions created and only three ethnic groups were identified – Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo, which led to the neglect of the other ethnic groups.

This structure created by the colonial masters was aimed at making dominations possible for them as they identified leaders in the groups,

made chiefs out of them, so that they can control the whole country easily. The problems generated from these distortions were not taken care off by the colonial masters as it suited their plans. These problems escalated with the independence politics of 1950s were played on regional and ethnic lines, and the country "emerged from colonial rule with unreasoned structure problems" (Onyekpe 2000). This explains the statement of Chief Obafemi Awolowo (1947) says:

> "Nigeria is not a nation…it is a mere geographical _expression. There are no "Nigerians" in the same sense as there are "Englishmen" or "welsh" or "French. The word "Nigerian" is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within Nigeria from those who do not".

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

i.   Explain what is meant as colonial rule
ii.   Explain the implications of the regionalization of Nigeria by the colonial masters
iii.   Identify factors that can make nation building possible
iv.   Describe the role of the military in nation building.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1 Political History of Nigeria

An analysis of Nigeria's political history and practice will reveal a struggle between the hegemonies and the contenders. It is more of a fight between the tripods – the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba versus the minority. It is a struggle for power in the center between the three ethnic groups. While the minorities struggle at the state levels and within the old regions, created. Their struggle is more of self-determination within the state than for federal power.

One characteristic of Nigeria political power struggle since after the independence, which is the bane of our political struggle, is the winner takes it all orientation. The ethnic group in power protects his ethnic group and gets more opportunities for them. So, all the ethnic groups compete to be there, as it means well being for the ethnic group, not for the country; therefore, it is a do or die affair.

The later for most of the post colonial period in Nigeria has been dominated by the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group and translate into better appointments and other patronages.

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Political parties are also structured along ethnic lines further dividing the country. Although they try to wear a national outlook after the military administration of 1966; but it is only in geographical spread. Even the National Republican Convention (NRC) was nicknamed (Northern Republican Convention) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) was called (Southern Democratic Party).

To confirm this views, the presidential candidate for SDP, Chief MKO Abiola who worn the 1993 election in all parts of the country, was a southern, was refused the opportunity to rule the country as the Hausa-Fulani hegemony annulled the acclaimed fairest and free election of 1993. Chief Sonekan was invited to led the Interim National Government was overthrow by General Sani Abacha, who arrested Chief Abiola who declared himself the President and charged with treason, detained for four years without trial, and he later died in detention.

The south did not see and watch without taking action. They formed the National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) to fight the Abacha Government. However, the death of Abacha paved way for General Abdulsalam who initiated a transition programme that led to the election of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, as the President of Nigeria in 1999.

In summary, from 1960 – 1999 the old Sokoto caliphate has dominated the center at the federal level with the South (Yoruba and Igbo) providing Head of Government three times, and the north produced nine times. This is to confirm that the change of baton of power is between the Hausa-Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba.

The political landscape since May 1999, with Chief Obasanjo's election as the Head of State to 2005, has revealed another picture of convention between the hegemony (Yoruba) – Hausa, Igbo and the minorities – (South South) and calling for power shift to the south instead of the north in 2007. In a country of about 250 ethnic groups, the political power at the center is between the Hausa-Igbo and Yoruba. What about the other groups if they have to be part of nation building?

3.2 The Military Rule and Nation Building in Nigeria

The military in government is an aberration because they are supposed to be involved in politics in non-constitutional way. They are not expected to participate in conventional civil politics. Their control of power is done forcefully through a coup d'etat.

Nigeria since independence has witnessed two coup d'etats of elected governments led by Major Chukwuma Nzeoga against Alhaji Balewa government in January 1966 and the second led by Government Muhammadu Buhari against Alhaji Shehu Shagari's government in 1983. Although, Chief Earnest Shonekan resigned from office for General Abacha to take over, it was believed that he was forced to go, so General Abacha is classified to be in the same category of Buhari and Nzeogu.

There have been two military coups against military government, which led to the death of General Aguiyi-Ironsi, which led to the emergence of General Yakubu Gowon in July 1966. The second led to the emergence Gen. Babangida after the overthrow of General Buhari in August 1985. Apart from these two successful coups, there have been many unsuccessful ones. The major political problem today, is how do we effectively integrate the three regions and the ethnic national too to be are state.

Reasons of Military Intervention

The military intervention was aimed to arrest the drifting of the politicians into violence. They argue that they want to ensure the survival of the nation on a political entity. The control of corruption, which has entrenched the political administration is another reason they gave for intervention.

Reviewing the security and survival of Nigeria following the political crises going on in the West between Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Action Group) and Chief Akintola Nigeria National Democratic Party led to the declaration of state of emergency in the Region.

The disagreement that arose from the result of the National Census of 1962 from the different parts of the country on political reforms further compounded the insecurity in the country.

The break-up and re-allying of the political parties heightened the intensification of the struggle for power over the distribution of offices and patronage. The fall back on the use of thug and rigging by the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) during the 1965 Federal elections in the West and the Tiv area of the Middle Belt resulted in overbearing violence which earned the Western Region the name – "the wild wild west". These unsafe situations prompted the intervention of the military in January 1966, which was a welcome development.

In similar fashion, the country was at its crossroads in 1983 after the re-election of the Shagari led government after a "landside" victory. The

pro-democracy revolt in the West as they fear that the oppressive government was going to go on for another four years prompted the intervention in 1983. Although, some believe that the 1966 coup aimed to arrest the drifting political insecurity of the time, others think that the Buhari led coup was aimed at sustaining the Hausa control of the government, but they argued that their intervention was to rescuer the country from declining socio-economic condition of the country, as there were problems of bankruptcy, growing external debt and the collapse of social services.

As analysts try to justify the coup against civilians, they could not make sense in the coup of the military against military and by the Northern against the Northern. It was then concluded that the Army just see political power as opportunities to advance their interest as individuals and as a group.

The army had controlled the governance of this country longer than the civilians and this has led to the politicization of the Armed Forces and the struggle for power like politicians is noticed in the coups and center coups.

Implications for the Involvement Of The Military In Governance

The military employed the instruments of coercion and force in controlling the states, agencies and resources without any recourse to democratic principles. The civil society was ruled by force and this rendered them intimidated and indifferent. This gave rise to the culture of fear, opportunity and sycophancy in the society.

The most critical implication of the forceful control and dominance is the entrenchment of dictatorship in the administration of the country. Governance/administration was militarized and the management of the economy was by unitarist principles, which emphasized centralization and concentration of power, not devolution of power and separation of responsibilities by the three arms of the government. This unitary approach opposes federalism, and the dictatorial approach made them loot the treasury for private enrichment, and in return unleashed violence of all sorts into the system, which destroyed the socio-economic base of the country.

Armed control of the military contributed to ethnic inequality. The ethnic group that had more people in the military wielded these uncontrolled powers, and had a sense of superiority over the others. In Nigeria for example, the Hausa-Fulani had more numbers and people even made statements indicating them the ruling class/ethnic group of

the progressives. This feeling of dominance, coupled with looting of the treasury, followed by lopsided policies that destroyed the country's economy resulted into a lot of tensions. There were calls to end the military rule, and a return to the civil rule. The marginalized ethnic group accused the military of institutionalizing oppression, fraud and evil through dictatorship.

3.3   The Task of Nation Building

Nation building is possible under democratic principles, and de-prioritization of power politics. When a nation does not promote democratic principles in the administration of that country, the chances of building a nation is very small. A country that is pluralistic, like Nigeria can function better in federal system of government, otherwise there will be constant struggle of the elites of the dominated group. For example in Nigeria, because military system ruled the administration, and it is dominated by the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group, the rest ethnic groups are fighting for recognition and control, and the main natural question on power distribution among the zones. The main implication for the power politics is that building a "united nations with one soul and a common destiny" is overlooked, un-thought of and never pursued. The second implication is the politicization of governance and administration. When rights and responsibility are not distributed based on justice, fair play and excellence, very little can be achieved. The appointment of officers based on ethnicity and state acquisition, and not on competence and availability, how much can we gain? The privatization of power politics leads to the neglect of important areas of nation building. For example, after the independence, it is most appropriate that economic development plans and policies be developed to give the country a direction, but that was not the case in Nigeria. We were and are still pre-occupied with power politics. Our economic plans have been hand down from the West – from Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), to International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditionality and the implications are terrible. Foreign multinationals come into the country, make all the money, exploit our natural resources and leave with bulk of the profit. Because we are not a united country, when the south is exploited, the west shows no concern, and vis versa. The oil exploitation is a very good example of the exploitation of our resources without any natural policy to protect the victims of this exploitation. A deep analysis goes down to ethnic affiliations between the rulers and the victims.

The other problem is the abandonment of the other sectors of the economy because of the wrong focus. Our agro-base and manufacturing sectors need attention and development.

Nigeria needs to face the realities of nation building, and it is beyond rhetoric. We have plenty to do to come out of our ethnic groups to be first and foremost Nigerians, before our individual ethnic identities.

Factors for Nation Building

Monopoly of Power

The benefits of power control are enormous, especially the Nigerian way, of winner keeps it all. When a section of the country holds power and claim that it is her birthright, it is definitely going to cause problem. Other sections will not have sense of belonging and cannot work for the unity and development of Nigeria.

True Federalism – Politics and Fiscal

The principle of true federalism where every part of the country is economically and politically powerful enough to be on their own is the best for Nigeria. Nigeria needs to be restructured in relations to power distribution to allow equity and justice. States should keep their economic resources and make contribution to the central purse for the running of the federal office. This will go a long way to reduce tension in the center of power and reduce the prioritization of political powers.

Internally Grown Economic Ideas

Until we begin to develop economic and development ideas, that are relevant to the cultural and social conditions of the country, we will only be working to maintain the west. We need homegrown ideas that are Nigerian in all peripheries that must be implemented to all as an identity that we can be proud of.

Agricultural and manufacturing sectors of the economy must be developed. We need to have food sustenance, create jobs and earn foreign exchange in order to have pride in ourselves as Nigerians and begin to defend Nigeria on all fronts.

Democratic Empowerment

The relevance of democratic empowerment for nation building cannot be overemphasized. Democratic principles emphasize equity, justice, and equality of all citizens. Also, it encourages the principle of separation of powers, accountability and transparency. If most Nigerians are empowered to the point that they internalized these values and practice them, Nigeria can move forward towards nation building.

Provision of Social Services

When peoples' needs of education, transportation, housing, and health services are met, it is easy for them to identify with a country that can provide them all these amenities. So, Nigerian leadership must make effort to provide these social amenities.

Armed Forces

The Nigeria military have a history of having done more harm than good to the country and her citizens. It is important that they be kept out of civil power. They hold the record of experts in the destruction of federalism and militarization of governance.

The role of military in nation building is going back to the traditional role of defending the country against external and internal aggressions and the maintenance of the oneness and territorial integrity of the country. They must also be subordinate to the constitution, not to intervene in changing the government. Sovereignty belongs to the people. The army needs to include democratic education in their training. The army generals who stole should be made to refund to deter future looters.

Self Assessment Exercise

What are factors necessary for nation building?

4.0   CONCLUSION

The task of nation building goes beyond just words, and documentations like passports or national identity cards. The task of nation building takes a multi-dimensional approach, which calls for various programs, some ad hoc, some take a long period of time. It takes long-term educational plan and inculcation of what a home is to a person. It calls from the citizens what they can do for their country, and from the country what the country can do for them. It takes a lifetime to build a nation and it is everybody's job.

5.0   SUMMARY

This unit has paid a primary attention political history of Nigeria. It also focused on the general concept of military rule particularly as it affects nation-building in Nigeria. The unit went further to discuss the task of nation building

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1.   "How do we build a nation out of nations?" **Or**
2.   "Am I first a Yoruba man before I am a Nigerian?"

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UNIT 5   CIVIL -MILITARY RELATION AND THE
              PROMOTIONS OF PEACE IN DEMOCRATIC
              NIGERIA

CONTENT

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives

3.0   Main Body
        3.1   History of Nigeria Civil Military Relations
        3.2   Factors for Reforming the Civil Military Relations
        3.3   Obasonjo Government's Efforts to Improve on the Civil-
                 Military Relations
        3.4   Effect of Reform Measure on the Civil Military Relations
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Reading

1.0   INTRODUCTION

This Unit will focus on the need for improved civil military relations in Nigeria. An improved or cordial civil relationship will promote peace and democracy. Nigerian civil military relation is very unfriendly because of the many years of military rule in the country. It is important that the military accept that democracy has come to stay in Nigeria, and therefore allow efforts to promote democracy to yield the expected result. So, this Unit will deal with the history of military rule and the characteristics of the military rule, which is different from civilian rule, which explains for the hostile civil military relation.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:
i.   Explain the history or military transition;
ii.   Describe the relationship between the CSOs and the military;
iii.   Identify and describe the factors that will reform the civil military
        relations between the CSOs and the military; and
iv.   Identify the factors for peace promotion in the democratic
        Nigeria.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   History Of Nigeria Civil Military Relations

Before the hand over of government by General Abdulsalami Abubakar to President Obasanjo in 1999, Nigeria had being ruled by the military for 29 years of Nigeria 45 years of independence. Analyzing the difficulty in the growth and sustenance of democracy show the military

do not want to leave power. The struggles between civilians and the military in the ruler-ship of Nigeria were all plagued with unending coup and counter coup plots. The Nigeria democracy after independence lasted for a little over 5 years before the 1ˢᵗ coup of 1966 occurred and since then there is coup after coup, but the height of it all was the unending transition of the Babangida's administration, which cumulated in the annulment of the June 12 election of 1993. Analysis of the annulment of the June 12 election claimed to be won by Chief M.K.O Abiola, a Yoruba man, though a Muslim, people believe that, President Babangida refused him his victory because he was a Yoruba man. Issues of ethnicity were seen to play up in the annulment. But social critiques and scholars of civil military studies believe that, it is more of the refusal of the military to give up power to the civilian than the issue of ethnicity, which is being alleged by many.

Reviewing the civil- military relations between the people and military has been that of anti-military struggle. The pro-democracy and civil society organization (CSOs) have not relented their efforts in fighting for the restoration of democracy and the return of the military to the barracks. The military argue for their involvement in rulership was as a result of the poor job of the civilians at leading Nigeria, but reviewing their actions and practices, it was clear that they were not able to overcome the challenges that bedeviled Nigeria politic that prompted their over throwing government. The challenges of elections, revenue allocation, population census executive power sharing, military recruitments and promotions were also present in their tenures.

3.2   Factors for Reforming the Civil Military Relations

The character of the civil military relations has being that of hostility. But there is a need to change this character because we all live together, and most find a way to live together in peace. The importance of a reformed relationship between the civil society and the military cannot be over emphasized especially in a democratic Nigeria, as an improved relationship will promote peace in Nigeria. Reforming the civil military relation in Nigeria, is very necessary as studies have shown that there is a need to reform the character of states that have just move from military to democracy, like Nigeria.

Subordination of the Military to Civil Authority

Bringing the military under civilian authority is one action that must be taken to improve on the civil military relations. The military must accept the elected civilian president as commander in chief of the armed forces

and the supremacy of elected official of the state over appointed officers at all levels.

ConstitutionalClauseForAchievingCivilianSupremacy.
The other condition that must be accepted by the military is the constitutional clause for achieving civilian supremacy. The constitution of Nigeria already specified the supremacy of the civilian ruler-ship. There are "anti-coup" clauses contained in section 1 (2), section 217 (1) what the roles and forms of the armed forces are under a democratic government. The constitution also vests the command and operational use of the armed forces in the elected civilian president. Also, section 218 (1) also states the power of the president, as the commander in chief of the Armed Forces shall include the power to determine the operational use of the country's armed forces. So, the constitution of Nigeria is very clear on the subordination of the military under the civilian leadership.

LegislatureOversightFunctionsinDefenceandSecurityMatters
To ensure that the military is under the civilian leadership in democracy, the policy is entrench and symbolized in the legislative arm of the government. Because this arm of the government is comprised of elected officers representing the electorate, as a whole, it is believed to be the best unit to regulate and promote oversight function over the countries armed forces. The significant functions assigned the National Assembly regarding defence and security are specified in the constitution including the role of the armed forces, their structure, strategic requirement and defence priorities, regulations of power excisable by the president as the commander in chief of armed forces, and in the appointment, promotion and disciplinary control of the members (see section 218 and 219) power and control over public funds, including budget approved, controlling expenditure, raise audit of public accounts, and exercising power to conduct investigation (see section 18,85 and 88) to help the National Assembly in carrying out these functions, the House of Representative have set up committees, especially, Defence, Finance Appropriation, Police Affairs, Internal Security, Foreign Relation and Ethnics.

Re-professionalisation of the Military

Just like in a post conflict/war, era, the immediate concern on Nigeria agenda in civil military reaction is "the five Ds of civil military though", which are (1) Democratization, (2) Demilitarization (3) Demobilization, (4) National Defence and (5) Social Development. Although, Nigeria

may agree that the first two have been taken care of to a large extent, it is very important that the last three be taken up very urgently, as these three still pose a lot of concern. In Nigeria today, demobilization of soldiers is still a critical issue. There are questions of policy not only what force level and structure to maintain the number of soldiers to demobilized with reference to what threat perception, and spanning phases. What programs do we need to adopt for reintegration of ex-combatants and what center's measuring to prescribe for policy. However, the Obasanjo's defence and security policy does not indicate a large scale demobilization, the new policy promised a "comprehensive transformation of the armed forces into an institutions able to prove its worth if called upon". The policy's four component points talked about.

i.   'Continuation of rationalization, down-sizing, and rightsizing (an euphemism for retirement and partial demobilization particularly at the top echelons) to allow the military shed its "dead woods" as well as discard obsolete equipment, and build a much leaner, more agile, technologically sophisticated and professionally oriented military.

ii.   Re-equipment of the services and upgrading of soldier's welfare, albeit within the limit of budgetary allocation.

iii.   Reversing the harm inflicted in "military, civilian relation" because of years of military rule, by measures to subordinate the military to the democratically constituted authority.

iv.   Building, rehabilitation and strengthening the relationship between the Nigeria military and the rest of the world especially Africa countries, damaged by years of diplomatic isolation and sanctions attracted by the behaviour of previous regimes'. (Adekanye, 2005. Page 16)

Re-Educating Military Officers for Democratic Rule

The returning of military men and women to the responsibilities and demands of new order emphasizes professionalisation and service to one's country. This education program majors on the function for which they are established which is stipulated section 217 (1) of 1999 constitution namely.

·   'Defending Nigeria from external, namely:
·   Maintaining its territorial integrity and securing its borders from violation on land, sea or air
·   Acting in aid of civil authorities to help keep public order and internal security when called upon to do so by the president but subject to such condition as may be prescribed by an act of the National Assembly' and

- Performing such other functions as may from time and time be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly from time to time' (Adekanye, 2005: 17)

The second principle of the re-educating program is '**that the use of the Armed Forces for internal security roles on a long and sustained basis carries with it the danger of weakening the organisation's combat readiness, morale, and therefore capacity for effective external mission whenever these become necessary'.** (Adekanye, 2005:18). What this implies is that it is more implicating for armed of Nigeria, to be used to suppress internal conflicts, as it provokes the feeling of marginalization from the citizens. So, this principle argues that internal instability which is a product of political in-equilibrium should not be resolved with the use of military force.

The third principle is of a political – economic nature is **'that resolution of the external question about "how much of defence spending is enough", if is to be sustained, must hinge on striking an effective and workable balance between the competing needs or priorities of society through the budgetary process of pluralistic politics'** (Adekanye, 2005: pp.18). This principle calls for a fair distribution of the scare resources. It is believed that when larger percentage of the budget is placed on defence, other sections like health, education, social development and human security suffer. If these area are not in the expected condition, the possibility is that misappropriation of the budget can lead to internal anarchy which under scores the whole security the armed forces is out to provide; therefore, what is boils down to is to recognize the need for "appropriate working balance between security and welfare, that is between the requirement for defence and the need for development'. (Adekanye,2005:19)

The fourth principle of military re-educations is **"that military professionalism thrives best under democratic rule"**. (Adekanye, 2005:19) This is so because, the military when in power, want to create the impression that, they are out to develop the country and will not take care of their own. Also, for the fact that they are preoccupied with responsibility other than theirs, they leave the military unattended to, thereby forgetting to invest in their development. Research has it that the Nigeria military lack professionalism because the forces ironically did not get training and development under the prolonged military rule.

Military professionalism must go beyond the re-educating them to dealing with other inter-related issues. Professionalizing the military starts with the ensuring of civilian oversight and legislative control of defence matters.

The second matter that must be taken care of is the issue of autonomy. It is very important that the military be protected from politician and politicking. The military must not be a tool in the hand of individuals and groups to be used for intimidation and prosecution of personal agenda. If this is not done, the principle of political neutrality and non-partisan of the armed forces cannot be achieved.

EmpowermentOfCivilSociety
Empowering the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) with long-standing practice and tradition of self governance and democratic values who can resolve social conflicts in effective and efficient manner will help in the democratic control of the armed forces. The continuing vigilance of the CSOs as the protection of democratic principles will go a long way in promoting democracy development in Nigeria.

The enlightment of the populace on democratic values and practice by the CSOs groups will go a long way in educating the people on the role of the military which is not governance. This will also empower the people to protect democracy and guide against military incursion. These efforts will help to improve on the civil military relationships.

DemilitarizationOfTheSociety
Because of the long engagement of the military in governance, the Nigerian society has been highly militarized. The demilitarization of the Nigerian society is a major concern on civil military relations agenda, although initially it was seen to mean disengagement of the military in politic/governance and going back to the barracks or known as "return to civil rule".

As said earlier, the long military rule led to the militarization of the polity, and therefore demilitarization of goes beyond just going back to barrack, but include the sanitizations of attitudes, beliefs, orientations, customs, interest actions and thought processes associated with military rule in Nigeria.

The augment states that, the gross abuse of human right laws and the "Abacha" style of rule need to be stopped, because if the human rights of Nigerian are protected, the civil military relations will improve.

PolicingforDemocraticGovernance
The withdrawal of the armed forces from the society to the barracks will definitely create a security vacuum which must be filled quickly to avoid instability, as the opening of the political space and democratic process bring other process to fur, which we have notice in the country. There are increased politically induced conflicts which show up in ethno religious colors, and we need to police the community better.

Reviewing the Nigeria police, with reference to the militarization of the society will reveal a militarized police, whose first tool for policing is force, and I say excessive force. There must be an element of force to instill the law, but the use of excessive force is definitely unacceptable, especially in democratic setting.

Therefore it is important that the Nigerian police go through the process identified above to improve on their civil-military relationships in the country. They need retraining, subordination under the civil authority, legislative oversight and community control.

3.3   Obasonjo Government's Efforts to Improve on the Civil-Military Relations

The principles identified above were supposed to be the guiding principles in reforming the Nigeria military in the democratic setting to reduce the tension between the civil societies and military, especially after a long military rule. This section of the Unit aims to examine the efforts of the Obasanjo administration to reform the military in order to improve on the civil military relations.

CiviliansPlacedinChargeofKeyMilitaryDecisionMakingOrgans
This is the major action taken up by the present day administration to subordinate the military under civil authority. Most key, decision – making positions are now headed by civilian. Even during the first republic, it was civilians that headed Ministry of Defence (MOD), and that was what led to the question of "bloody civilians". It was in an attempt to "wanting to keep things military purely military" that led to the remove of civilian from key decision making position, and it under mined the principle of subordination under civilian control. But this organization has made some changes, in this direction. For example, Mrs. Dupe Adelaja was appointed the Minister of State for Defence, assisting a retired Army General

RetirementOfLong–EntrenchedPoliticalGenerals
One of the fore most acts of the president on 10th June 1999 was to retire all military officers who had held a political office from 1985 to date. A total of 53 officers were retired, and if cut across all the services. The aim of this act was to achieve the plan of re-professionalisation of the armed forces as this group of officers, having enjoyed the political power associated with military rule will not find the re-education interesting, and therefore will pose a problem.

The second reason for the retirement of the "political" officers was that, the political position they held, has improved on their economic statues, thereby bringing in a class distinction between those who held political

office and those who did not. They tension was so high, that the best thing to do was to retired them from the system, they can't even function properly any more. Their removal did reduce the chance of coup plotting which could come up as a result of dissatisfaction.

3.4   Effect of Reform Measure on the Civil Military Relations

The reform initiated by President Obasanjo had so many impacts, some positive and some negative, for example, the appointment of civilians as oversight officers of the MOD, was warmly received in the civil society sections, as they see it as a conscious effort to put the armed forces under the civilian authority. But the military frowned at it very much. For the first time, the civilian workers of the MOD embarked on a strike action asking for the same entitlement their military counterparts have.

Even, in the oversight that the National Assembly and the House of Representative were suppose to provide, in reality, they are not able to do it for so many reasons. The members of the legislature have no experience or authority on military processes, and even on defence and security as a whole. But most importantly that, the legislature are not committed to work. They see their position as opportunities for self-enrichment and therefore are not ready to work.

The second negative impact of the reform involving the enforcement of the political generals is that, they have re-organized themselves into political blocks in the political parties. They have increased the number of retired armed Officers who are vying for political positions, like we have the "IBB boys"

Self Assessment Exercise

Discuss the factors responsible for reforming the Civil Military Relations.

4.0   CONCLUSION

There are a lot of arguments for and against Obasanjo's presidential elections; some say that his military background has/will influenced his actions, and therefore, it is not a plus as it is a just change of dressing for him, as he is still military in principle and practice. While others say that his military background a plus, because this have helped him to put the military in check as it will take somebody like him with his background to effect the kind of strategic reforms he carried out in the military specially being that the country is emerging from "military incursion".

In conclusion, it is very clear that a country with long years of military rule will have a strained civil military relationship as both principles have different mandates. So, it is very clear that improved civil-military relation will improve in the democratization of the Nigerian society and the promotion of peace culture.

5.0   SUMMARY

This unit has been able to do justice to the discourse on Civil Military relations.

It began by discussing the History of Nigeria Civil Military Relations. It went further to examine the factors relevant for Reforming the Civil Military relations and Obasonjo Government's efforts to improve on the Civil- Military relations in Nigeria as well as the effects of reform measure on the Civil Military relations.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1.   What is the interface between peace, democracy and improved civil   military relations in Nigeria?
2.   The military reforms effected by President Obasanjo were possible because he had a military background. Discuss

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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MODULE 3

Unit 1   Religion, Peace And Conflicts In Nigeria
Unit 2   Peace Education
Unit 3   African   Endogenous Peace Institutions

Unit 4   Small Arms, Children And Girls In Armed Conflicts
Unit 5   Post Conflict Reconstruction

UNIT 1   RELIGION, PEACE AND CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Body
        3.1   Belief Systems in Nigeria.
        3.2   History of Religious Conflicts
        3.3   Causes of Religious Conflicts
        3.4   Resolving Religious Conflicts
4.0   Conclusions
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is made up of a very complex multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-linguistic and multi-religious society. This, in itself, should have been an advantage and a veritable factor for national unity, national integration and national cohesion. Instead of the plurality of the Nigeria society serving as a catalyst for rapid national development and integration, it is now what is impeding and, therefore, responsible for backwardness and slow developmental phase of the country. Unfortunately, this plurality in culture, language, ethnicity and religion are the very source of conflicts in Nigeria.

In all parts of Nigeria today, there are communal, ethnic, religious and political conflicts that manifest in various forms and are accompanied by ferociousness and destructiveness. These conflicts constitute a threat to the nation's fledging democracy, national stability and security. Of recent, these conflicts have become more recurring and pervasive as a result of repressed dissatisfaction, disillusionment and frustration of the many years of military rule.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

i.   Describe the different belief systems in Nigeria
ii.   Explain the history of religious crisis in Nigeria
iii.   Identify some resolution options.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Belief Systems in Nigeria

Nigeria is a heterogeneous society. This heterogeneity is also extended to the area of religion. That means that Nigeria is a multi-religious society. In spite of the multiplicity in religion, there are two dominant groups, namely, Christians and Muslims. Along with these main groups, exist those who are referred to as traditional worshippers. These traditional worshippers exist both in the North and South of the country and there are cases of members of the two dominant groups (Christians and Muslims) identifying with and participating in one form of traditional worship or the other. Examples of traditional worships that attract and get the members of other faiths involved are: Eyo festival, New yam festival, Ogun festival, Osun festival, Argungu fishing festival etc. People of other faiths join in these festivals that belong to the religion of traditional worshippers because they see it as helping them to keep in touch with their cultural values. However, there are some other faiths who would not join in these celebrations but are rather preaching against and condemning them.

Suffice to say here that, it is an erroneous belief that the North of the country is a homogeneous society particularly in the area of religion. It is widely believed by many people who are outside the region that the north is made up of the Hausa/Fulani and that Islam is the religion of all the people in the region. However, the truth is that the north of Nigeria, as other parts of the country, is a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious society. As a matter of fact, there exist in the north, not only Islam, but also Christianity and Traditional worship.

Before the spread of Islam into the north, there existed a variety of traditional worship. Although, this traditional worship differ from one community to the other, their beliefs revolved around a big distant god referred to as Ubangiji, who is surrounded by intermediaries called Iskoki who are directly in touch with men and control their everyday lives. Till today, we still have these traditional worshippers who are called 'Magusawa' in the north of Nigeria.

3.2   Religious Conflicts in Nigeria

Before the coming of the colonialists and after the independence of Nigeria up to the early '70s, there was little or no religious conflict aggravating to violence in any part of the country. People had always

lived together in harmony, the faith and religion you belong to notwithstanding. In some parts of the country, there were cases where within a family setting, you could find members of the same family belonging to different faiths and living together harmoniously without any conflict arising as a result of differences in their faiths and beliefs.

However, in the late 1970s, our religious climate started changing for the worse with the violent conflict in October, 1977 between Christian and Muslim students of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Ever since then the trend has been sustained but the tempo was increased in the early '80s with the outbreak of Maitasine riots in Kano in 1980.

The situation was further aggravated by the controversial design of the Federal Military government to join the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in January, 1986.

Both the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI) began a vicious propaganda against and for Nigeria's membership of Islamic Organization.

While the Christian Association of Nigeria was calling on Christians to rise up and resist what they termed as the Islamisation of Nigeria, Jama'atu Nasril Islam and other powerful Islamic leaders on the other hand, sponsored demonstrations in favor of joining the OIC and called on Muslims to rise against what they perceived as the domination and marginalization of the Muslim majority by the Christian minority. On both sides, the conflict raged on in the media as well as among the elites who were at each other's throats. The ordinary people were not left out in this crisis.

It was this crisis that culminated in the clash between Christian and Muslim students at Kafanchan in Kaduna State on 6th March, 1987 over what was considered a blasphemous remark. The religious clash developed into an inter-ethnic war between the Hausa community and other local ethnic groups. The crisis quickly spread to other towns and villages within the state and scores of mosques, churches, hotels and business centres were burnt and destroyed while several thousands of lives were lost and property worth millions of Naira were also destroyed. It was a crisis where miscreants had a field day. Since then, this type of religious conflicts, particularly between the Muslims and the Christians, has become a recurring decimal cutting across many of our geo-political zones.

Since religion is value-based therefore, people are bound to be emotionally attached and any little whipping up of their sentiment along their religious belief will definitely result into catastrophe. However, it

must be stated here that not all conflicts that are classified as religious actually began as one but are either turn into or are named as such because of the religious inclinations of the people involved in the conflict. Examples of conflicts that were regarded as religious conflicts but whose causes are beyond religion are: Fulani-Sayawa in Tafawa Balewa in Bauchi State conflict of 1991; Zango-Kataf crisis of 1992; Jos conflict of April 12, 1994; and the Kaduna crises of 2000 among others.

Conclusively, therefore, religious conflicts are disagreements arising as a result of differences in faith and belief. Many times these conflicts are inter-religions but some times they are intra-religion. An example of an intra-religion conflict was the Maitasine riots, which was between a particular self of Muslims and others who did not belong to this sect.

3.3   Causes of Religious Conflict

Identifying the cause of the conflict between the Christian and the Muslims in Kaduna share that the conflicts were not caused because of the contradiction in the Bible or the Koran. A Muslim cleric identified the cause to be:

> "Lack of trust between various ethnic and religious group
> as a result of deep rooted misconception and stereotyping.
> Lack of tolerance, poverty and fear of socio-cultural domination,
> media reporting, government failure to take action in
> previous happening, lack of infrastructure , excruciating poverty
> and manipulation of the people by retired military officers to achieve
> their ambitions."

While a Christian cleric had a similar opinion and he said the following were the causes of conflict:

> "The first is the structural imbalance that disfavors the
> Southern part of the state in term of elections. The basis
> of this is what he called the "fictitious" census exercise
> in the state which under counted the southern part
> and exaggerated the figures of the Northern parts (Fwa 2003)

The analysis confirm the position of some scholar that, 'failure to resolve the natural question in an inclusive manner is evident in the varied responses across the country to conflicts over identify, nationality, self-determination and autonomy" (Fwa 2003).

Therefore, we don't really have a religious conflict, but conflict as a result of socio- economic and political issues that is play up in religious

tones weeping up emotions to seek sympathy, knowing that people get existed over religious issues.

3.4   Resolving the "Religious Conflicts in Nigeria

Just like any other conflict, effort to resolve these conflicts have always taken a multi-dimensional approach. Preventions come from both government and non-governmental organization. But the government has always adopted the establishment of **Judicial Commissions of Inquiry.** One major methodology adopted by he government in an attempt to resolve the conflict is to set up panel of inquiry. The government gives the mandate for each commission, including finding the cause of the conflict. They are advice to make recommendations on bring lasting peace to the conflict. The general consensus is that, the government always lack the political will to implement the recommendation because of some individuals involve.

State Creation Instrument: This is one tool used by successive governments to give a sense of belonging to the people, although this instrument has been a source of conflict too. The choice of the capital of the state or the Local Government headquarters and sometimes the division it brings into the ethnic groups, as one ethnic group could be divided into two states, all these has been sources of conflict.

The Use of Military Force: Federal Government has always resorted to military solutions to stop violence and internal aggression. Although the military government had found this method very helpful, it is very embarrassing to notice it is the civilian regime. There is a great deal of the use of force to stop violence many times, and it has not helped in the restoration of peace and reconciliation.

Peace and Reconciliatory Meetings: This is another method of resolving conflict employed by both the government and the non-governmental organizations. These meeting help to promote peace and reconcile the disputing parties. This strategy tries to appeal to the conscience of the parties to initiate dialogue in resolving their differences.

Self Assessment Exercise

Briefly explain the history of religious conflicts in Nigeria.

4.0   CONCLUSION

Reviewing the causes of these conflicts and the responses to resolving them, it will show clearly that they are not entirely religious conflicts as the bone of contention is not religious, neither are they as a result of

religious interpretations, so, they are not religious conflicts, but socio-economic and political conflicts that are presented as religious conflicts. Many of the perpetrators of the conflicts are people from different religious background engaging in socio – political and economic crises. There are no textual or contextual interpretations of the religious books leading to any form of conflict. This conclusion they bring us to the question of "are all the conflicts called religious conflict, really religious conflicts or are they socio-economic and political conflicts.

5.0   SUMMARY

This has been able to discuss the belief systems in Nigeria. It also discussed the history of religious conflicts in Nigeria. It went further to examine various causes of religious conflicts I Nigeria and ways of resolving religious conflicts.

6.0.   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

Identify and describe two religious conflicts in Nigeria, if there are any.

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 2   PEACE EDUCATION

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction

1.0   INTRODUCTION

"In 1945, the United Nations was established to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", "to reaffirm faith in the …dignity and worth of the human person [and] in the equal rights of men and women", "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained", and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom…". (*Preamble to the UN Charter*)"

"Peace education has developed as a means to achieve these goals. It is education that is "directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms". It promotes "understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups" and furthers "the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace." (*Article 26, Universal Declaration of Human Rights"*) http://www.un.org/cyberschoolbus/peace/frame2.htm

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

i.   Explain the importance of Peace Education;
ii.   Identify the different teaching contexts;
iii.   Describe the concept of Peace Education; and
iv.   Differentiate between the culture of peace and the culture of violence.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Why teach peace?

Peace Education includes information that give the students a full range of opportunities to make the best choices and students need to learn about the tools to constructively deal with the problems they encounter on both a personal and global level, and it helps them understand their responsibility for elevating the collective human experience. The main goal of teaching peace is to unlock in students the ability to be autodidactic, and to have a powerful understanding of their role in promoting peace in the world.

3.2   How do you teach Peace?

Teaching peace is not restricted to a particular school or context using a specific methodology, style or practice. A culture of teaching peace recognizes the varied and diverse learning environments where students encounter opportunities to refine their notions of peace, and this could be indoor or out door. Themes of peace and justice can be infused in every content subject so that peace is pervasive in the curriculum. For example, science teachers can teach peace by promoting environmental awareness and ecological thinking. Foreign language teachers can read and/or translate primary-source texts from the target language which detail experiences in personal, local, national and global peacemaking efforts. Physics classes can learn about the subatomic exchange of matter and energy which binds all humans to one another. A culture of teaching peace can also begin in unconventional places. In prisons and juvenile detention facilities in the United States, a curriculum called Solutions to Violence is impacting the incarcerated youths and adults in a positive way.

3.3   The concept of Peace Education

The of Peace Education is multifaceted as it is a outcome of different educational approaches that are linked together in the culture of peace. Peace Education is related to the idea of promoting knowledge, values, attitudes and skills promote peace and non-violence, active commitment to the development and sustenance of co-operation and democracy. The concept of Peace Education covers:

PeaceasaTopic: Peace is very elusive but connotes more than a mere absence of war or hostilities, but the presence of justice. Derived from the Latin *pax*, peace in the Western world is generally considered a contractual relationship that implies mutual recognition and agreement. Understandings of peace throughout the world often disclose a much deeper comprehension of peace in relation to the human condition, which also includes inner peace.

Gender Education: This form of education emphasizes that gender analysis is nothing, but social, historical, and cultural constructions and arrangements, which indicate acceptable and preferable forms of behaviour and attitudes for men and women. They are not permanent and not biological, so are determined by the society. Gender studies requires that focus be given to feminist analyses as well as to the emerging field of masculinities, both of which are sub-fields of gender studies. Gender is not 'sex' as it is strictly biological determinations and chromosomes. The study of masculinities concerns itself with social constructions of what it means to be a man, with the understanding that there is no single form of masculinity. Gender and the building of peace is a rapidly growing interdisciplinary subject that straddles gender studies and peace and conflict studies. It is important to see the linkage between them as social institutionalization of gender is central to politics and, therefore, to peace.

Intercultural, Inter-racial and Anti-prejudice Education: This education emphasizes instruction and learning that socially determine activities, like social feelings, cultural sentiments, prejudice and stereotyping, interpersonal relations and expectations, as well as the reflection of social realities. The effective "multicultural" education is concerned about each individual student, and is sensitive to the group and cultural affiliations of every student. Intercultural relations in the classroom may be a source of knowledge and mutual enrichment between culturally diverse learners if managed proactively by teachers. Frustration, misapprehensions and intercultural conflict are a more likely outcome if teachers do not deal with diversity in a sensitive manner.

Global Education – Education for Developmental and Social Justice: Social justice is an advanced stage of human right. Justice is defined by Thomas Aquinas as "the constant and perpetual will to render to everyone what is due him" He further says: "the principle of justice is to give each person or group, whether weak or strong, what is his or her dues and to demand the contribution of each on the basis of equal consideration". So, education for social justice emphasizes "social contract", which pursues for a social conduct based on just, impartiality, legitimacy, equity and fairness in awarding what is due.

Environmental Education: Environmental education is at the very heart of education for the 21st century because it is the form of education today that is very good not only at recognizing the social connections between people, but also well at recognizing the connections between people and the planet that sustains them. It is education for sustainability which goes way beyond the old-style Nature Studies, in which the environment was the 'green bit' tacked on to other subjects. Environmental education becomes integrated into the whole of peace

education and into all levels of learning, as it also examines the physical surroundings, curriculum, and teaching of life skills.

CivicEducation–EducationForDemocraticCitizenship: Civics   and citizenship education promotes citizens participation in the country's democracy by equipping them with the knowledge, skills, values and dispositions of active and informed citizenship. It entails knowledge and understanding of country's democratic heritage and traditions, its political and legal institutions and the shared values of freedom, tolerance, respect, responsibility and inclusion.

Human Rights Education – Education For Human Dignity: Human rights education is based on the quality of all-human alone, and no other living thing has. There is a dignity that goes with being human not an animal, and it is not government given, it is God/nature given. It must be respected and protected. So, Human Rights promotion and protection is not based on any other condition than human conditions. According to Declaration on Human Rights, Article 1: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and right. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Education For Non-Violent Conflict Transformation: Non-violent transformation of conflict and the weaponry of non-violent struggle are desirable for those who seek non-lethal means of conflict engagement, which can improve the odds for reconciliation. This include changes in all, any, or some combination of the following matters regarding a conflict: the general context or framing of the situation, the contending parties, the issues at stake, the processes or procedures governing the predicament, or the structures affecting any of the aforementioned. Conflict transformation may occur through the unintended consequences of actions taken by parties internal or external to the conflict, yet deliberate attempts at transformation may also be made.

3.4   A Peace Promoting Culture

A Peace promoting Culture

From	To
Cultures of militarism	Cultures of Peace
Authoritarian education	Democratic education
Military training	**Disarmament education**
Propagation of prejudiced enemy images	Contracting prejudices
Militaristic concepts, myths and images	Alternative concepts, myths and images
Neglecting fatherhood	Promoting fatherhood
Supporting sexism	Supporting equality between men and women
Obedience, uniformity	Supporting self-reliance, independence and critical thinking
Neglecting equality, justice and human rights	Respecting equality, justice and human rights
Racism and nationalism	Tolerance and global responsibility

Adopted from the EURED Curriculum of a European Peace Education Course

Self Assessment Exercise

Explain the concept of peace education.

4.0   CONCLUSION

A culture of peace is always achieved when citizens of the world understand global problems, developing the skills and strategies to resolve conflicts and struggle for justice non-violently, live by international standards of human rights and equity, appreciate cultural diversity, and respect the Earth and each other. Such learning can only be achieved through systematic peace education.

5.0   SUMMARY

This unit highlights various ways to teach and promote peace. It began asking the question on why peace is taught. It further explained how one learns to teach peace. It also elaborated on a number of concepts in peace education. It finally examines the issue of peace promoting culture.

6.0   TUTORED MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1.   Explain the importance of Peace education? **Or**

2. In 500 words, describe two concepts of Peace Education

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 3   AFRICAN ENDOGENOUS PEACE
                     INSTITUTIONS

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Peace and conflict research has been exported to other regions of the world, unfortunately, largely underpinned by the western hegemonic discourse, unfortunately. Scholars from that region have crafted the fields of peace studies and conflict resolution in Euro-American institutions, largely. According to Tamara Duffy (2000) this discipline reflected Western intellectual traditions, worldviews, expectations, values and rationality embedded in Western culture.[1] The discipline has assumed that the theories and methods derived from a particularistic Western worldview are universally applicable and this can be dangerously misleading.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

i.   Describe the traditional society;
ii.   Explain various conflict sources among indigenous Africans;
iii.   Discuss relevant traditional institutions and approaches to conflict prevention, management & resolution in Africa; and
iv.   Examine various causes of weakness and erosion of indigenous peace institutions in Africa.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Traditional Society

Before the advent of slave trade and colonialism, African societies had well-established mechanisms for peace education, confidence building, peace making, peace building, conflict monitoring, conflict prevention, conflict management, and conflict resolution. These institutions and methods were effective and highly respected and their decisions binding on all the parties concerned.

However, the beginning of slave trade and eventually colonialism truncated the indigenous institutional mechanisms for peace in Africa. Slave trading particularly encouraged not only intra-ethnic conflicts but also inter-ethnic conflicts as people were scrambling for slaves to sell. Colonialism, on the other hand, portrayed everything that is African to be barbaric and incapable of serving any useful purpose. The result of all these is that African indigenous peace institutions were destroyed or where they could not be destroyed became weakened to a state of ineffectiveness. Courts were created by the colonialists to adjudicate cases based on their legal system while the police force was also raised up to take cases that used to be taken before the African indigenous peace institutions for amicable settlement were now taken to the courts of the colonialists, which, most times, are not properly resolved.

Indeed, before the coming of the Europeans, Africa had one of the most advanced legal institutions. The administration of justice in Africa was aimed at resolving conflicts rather than pronouncing judgments. **Emphasis was placed on reconciliation and restoration of social harmony than on punishment of the conflicting parties.** The administration of justice was made an open affair where all adults freely participated. There were no in-camera trials as court sessions as the processes were held in the open with the parties in conflict being freely cross-examined. **Truth was the object of the delivery of justice.**

3.2 Conflict Sources among Indigenous Africans

The indigenous Africans are subject to the influence of all natural and generally accepted theories on the causes of conflict such as differences in perception, needs, values, power, desires, goals, opinions, and many other components of human interactions.

While this is true for most human beings, the sources of conflict in Africa are mostly land, chieftaincy position, sex matters (in relation to wife or daughter), family property, honour, murder or positioning, matrimonial fall-outs (maltreatment of wife). These are the main sources of conflicts in Africa.

3.3   Institutions for Peace and Conflict Resolution in Africa

Any human society that wants to advance needs peace and security to do so, therefore, in Africa, before the arrival of the white man with all his institutions, there had been in existence elaborate and effective methods and institutions for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. These institutions and methods were established by Africans because great emphasis were placed on peaceful resolution of disputes so as to restore social harmony to the conflicting parties while the principles of equity and justice entrenched in their customs and traditions are maintained. Among many African societies, it was strongly upheld that disputes should be settled amicable by persuasion rather than the resort of force or coercion. This system did not condone killings and violence in resolving conflict.

Among the Arusha people of Tanzania, there was instituted the Golib Festival, which was a period for the prohibition of all feuds and hostilities between and within families, clans and villages as the emphasis was laid on abundant food, harmony, fecundity, and the common interest of all the people in the community. The Gikuyu elders of Kenya had it impressed on them that their primary responsibility to their people was the prevention of conflict between members of their community and the prevention of violent and deadly conflicts that would involve the use of supernatural powers, open hostilities bloodshed, and destruction of property.

In the communities of many African countries, the concept of "African Palaver" is widely used to settle conflicts. However various communities in Africa call it various names. Among the Kpelle people of Liberia, it is called "House of Palaver" or "moot". Here, it is an ad hoc committee or council made up of the kinsmen and neighbours of the parties to a conflict. Every claim from both parties to the conflict was investigated with honesty, transparency and at the end of it all, judgment was delivered and all parties involved shared a drink. In Chad, especially among the Toubou society, the assembly in which conflicts are resolved was called "Cofono". This is a gathering in which not only the traditional rulers were involved but customary council members from the surroundings, all interested men (both young and old), as well as women groups of all ages. This is because when there is an outbreak of violent conflict, the whole clan was involved. So often a hot and exciting debate about the pros and cons of the conflict, a verdict would be given which was binding on the parties to the conflict.

In the Beti society located in the capital region of Cameroon, the concept is known as "adzo" which means "to say or "to talk". It means the act of talking things over or the use of dialogue for the settlement of

conflict. It usually involves the entire community. All those who feel concerned are invited to participate in the search for an amicable settlement of the conflict. It involves three stages: the first stage is the stage for persuading parties to a conflict to bring their case to the "Palaver." The second stage has to do with the speech or hearing stage where parties to the conflict confront each other. It is also the stage when the elders will be given the opportunity to hear the full history of the conflict, known as the fear and concerns of the parties and the fundamental issues involved in the conflict. The last stage is one in which the elders, after hearing the facts of the conflict from both sides, retire to a secluded place to take a decision and come back later to drop their verdict. The guilty party is made to compensate the other party in a proportional manner that is made to be symbol, rather than as punishment.

The Palaver system is also used in Mali as a conflict management technique. In Mali society, conflicts are resolved by those that are regarded as the "keepers of the word of authority". These people render justice in the name of their ancestors. When any conflict is brought before them, they first listen to the parties, call witnesses and from there, go to question session where questions are asked, beginning from the eldest of these local judges, to clarify issues and get the true picture about the conflict. After this, they go into their own proceedings to arrive at a verdict which when given is without appeal and the guilty submits himself to the decision taken. It must be noted, however that the use of "Palaver" is the emphasis on the restoration of harmony within the community rather than the emphasis on who is right or wrong.

Among the Oromo people of East Africa, there was the "Gada" system. Institutions were set up to prevent violent conflicts but where there is an outbreak of violence, they were quickly checked before escalation. Conflicts were resolved through the establishment of truth, a just and honourable verdict given for the restoration of social harmony in the community.

Coming to Nigeria, the indigenous institutions for peace could be summed up as follows: family, elders (within a lineage), clan, females born in a family or village, council of elders, village or town assembly, king-in-council, masquerade system, age grades, hunters association, oracles and deities etc. All these serve as institutions for the maintenance of peace and the resolution of conflict.

3.4 Traditional Approaches to Conflict Prevention, Management & Resolution in Africa

The following were some of the ways through which conflicts were prevented, managed and resolved in Africa before the coming of the colonialists.

Socialization

The indigenous African see human existence as unified, interlinked, and integrated in a web. In most communities of the South of Africa, there existed the concept "Ubuntu" which means "collective personhood" or "member of the human family" This concept is contained in the Nguni proverb that states, "I am because we are". From childhood, people were taught to live in harmony with others and avoid a situation of trying to win at all cost in the case of conflict and dispute settlement. Indigenous Africans impart in their offspring that quarrel and fight with others are to be seen as quarrel between blood relations.

Inculcation of Myths

The use of proverbs, idioms, folktales and songs to describe the nature of the world and how to live in it was another way of preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa. The need to live harmoniously with others and avoid violent conflict because of the dangers inherent in it was one of the reasons for inculcating these myths through the use of proverbs, idioms etc. on the children at tender age.

Use of Traditional Institutions in Conflict Monitoring

The institutions of family, council of elders, clan, female born of a village etc. were used in the task of conflict monitoring and prevention. Each family head is employed and mobilized to prevent conflict through peace education, conflict monitoring and mediation and reconciliation.

Ritual Treaties and Blood Covenant

Rituals treaties and blood covenant were used to remove fear, and engender trust, blind families and villages and to avoid war. Such treaties and covenants involve powerful deities, which makes it not easy to violate as violation would bring dire consequences.

Institution and Celebration of Festivals

There were instituted celebrations of festivals during which the virtues of peace, harmonious living, honesty etc. were extolled in songs. Rituals and scarifies were performed to the village deities and ancestors foe peace, protection, good works, fertility etc.

Use of Sanctions

Sanctions were imposed on families and individuals who were seen to have contradicted the customs and traditions of the people in order to deter others from engaging in behaviours that would engender conflict. Sanctions were meted on such misbehaviour as stealing, willful murder, incest, abuse of elders, willful damage to property, lying, bearing false witness, poisoning, rape etc. Such sanctions included those that were imposed by the deities such as accidents, sickness, death, famine, poverty, misery, barrenness and loss of children etc. to the ones imposed by the society in such as exile, ostracism, fines, compensation, restitution, rendering apology etc.

Use of Marriages

Marriage is one of the means to the prevention, management and resolution of conflict before slave trader, colonialism and religion changed the societal life of the indigenous Africans. Marriages reduced inter-group wars as children who possessed mixed blood were used to prevent, manage and resolve conflict. Most of those marriages were not just intra-tribal but inter-tribal and most times involve the royalty such as the one between Adaeze, the daughter of Obi Ossa; of Aboh and Amain, the king boy of Brass and that between King Ajaja's daughter and Alafin of Oyo and Alafin of Oyo's daughter and King Ajaja in 1730.

Oath Taking

One of the approaches used in the pre-colonial days to prevent, manage and resolve conflict was oath taking. This was a practice to establish truth and guilt and discourage dishonest attitude and evil actions in society. Most times this was done at the shrine of a very powerful deity over something that could be an avenue for contacting such deity. People are always warned before taking oath on the consequence of doing so on falsehood in order to avoid shame.

Diplomacy

In the ages past, diplomacy, which was a tool for foreign relations, was also employed in conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa. This is attested to by the diplomatic exchanges between the empire rulers of Shangai and Mali etc.

3.5   Causes of Weakness and Erosion of Indigenous Peace Institutions in Africa

The arrival of the slave masters as well as colonial masters contributed in no small measure to the ineffectiveness and sometimes, complete erosion of peace institutions in Africa. Slave trade encouraged conflicts within and among tribes while colonialism brought along with it its own system of justice, administration etc. that were alien to that of the Africans. Colonialism denigrated everything that was African and labeled it barbaric.

Secondly, the arrival of Christian religion further weakened and rendered ineffective peace institutions in Africa that had hitherto existed before the coming of this religion. The traditional religion of the people which was the basis of law was weakened and ritual sanctions, treaties and festivals which were based upon the people's religion collapsed and gave way to the new religion which preached forgiveness of sin and purging from unrighteousness through the blood of Jesus.

European commerce and colonialism which promotes crass materialism and individualism was another factor that destroyed family solidarity and corporate integrity and which was responsible for the weakening and eroding of indigenous peace institution in Africa.

Self Assessment Exercise

Institutions for Peace and Conflict Resolution in Africa are essential. Discuss

4.0   CONCLUSION

Application of theories and methodologies of peace research and conflict resolution in Africa has largely neglected the simple fact that Africa has well-developed and tested indigenous approaches and methods of conflict management, resolution, pacific settlement of disputes and peace building. Some scholars have argued that to develop universal models and techniques on peace research and conflict resolution applicable across all social and cultural contexts is simply problematic because, it neglects the specificity of cultural and the diverse cultural milieus that conflict is embedded and critical to its resolution. John Paul Lederach (1998) has therefore proposed an

'elicitive' process of conflict resolution as an alternative to the traditional and dominant 'prescriptive' process. The elicitive process of conflict resolution is based on building and creating appropriate models from the cultural resources and implicit knowledge available in a given setting. The prescriptive process on the other hand, is based on transferring conflict resolution techniques from one setting to another, in particular, the transfer of Western methods to non-Western conflict environment.

5.0   SUMMARY

This unit has discussed various issues that would stimulate our knowledge of the customary alternative to conflict resolution and prevention. It began with the description of traditional society. It went further to discuss various conflict sources among indigenous Africans, relevant traditional institutions and approaches to conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa and various causes of weakness and erosion of indigenous peace institutions in Africa.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1.   Should African Approaches to conflict resolution be adopted in resolving conflicts in Post Colonial Africa? **Or**
2.   What are the problems that will make the adoption of African approaches difficult and what are your suggestions on overcoming   these problems?

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UNIT 4   SMALL ARMS, CHILDREN AND GIRLS IN ARMED CONFLICTS.

CONTENT

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Body
        3.1   Small Arms Proliferation
        3.2   ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms
        3.3   Child Soldiers in West Africa
        3.4   Why Children?
        3.5   Solutions
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0   INTRODUCTION

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

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

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

i.   Describe small Arms and light weapons

ii.   Explain the reasons / factors for its proliferation
iii.   Describe the efforts of ECOWAS in the control of small Arms and light weapons proliferation
iv.   Describe the process of recruitment and activities of child soldiers
v.   Explain the role of girls in armed conflicts and
vi.   Identify some solutions to child soldier and the use of children in armed conflicts.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation

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

Portability and Conceal-ability

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

Military / Police and Civilian Uses

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

Low Cost and Wide Availability

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

Lethality

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

3.2   ECOWAS Conventions on Small Arms

Economic Communities of West African States (ECOWAS), in 1998, adopted a Moratorium on Small Arms and Light Weapons, which aimed to combat the proliferation of these weapons. It was a product of both the government and the civil society organizations. In 2002, there was a follow up meeting in Dakar Senegal, which aimed to strengthen the moratorium, so that it can become more effective. The West African region is a very volatile part of African because of the armed conflicts in this region coupled with cross border crime and destabilizing factor due to the heavy presence of illegal arms trafficking and usage. In March 2005, in Bamako, Mali, there was another workshop to transform the ECOWAS moratorium on importation, exportation and manufacture of Small Arms and Light Weapons in West Africa. The "ECOWAS Protocol on the fight against the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, their munitions and other related material" is structured with a preamble and eight chapters that have been broken down into31 Articles:

Chapter 1 concentrates on definitions, objectives and basic principles. It aims to offer a framework for the draft protocol.

Chapter 2 sets out the legal regime accompanied by the criteria and procedures for exemption.

Chapter 3 focuses on the measures and ways of promoting transparency as an efficient means of fighting the proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

Chapter 4 underlines the necessity of translating the sub-regional undertaking into adequate and effective legislative and regulatory framework.

Chapter 5 defines the activities that must be carried out to guarantee the implementation of the protocol pilot study.

Chapter 6, regarding the institutional arrangements, underlines the respective roles of the national commissions and the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat.

Chapter 7 establishes a mechanism for evaluation and monitoring through a group of independent experts. Finally

Chapter 8 sets out the final measures. (Adopted from Couilbaly 2005, 'ECOWAS Convention: A Response to the implementation of the UNPoA' FocusonSmallArmsinAfrica)

ECOWAS Moratorium and its code of conduct recommendations:
States

Proceed to the adoption of the protocol pilot study by the end of December 2005.
Compile a register of the local arms manufacturers and encourage them to mark the weapons they produce.
Submit national reports to the United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspect.

Civilsocietyorganization

Carry out awareness and advocacy campaigns towards West African Governments to first adopt the protocol project and then to apply it;
Carry out this advocacy based on the strategy defined and adopted during the workshop;
Participate in the diffusion of the protocol once it has been officially adopted by the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government;

Collaborate closely with the national commissions in the conception, development and implementation of the national action plans for the fight against the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. (Adopted from Couilbaly 2005, 'ECOWAS Convention: A Response to the implementation of the UNPoA' FocusonSmallArmsinAfrica)

3.3   Child Soldering in West Africa

West Africa got the unenviable tag of the most volatile sub-region with the armed insurgences in Liberia and Sierra Leone in 1989 and 1991 respectively. The other terrible consequence of the war is the great number of child soldiers these wars produced. Records have it that the

Liberian war produced estimated 20,000 and Sierra Leone, 10,000 child soldiers. These vulnerable young children were either forced into the army through kidnapping, conscription, raids, press-ganging. Unaccompanied and unguarded children fall prey to these actions. While some children volunteering join the army; although it is reported that girls are forced to join "because of gender based sexual services". (Sesay and Ismail 2003)

Tracing the cases of child soldiers, scholars argue that the poor socio-political conditions, compounded by economic poverty "produced an inherent disposition to child soldiering". The victimization of the Gios and Manos by Samuel Doe and the rebel activities of the AFL contributed immensely to the volunteering of the children from the Gios and Manos ethnic group "either as a survival strategy, to avenge the killing of parents, family members, friends and the surrogate parents or to protect themselves and their families from further harassment". (Sesay and Ismail 2003)

Although some others believe that plenty of children join the war because of socio-economic or political gains like looting, raping, access to power through the use of guns, etc. 'The gun particularly was very attractive because it gave them access to food and new social status of responsibility in unpredictable environments'. (Sesay and Ismail 2003) The presence of Small Arms and Light inexpensive Weapons made recruitment attractive.

ConflictandPostwarTraumaAmongChildSoldiersinLiberiaand
SierraLeone.
One pathetic effect of the Liberian and Sierra Leone wars was the problem of postwar trauma stress disorder. Symptoms of anxiety, depression, hyperactivity; aggressive behaviour, withdrawal, bed-wetting and recurrent nightmares are part of the lives of the children who participate in the wars. The unfortunate part of the problem is that, the government has no capacity to help these victims, although the governments make statements in this regard. The Lome Peace Accord of 1999 between the government and the RUF recognized the importance of children, and their place in the rehabilitation and reintegration program. In Liberia, efforts are made by NGOs to rehabilitate and reintegrate these ex-combatants, as much as there were no mentions of them in the Peace Agreement. Various methods are adopted in the postwar trauma. There were cases where these young people are sent to centers for six months and they undergo psychotherapy treatments. But there are others who believe that the African traditional method should be adopted which calls for rituals, ceremonies and destruction of war instruments and clothes in the fire, indicating a break away from the evil past.

3.4   Why children?

This is one question that baffles many scholars. Why children? Why recruit the vulnerable that cannot think things through? Many people here proffered answers based on the socio-cultural, socio-biological and others think of answers on the basis 'of dirty war terror tactics against civilians in an effort to control population through intimidation and fear' (Nordstorm,1997:9-34). They believe that to be able to control terror means that that country's population can be controlled too.

The second reason is that of humiliation of "the enemy"; this war is fought on the bodies of the weak and unable to defend themselves. The aim is to tell the state that it is not only a failed state; it is unworthy of her people, as she cannot even protect her "innocent" children. But then if the children are made to hurt others including adults, they loose their innocence and deserve no pity and protection.

And the last argument is that children are maimed, killed and violated during wars because they are not strong enough to fight back. The holders of this view say violence against the weak by the strong is not only in the war field, but also in the domestic arena. This is to say, "the unarmed and the undefended are largely the targets of the armed". (Nordstorm,1997:29-34)

3.5   The Solution

Most of the predicaments that are befalling the children are preventable. According to the "study on the impact of Armed Conflict on Children" (Nordstorm 1997: 35-46) the most helpful solution is unveiling the silence surrounding the wars children and girls are subjected to. This silence is about politics and power implicated in form of human rights abuse. Very little can be done if data on these abuses are not made known. How many girls are targeted in war, sold into forced labour, harmed in their homes and communities and why, must be known, otherwise viable interventions cannot be planned. Speaking out is also dangerous as it means speaking against trusted leaders, powerful industries, government/military officials etc. So many people just decide to keep quiet and invariably hurt the children through their silence. The study identified four major levels of solutions.

> **Questions.** Clarifications of series of questions will go a long way to controlling the harm done to children during conflict. The following questions must be clarified and answered. When the word "human" is used in cases of human rights violation, does it include children? When the word "child" is used, does it include "girls" as "child" in often used is often for boys, as in child soldering. The big

problem for girl child is that she is only considered in sexual abuses and violations and there is no reference to economic potential, political awareness or moral conscience. The girl child is only seen as a "victim", and the implication for them is that they are vulnerable, weak, lack confidence and cannot make any input in decision processes. Another problem that needs to be clarified in the issue of child is "what age are we talking about here? 12–15 years old or 5–8 years old. Most times the torture of the children before the child soldier ages are never examined. Many children though young suffer tremendous hurtful experiences.

Knowledge. A problem known is a problem half solved. This is to emphasize the importance of knowledge, of the problem. We need to ask questions to know what percentage of casualties are girls? How the act of torture was carried out? What impact has the war experience on them? Etc. We have to let them tell their stories. We need to hear them proffer solutions, because "it is woefully easy to silence children's own words and realities' (Nordstorm 1997 pp 35-46). The questions will be followed through to the centre of the society and solutions rest on our (society) ability to recognize 'the realities of justice and abuse around the world, not as abstract categories, but as very human realities taking place in the lives of very real people'. (Nordstorm, 1997: 29-34)

Action. The third level of solutions is taking actions. It is very surprising to note that the convention on the right of the child is widely accepted and as far back as 1995, 168 countries have signed the treaty, but then, it is within these countries and period that the worst child/human rights violations have taken place. It is then more important to implement the protocol than to just sign the papers. It is important that the voice of children be heard from the mouths of children not adults. Realistic actions that will make impact on how wars are fought, and how the target audience, the unarmed children should be brought to the centre stage in order to begin to give it publicity, attention and governments can begin to do something concrete.

Giving Girls Agency. In an attempt to proffer solutions on the problem of children in armed conflict, it is important to give the children a platform on which to operate. This platform will have to wear a gender lens, giving more attention to the girl child. The biggest problem girl child has in conflict situations is that; they are seen as **just victims of sexual assault.** Their political, economic and social potentials are never considered. The way a child is seen during war, determines what role that will be assigned her after conflict. The beauty of en-gendering these issues is that it provides models for

children across divisions of war and peace. This process pushes for justice for all at times. Children can tell their own stories of war and peace, it is then important that a structured voice be created for them through the establishment of an agency.

Self Assessment Exercise

Discuss the ECOWAS Convention on small arms.

4.0   CONCLUSION

The role of Small Arms and Light Weapons on intra-state conflict is very strategic and impactful. The recruitment of children to perpetuate conflict through the dehumanization of human worth; is not only against traditional African values, it is a human right violation. These dangerous situations can be highly controlled if people in positions of authority give it the necessary attention and give the children the right to speak out their mind.

5.0   SUMMARY

This unit has discussed various issues   concerning small arms proliferation as well as the response of ECOWAS to arrest the ugly trend. It began with a discourse on Small Arms Proliferation. It also talked on ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and generation of Child Soldiers in West Africa. It also discussed on the solutions to these ugly trends of small arms proliferation and generation of child soldiers in Africa as a whole and West Africa in particular.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1. Why are Small Arms and Light Weapons so important in prosecuting conflict in West African region? **Or**
2. Which is the best approach in transforming post war trauma in the children – traditional African or Modern Western approach?

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UNIT 5   POST CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION

CONTENT

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
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    3.1   The Post Conflict Environment
    3.2   Stages and Phases of the Peace Process.
    3.3   Peace Agreement
    3.4   Post Conflict Priorities in the Security Sector
    3.5   Priority Peace Building Tasks
    3.6   The Roles and Responsibilities of Donors in Post conflict
        Reconstruction
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Marked Assignments
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0   INTRODUCTION

According to Ball (2003) in the past 50years, nearly 1 million people are killed each year as a result of armed conflict. The cost of these wars in terms of human loss and missed developmental opportunities cannot be measured. Although, there will still be skeletal Socio -economic activities, but what is common these days is the fall back of the warring parties on the natural resources to sustain their wars is further making it difficult for some countries to explore their potentials for long term development. Armed conflicts retard developing process and erode development foundation, as people are turned into refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Fundamentals required for development, to tackle poverty, suffering, and provide public goods, protection of people and properties, equitable legal system for investment are always beyond the capacity of post conflict government. Even beyond the physical destruction, is the problem of internal power imbalance, which further complicates the efforts to create enabling community for sustainable development. All these factors posses a lot of challenge for post conflict reconstruction and many countries are calling the international community to help in rebuilding post conflict societies.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

At the end of this Unit, you should be able to:
i.   Describe post conflict environment;
ii.   Describe the stages of peace processes; and
iii.   Identify the peace-building tasks.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   The Post Conflict Environment

According to Ball (2003) below are the characteristics of post conflict environment

Institutional Characteristics	Economic and Social Characteristics	Security Characteristics
Weak political administrative institutions Non-participatory political system Vigorous competition for power at expense of attention to governing Limited legitimacy of political leaders. Lack of consensus on direction country should follow	Extensive damage to or decay of economic and social infrastructure. High levels of indebtedness Unsustainably high defense budgets Significant contraction of legal economy and expansion of illegal economy Reversion to substance activities Destruction or exile of human resources Conflicts over ownership of and access to land Gender imbalance Environmental degradation Weakened social fabric Poor social indicators	Bloated security forces Armed opposition, paramilitary force Overabundance of small arms * Need to reassess security environment and restructure security forces accordingly * Lack of transparency in security affairs and accountability to evil authority and to population * Political role of security forces. History of human rights abuses perpetrated by security forces.

Source: 'The Challenges of rebuilding War-Torn Societies' in Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict.

3.2   Stages and Phases of the Peace Process.

When conflicts are negotiated peace processes are in stages.
The Peace Process in Negotiated Peace Settlement

STAGES	Cessation of conflict		Peace building	
PHASES	Negotiations	Cessation of Hostilities	Transition	Consolidation
MAIN OBJECTIVES	Agreeing o key issues t enable fighting t stop	Signing peace accords Establishing cease fire Separating forces	Establishing a government with adequate legitimacy to enable it to rule effectively Implementing reforms to build political institutions and establish security Inaugurating economic and social revitalization Promoting social reconciliation	Continuing and deepening reform process Continuing economic and social recovery efforts Continuing promotion of social reconciliation

Source: 'The Challenges of rebuilding War-Torn Societies' in Turbulent
Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict.

3.3   Peace Agreement

It is important we describe the Peace Agreement reached as working
paper. Peace Agreements have the responsibility of decreeing the
institutional changes that require a lot of time. Most times, the Peace
Agreements allow one to two years for the transition government and
give the timetable for the implementation of the activities. Most Peace
Agreements do not address the root causes of the conflict, but the

compromise necessary for all the stakeholders. This could be because they are desperate to get an agreement and if they try to get to the root causes of the conflict, they might not get agreement signed. If these root causes are not addressed, they serve as stumbling blocks to the mediator who is faced with a flawed agreement or continuation of the violence. Whatever is the augment against Pence Agreement, it is important, to know that they may institute necessary steps towards consolidating peace. Peace Agreements are flawed and must be used with plenty of caution, and necessary changes must be made whether they are in the Peace Agreement or not.

3.4   Post Conflict Priorities In The Security Sector

 International communities have realized that, the responsibility to peace goes beyond achieving peace agreement, but continues to the consolidation of the peace process.

The security sector is made up of the military, police, paramilitary, gendarmerie, and other organizations that support the police for quick delivery of justice. The process of developing a security sector reform starts with the identification of the needs and key objectives of the whole sector and secondly, map the resource framework for the central government. The completion of these tasks will make it possible to identify the priorities and allocation of available resource.

Post Conflict priorities in Security Sector:

> Assess the environment, redefine the doctrine and mission of the security forces, and task the security forces based on this assessment and on the principle of evil management and oversight of the security forces.

> Restructure the security forces based on the post conflict doctrines, missions, and budget realities.

> Increase transparency and accountability on security-related issues within the security forces, the executive branch, and the legislature, as well to the public.

> Enhance the capacity of the civil authorities to manage and oversee the activities of the security forces.

> Pursue parallel development of the criminal justice system

> Train civilian security analysts, in both the public sector and civil society

Pursue professional development of the security forces that imbues their members with an understanding of democratic accountability and strengthens their internal management capacity to implement and sustain reforms.

Terminate extralegal forms of recruitment to the security sector.

Disband and disarm opposition forces and informal paramilitary forces, demobilize government troops

Source: 'The Challenges of rebuilding War-Torn Societies' in Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict.

3.5   Priority Peace Building Tasks

Provide sufficient level of security to civilians to enable economic
        activity to recover, to encourage refugees and the Internal
Displaced   Persons (IDPs) to re-establish themselves and to
business community   to invest.

Strengthen the government's capacity to carry out key tasks. Assist

the return of refugees and internally displaced persons. Support the

rejuvenation of household economics, especially by
        strengthening the smallholder agricultural sector.

Assist community recovery in part through projects that rehabilitate
        the social and economic infrastructure.

Rehabilitate infrastructure crucial to economic revival, such as major
        roads, bridges, marketplaces, and power generation facilities.

Remove land mines from major transport arteries, fields in heavily
        populated areas and other critical sites
Stabilize the national currency and rehabilitates financial
        institutions.

Promote national reconciliation.

Give priority to social groups and geographic area most affected by
        the conflict.

Source: Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds) (2003) Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict, Washington DC: United States Institute for Peace Press,

3.6 The Roles and Responsibilities of Donors in Post conflict Reconstruction

The donor organizations have important roles and responsibilities in rebuilding war torn societies, and it is therefore very crucial that the assistance from the donors be appropriate and relevant to make the needed impact. Although, they have been making much important donations in term of quality and quantity of assistance, there is still much to be done, at different sectors. There are 4 major areas that will be considered in the assistance given to make a change in peace building process.

Creating Sustained Partnerships among External Actors.

With time peace builders have to learn one important lesson, which is to sustain assistance, because experience has shown that, when development actors are involved earlier before the Peace Agreement (PA) is sighed they advise the warring parties better on how to go about post conflict rebuilding, which otherwise could be political or ignored once the PA is sighed.

Enhancing the Effectiveness of Peace building Assistance.

Funding of peace building efforts should be flexible and properly channeled to the activities that are for post conflict reconstruction. In the past, there were difficulties in disbursing of fund, some were slow, some donors were not properly targeted. There is a need to have donor coordination for effective assistance. The donors have developed a network which has begun a compilation of the Compendium of Operational Framework for Peace building and Donor Coordination. The important lesion learnt is that no two post conflict environments are the same, therefore, it will be ineffective, to develop a 'wholesale application of approaches'. And the last thing that must be done to improve on the donors effectiveness, is the practice to share information on best practices, although, this depend on the quality of staff, which must be adequately taken care off.

Effecting Donor Coordination

The need to have an effective donor coordination that can take advantage of the short peace period after the war to effect a well-coordinated plan of action, is very important. The political situation in

these countries coming out of war is so fragile that, everything is exaggerated, and they can hinder donor actions, so it is very important that donors be ready with a plan they can put to work immediately.

Restarting Government

One important area that must be given high priority is strengthening the government of the day. At the end of wars, governments are normally over extended because of the urge to please everybody; more than enough people are part of the government. The capacity of the staff is weak, and cannot perform the required task. It is very important that donor organization begin to begin to acknowledge the government in power and make the civil society organizations recognize them and work with them, not against them, as the opposition is working hard to discredit them. It will be dangerous to wait until the elected government is power. The transitional government should be supported.

Self Assessment Exercise

Give an overview of a post-conflict environment.

4.0   CONCLUSION

A post war society reveal a destroyed infrastructure, economically, undervalued currency, commerce is at a stand still, diverted agro base, unemployment at its peak, which means no job for the former soldiers, no investment opportunities for foreign firms, no exports of whatever kind, mutual dislike between wrong parties, small arm proliferation, lawlessness towards the government and the traditional institution. There is need to demolish and disarm two separate arms quickly and the problem of child soldiers. No sign of legitimate government and lot resentment for the opposition. Democracy tradition and institutions are under mind the policies and the judiciary is seen as part of the problem, instead of solution. Therefore, the job of post conflict reconstruction, calls for an overhaul and a rebuild of the society.

5.0   SUMMARY

In summary, no two-post conflict environments are similar; therefore all the suggestions can be adjusted to meet up with the context of the conflict. But, it is important to know that as much as there are these differences, there are still general characteristics of war form societies were engender isolations. The first victim of isolation are the soldiers/ex-combatants who are isolated, as they are "ill equipped for civilian life, and have unrealistic expectations after discharge'. (Ball, 2003)

6.0   TUTORED MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

i.   Describe the tasks of Post conflict reconstruction on Security Sector. **Or**

ii.   What are the roles of the donors in rebuilding a war-torn society?

7.0   REFERENCE /FURTHER READINGS

Ball Nicole (2003) 'The Challenges of rebuilding War-Torn Societies' in   Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson and Pamela Aall (eds) Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict. Washington DC: United States Institute for Peace Press,

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MODULE 4

UNIT 1   PEACE BUILDING

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

In the early 90s when international community began to show significant interest in reshaping countries recovering from wars, peace-building became a global vocabulary in peace discourse. Here, we are discussing the concept of peace-building through the adoption of analytical framework. So, fasten your seat belt and let us fly.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

By the end of the unit, you should be able to:

i.   Explain the concept of peace building.
ii.   Describe the map of peace building activities.
iii.   Identify the principles of peace building.
iv.   Identify the challenges of peace building.
v.   Explain the criticisms and questions of peace-building.
vi.   'Military' Peace Building.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1 The concept of Peace Building

The concept of peace building by the UN in Namibian Operations in 1978 was then understood primarily as a form of post-conflict reconstruction. It has since expanded, as can be seen in the 1992 and 1995 editions of former UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali's *An Agenda for Peace*, in relation to post-conflict situations, he identifies peace-building programs to include 'co-operative projects ... that not only contribute to economic and social development but also enhance the confidence that is so fundamental to peace'. This explains why scholars today say that peace building includes:

'Policies, programs, and associated efforts to restore stability and the effectiveness of social, political, and economic institutions and structures in the wake of a war or some other debilitating or catastrophic event'. Peace building generally aims to create and ensure the conditions for 'negative peace', the mere absence of violent conflict engagement, and for 'positive peace', a more comprehensive understanding related to the institutionalization of justice and freedom' (Miller and King, 2004)

The UN systems have initiated so many ideas of the content of peace building which small selection of them is:

•   Assisting an end to military or violent exchanges through the decommissioning of arms, the demobilization of combatants, and rehabilitation and reintegration programs
•   Providing humanitarian relief to victims
•   Protecting human rights
•   Ensuring security and related services
•   Generating an environment of trust in order for social relations to function properly
•   Establishing non-violent modes of resolving present and future conflicts
•   Fostering reconciliation among the various parties to a conflict
•   Providing psycho-social or trauma healing services to victims of severe atrocities
•   Repatriating refugees and resettling internally displaced persons

- Aiding in economic reconstruction
- Building and maintaining the operation of institutions to provide such services, and
- Co-coordinating the roles of numerous internal and external parties involved in such interrelated efforts. (Adopted from the A Glossary of Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict Studies, by Miller and King 2004)

3.2 Map of Peace building Activities

Peace building requires a range of approaches. While many actors engage in multiple categories of peace building, the map highlights the unique goals of different approaches to peace building.

Waging Conflict Nonviolently

Advocates and activists seek to gain support for change by increasing a group's power to address these issues, and ripen the conditions needed to transform relations.

Reducing Direct Violence

Efforts to reduce direct violence aim to restrain perpetrators of violence, prevent and relieve the immediate suffering of victims of violence, and create a safe space for peace building activities in other categories that address the root causes of the violence.

Transforming Relationships

Efforts that aim to transform people and their relationships use an array of processes that address trauma, transform conflict and do justice. These processes give people opportunities to create long-term, sustainable solutions to address their needs.

Capacity Building

Long-term peace building efforts enhance existing capacities to meet needs and rights and prevent violence through education and training, development, military conversion and transformation, research and evaluation. These activities aim to build just structures that support a sustainable culture of peace.

Table: 2.2: Cycle of Peace Building

Weighting Conflicting Nonviolently
* Monitoring and advocacy
* Direct action
* Civilian-based defense

Building Capacity
 * Training & education
 * Developing
 * Military Conversion
 * Research and evaluation

Circle of Peace building

Reducing Direct Violence
* Legal and justice system
* Humanitarian assistance
* Peacekeeping
* Military intervention justice
* Ceasefire agreements
* Peace zones

Transformation Relationships
 * Trauma healing
 * Conflict transformation
 * Restoration justice
 * Transitional justice
 *   Transitional

 * Governance and Policymaking

3.3   Principles of Peace Building

1.   Reflect on Values: Peace-building requires ongoing personal and organizational reflection on   how   peace-building programs connect withier values.
2.   Address Basic Needs and rights: Peace-building helps people to meet their own basic needs and rights while acknowledging the needs and rights of others.

3.   Analyze conflict and violence: Peace-building requires ongoing analysis of the causes and dynamics of conflict and violence, and the resources for peace.

4.   Plan Long-term: Peace-building moves beyond a short-term, crisis orientation toward designing social change over years and decades.

5.   Transform Whole Systems: Peace-building changes the personal, relational, cultural, and structural levels.

6.   Coordinate Approaches and Actors: Peace-building requires coordinated approaches that reflect responsibility, accountability, and participation by many different actors.

7.   Identify and Create Power: Power exists in all relationships. Peace-building requires all people to be aware of their power and create nonviolent forms of power to meet their needs in collaboration with others.

8.   Empower Others: Peace-building strengthens and builds upon local efforts and empowers other to act. Peace-building is based on participatory democracy and self-determination.

9.   See Culture as a Resource: Cultural values, traditions, and ritual can be resources for peace-building.

10.   Innovate and use Creativity: Peace-building uses multiple ways of communicating and learning, rather than relying only on words or dialogue to develop creative solutions to complex problems. Source: Training Manual for Women in Peace-building, WANEP (16-18 Feb. 2006) (unpublished)

3.4   The Challenges of Peace Building

•   Failures to address the underlying or root causes of the conflict
•   Lack of legitimacy in the eyes of recipients and target groups, particularly in relation to newly formed institutions
•   Lack of agreement over the acceptance of roles and implementation of responsibilities by all parties to the conflict
•   Limits on leadership in times of political transition or extreme crisis
•   Over-reliance on external parties
•   Aspirations to build a society that, functions generally better than it did prior to the conflict (Millar and King 2004)

3.5   The Criticisms and Questions of Peace-building Theory and Practice

First, the activities of relief and development have usually been conducted and studied separately, and their intersections are not well defined. Peace building bridges this traditional divide, but a

reformulation is needed for integrating the theory and practice of these interconnected disciplines.

Second, peace building seems to suggest long-term, extensive effort and commitment by parties to the conflict and external partners. Conceptualizing a timeframe for such efforts has generated considerable debate.

Third, peace building is often understood as the final phase of a conflict, yet some argue that such processes can begin in the midst of a violent conflict.

Fourth, the importance of gender in relation to conflict and peace building continues to be overlooked, often completely. The sufferings resulting from conflict affect men and women differently and their subsequent roles in peace building differ as well.

3.6 'Military' Peace Building

Peace enforcement

'Operations undertaken to end military or violent exchanges or acts of aggression, with or without the consent of one or more parties to the conflict, to create a permanent and viable environment and guarantees for such conditions'. (Millar and King 2004)

Peace enforcement is a military operation with minimal force that aims to generate 'negative peace', or the absence of violent conflict engagement. Although peace enforcement is generally understood in terms of military interventions, it is getting broader in interpretation to include the use of a wide range of sanctions by any party to a given conflict in order to end the violent hostilities.

The objectives include:

- Forcible compliance of cease fires
- Separation of belligerents
- Isolation of a particular party or parties to the conflict
- Establishment of buffer zones or safe havens
- Decommissioning of arms and demobilization of combatants
- Protection of human rights
- Assistance with humanitarian aid

Peacekeeping

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Chapter VI of the UN Charter outlines the objectives of peacekeeping and serves as the international mandate. Based on the UN mandate, Peacekeeping could be described as:

'The maintenance of public security, civil services, and cease-fire agreements in war and conflict zones by UN or regional military, police, and civilian forces with the consent of the nation-state on whose territory these forces are deployed. Peacekeeping involves co-ordinated efforts to ensure stability and relative normalcy in the aftermath of otherwise extremely volatile and chaotic situations'. (Miller and King 2004)
The activities of peacekeepers usually referred to as 'types'.

The first, or type I, involves observance where a ceasefire has been brokered. Such symbolic missions are often sent to act as deterrents against renewed violent conflict, as troops are lightly armed and not mandated to retaliate in the event of attack against them or civilians.

Type II operations are conducted to aid or ensure political transitions. Such missions are most successful when the troops are deemed legitimate by the citizens of the society in which they are deployed and when they are provided adequate resources and scope of action. Where some form of military intervention is considered necessary,

Type III peacekeeping operations are performed; these are more commonly categorized as 'peace enforcement'.

Type IV operations are generally associated with 'peace building', or 'post-conflict reconstruction'. (Adopted from A Glossary of Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict Studies).

Self Assessment Exercise

Discuss the challenges of peace building in a post conflict environment.

4.0   CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Peace building is an important aspect of conflict management that can take place before and after a conflict situation. The tasks involved are many and it has gotten more complex.

5.0   SUMMARY

A well-coordinated Peace building program is a prerequisite for sustainable peace in every society. Peace building activities goes beyond

physical provision of services to include psychological transformation of victims of conflicts.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1   Describe the cycle of peace building activities
       Or
2   Describe the principles of peace building

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Christopher Miller and Mary King (2005). AGlossaryofTermsand ConceptsinPeaceandConflictStudies. University for Peace

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Women in peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) West Africa Network for peacebuilding (WANEP) (A monograph).

UNIT 2   GENDER AND PEACE BUILDING

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

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

The study revealed that there is an increase in the cases of armed conflicts in the world, but over the quarter of the 53 countries in Africa, was embroiled in intra-state armed conflicts in the late 1990s. The repercussions are both grave and sub-regional and most victims are civilians. An estimate of 3.2 million deaths occurred from 1990-1995, and there were mass displacement of people, and many of them are women and children.

Records have it that "while entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflicts and terrorism, women and girls are particularly

affected because of their status in society and their sex" (Beijing Platform for Action).

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

i.   Identify the term of Reference, (UN Resolution 1325)
ii.   Describe the peculiar roles of women in armed conflict and peace building
iii.   define gender and why there is a need to do a gender analysis in planning peace building activities Describe the skills for women in peace building
iv.   Explain the need to deconstruct the irrelevant assumptions in peace building

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Definitions and Understanding of Gender

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

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

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

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

Matriarchy: A system of social organization in which descent and inheritance are traced through the female line.

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

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

Gender Oppression: The discrimination of females in political, educational, economic, religious, cultural, and social systems.

Gender Analysis: An analysis of how policies and projects affect males and females differently.

Gender Sensitization: An effort to raise awareness about the different needs of males and females and to increase the capacity of organizations to address these needs.

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

Gender Mainstreaming: The inclusion of the goal of gender equity, the use of a gender lens, and the active inclusion of women and women's groups into all institutional choices and practices.

Women's Empowerment: The ability of women to have resources, access, skills, and self esteem to participate fully in the decisions that control and affect their lives.

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

believe that it is natural, inevitable and therefore desirable sex is permanent, natural, but gender is changeable and man construed, therefore not permanent.

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

3.2   Gender Roles and Peace Building

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

It will be dangerously misleading to say that women are "naturally" peaceful. It is not so, both men and women have the ability to make peace. But women could be more creative and effective in waging peace, may be because of their emotional strength.

It is traditionally believed that conflict is man dominated, but during inter-state wars, even women played noticeable roles. Also, in traditional homes, men are expected to provide for the family, while women take care of the home but during conflicts, there are roles reversals which put women in the position to provide for the family. The implications are many as studies show, but it also shows the sense that advocate for women involvement is peace building. Conflict encourage change of role, therefore, it is important that peace-building should allow role change and involvement of women in peace making.

3.3   Why Include Women In Peace Building

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

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

3.4   Assumptions in Peace Building

The main assumption of peace building is that the society should return to the situation the communities were before the conflict. This assumption is not only impossible, it is misleading. The situation before conflict was an environment defined based on muscularity with strict divisions of labour that excluded women from public life and leadership position.

But we know that the war period changed women's roles to assume men's roles as their men were not present to play their roles. Unfortunately, these experiences are not taken into account and considered as social gains for women in "redefinitions of gender roles that would be non-oppressive for women and girls in a post-conflict society". This is well captured in the report of Chinkin (2004) when she writes "Concepts of reconstructions and rehabilitation may be misnomers in the case of women. Both concepts assume an element of going back, restoring to a position or capacity that previously existed. But this, as not necessarily what women seek."

So, to plan a viable peace building program in post conflict situation, it is important to understand the changes that have taken place in the socio-economic life of these women. It is important to see a gender analysis.

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

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

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

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

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

Self Assessment Exercise

Explain gender roles in peace building.

4.0   CONCLUSION

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

5.0   SUMMARY

So, to enhance the participation of women in the peace process, national and international actions must discontinue describing women as victims of war belonging to the vulnerable group. The danger associated with this definition is that, they are never considered unstructured to the war, and therefore too weak and confused to make relevant input or impact in the peace process. This makes it easy for the men to claim to be the voice of the women. This is not true and can never help improve on the security of women as they cannot understand the female experience. As long as only men's experiences are expressed at the peace table, without the participation of women, there can't be sustainable peace building in the society.

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMA)

1.   Why should peace-building process include the participation of women?
2.   The peace-building process require a deconstruction of a few assumptions, why should there be a deconstruction of this assumption

7.0   REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

Christopher Miller and Mary King (2005). AGlossaryofTermsand ConceptsinPeaceandConflictStudies. University for Peace

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Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) West Africa Network for peacebuilding (WANEP)

UNIT 3   HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

CONTENTS

1.0   Introduction
2.0   Objectives
3.0   Main Body
      3.1   Concepts of Human Rights and Social Justice
      3.2   Origin of Human Rights
      3.3   Classification of Fundamental Human Rights, Freedom &
             Duties
      3.4   Organ & Agencies involved in the promotion and
             protection of Human Rights
4.0   Conclusion
5.0   Summary
6.0   Tutor Marked Assignment
7.0   References/Further Readings

1.0   INTRODUCTION

This Unit will deal with the Human and Social Rights, which, you have just because you are a human being. A review of the history of man has shown that man is in a continuous struggle for personal survival, economic and political emancipation, struggle for equality and social justice against racial/gender bigotry, and against every form of man inhumanity to man.

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

i.   Describe/define Human Rights
ii.   Describe/define Social Justice
iii.   Explain the importance of the promotion and protection of human rights
iv.   Explain the interface of justice, peace and the promotion of Human Rights

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   The Concept of Human Rights and Social Justice
   Human Rights

The idea of Human Rights arises from the fact that man is human, and nothing else. This is based on the fact that man is man, not an animal. No other living thing has this right. There is a dignity that goes with being human not an animal. It is not government given, it is God/nature given. It must be respected and protected. So, Human Rights promotion and protection is not based on any other condition other than human condition. So, it is towards providing a minimum standard of decent living worthy of man as a human being, never as an animal.

When these rights are denied man, she/he has a right to complain. It is not an appeal to benevolence. Human rights are her/his property. They are so sacred that the state must ensure that they are seriously respected, observed, expanded, protected and advanced. According to Oruche (1967) 'For a right to be called human, it must be possessed by all human beings, as well as only by human beings. Again, because it is the same right that all human beings possess, it must be possessed equally by all human beings'.

According to Declaration on Human Rights, Article 1: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and right. They are endowed with reason and conscience and showed act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Social Justice

Social justice is an advanced stage of human right. Having understood that man has a fundamental right, just because she is a man, and has a right to order her life anyway comfortable, it is impatient to quickly remind man that you have to live your life as you like as long as you do not infringe on other people's rights. So, this is the basis of social justice – "social contract". Social justice pursues a social conduct based on just, impartiality, legitimacy, equity and fairness in awarding what is due.

Justice is defined by Thomas Aquinas as "the constant and perpetual will to render to everyone what is due him" He further says: "the principle of justice is to give each person or group, whether weak or strong, what is his or her dues and to demand the contribution of each on the basis of equal consideration".

According to Iwe (1986), 'Justice is a moral virtue which inclines the will constantly and perpetually to render to others, their due in time and place and in a given set of circumstance'.

So, Social Justice emphasizes justice in all human interactions, relationships and responsibilities. It is important to note that protection of social justice also demand social responsibilities. If a person has a right to get something, others have a right to respect that claim on the balance of equal protection and reciprocity.

On the other hand, according to Onwuaniba (1983) "Social injustice arises when the principle of equal opportunity is not observed, where there is discrimination between classes and groups with little or no social mobility, where the natural resources which nature provides for the benefit of all is placed in the hands of a few who exploit the labour of the rest or a great majority of the population who live on the level of paupers or almost so".

3.2   Origin of Human Rights

The growth and development of Human Right, has continued to be on the increase. Many great theories and schools based on their background have continued to shape the concept of human rights. Some schools of thought will be maintained in writing this historical background. Nature Law (Naturalist School of thoughts).

The students of this philosophy believe that human rights can be traced back to nature. To them, for the fact that it is a right that is man based only, and no other creature can lay claims to it, it is then a natural right. For example, man's right to life. These scholars believe that "it is natural that man should exist, and nobody should arbitrarily take away this life from him". They believe that man/woman should preserve his/her life; otherwise, he/she ceases to be a human being. It is a right uniformly possessed by all men equally, and it should be respected by all, including institutions, the world over.

Theological Root/Divine Origin of Human Rights

This school of thought believe in the natural law theory which is extended to God who created man and demand that man treat fellow equally and fairly. They went further to argue that all religions of the world demand equity, justice and fairness; therefore, God is the greatest human right promoter or protector.

Contributions of Philosophers and Great Theorists

Another group of contributors to the development of human rights studies is the Greek Philosophers. They argued for freedom, democracy, justice and the purpose of the society as "the good and perfection of man" (Aristotle). These philosophers articulated that man is responsible for his destiny, and "the eternal sets of laws based on the dignity of the individual human being". The stoics developed the Natural law, which were eternal, unchangeable and universal, set out in the Ten Commandments. While the man-made laws deals with man in relation to man, how man governs man. They went further to divide the rights into "rights of man" and "rights of the citizen". The right of man is equal to Human Rights, while "the rights of the citizen" can be said to be social rights/justice.

Contributions from World Great Revolutions, Declarations and Agencies

Human rights can be traced to the historical struggle for self determination, independence, equality among human. With the growth of civilization and enlightenment, natural law took a new meaning as attention was directed towards the individual. This enlightenment struggle gave birth to the "Theory of rights".

The issuance of the Magna Carta in England in 1215, the bill of Rights enacted in England after the 1689 revolution, the American Bill of Rights of 1776, the French Declaration of the rights of man and the citizen in 1799, the Communist Manifesto of 1847 and the Russian Revolution of 1917 all influenced all subsequent major declarations affirming the human rights value and principles. Many other conventions are also out to promote and protect human right values including that of United Nations (UN), International Labour Organization (ILO) etc.

3.3   Classification of Fundamental Human Rights, Freedom and Duties

The Fundamental Right of Life (Right to physical existence and mental integrity and sanctity of life)

Right to life is the most fundamental of all rights. It is so, because, it is the foundation on which other rights are built upon. Every man is entitled to be alive and have all that support it; and that of others. Man's right to physical existence and mental integrity, liberty, and freedom from torture, cruelty, or inhuman treatment slavery, servitude and forced labour are inseparable to man. These rights are also extended to children and even unborn children.

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Economic Right

It is the primary right of all men without discriminations to own, use material goods and services of the world and for a decent livelihood. Also, labour is the only legitimate mean of achieving material and economic power and privileges. Economic right ensures that suitable employment is adequately provided and the workers receive remuneration according to the work done. So, economic right include right to earn a living through gainful employment, right to condition of work, just remuneration, equal pay for job done, humane and safe condition of work, adequate facilities for health, safety and welfare etc.

Civil – Political Right

Every citizen of every country has a right to participate in governance and politics. Every citizen has the right to contribute to the progress of the nation, by taking up national assignment, as well as constructive criticism, publication of opinions and is allowed to benefit from the fruits of political and civil association. You can vote and be voted for. You have a right to be respected and to respect others in thoughts, words and deeds.

Moral – Cultural Rights

Man has a right to take part in one's cultural norms, beliefs, and values, and these should be respected by all. No culture is superior to the other, and it is important that people have the opportunity to participate in cultural life and to enjoy the benefits of scientific discoveries, progress, research and human creativity. People should have rights to their own cultural development within the context of the cultural resources of their own community. They should also have rights to education without any discrimination, irrespective of their race, tribe, religion, nationality and ethnic origin, etc.

Group/Minorities Rights

Group/minorities rights deals with recognition and respect for the minorities, and indigenes natives. It is also important that labour groups be respected, as the state arranges their institutions and structures, defines its rights and responsibilities, be it political or social.

Rights to Development

The UN General Assembly in December 1986 proclaimed this right. The Assembly argued that nations and individuals must

consciously create progress to improve on the socio-cultural, political and economic environment to gain both scientific and technological progress, greater productivity, efficiency and higher standard of living and develop political community to be stable and friendly where everyone can develop his/her full potentials. This right center on: (1) Individual, (2) National and (3) International Human Community.

Right of Women and Children (Female Gender Rights)

UN General Assembly on December 18, 1979 adopted Resolution 34/180 on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. This Resolution brought women and children issues, especially the girl child to the fore. This Resolution was as a result of the observation that women and children share a heavy burden of human deprivation, discrimination and degradation, especially during war and adverse economic and political conflicts.

Another lead mark event to bring these problems to a stop was the 1995 Beijing Conference in China, where women further argued against all forms of discrimination against women.
There is today, a debate on the defence of "Reproduction Rights and Reproductive Health" to guarantee the demand improvement on the well being of women.

Although these efforts to protect women sound well, it is also in part to note the obstacles on the way to the realization of these plans especially with regard to culture of where she lives. The children's rights also aim to promote the survival, development and participation of the child. The Human Rights values also apply to the children but more consideration is given to the child because of her vulnerability.

Fundamental Freedoms

President F. Roosevelt of the United States in the face of the Second World War argued for Human rights protection to promote peace in the world. He identified 4 major freedoms;

Freedom of _expression everywhere in the world.
Freedom to worship God in his own way.
Freedom from want, which will secure every nation a healthy and peaceful life for its citizens
Freedom from fear

Since after that speech, more recognition has been given and today more efforts are made to expand them and make them into laws.

Fundamental Duties

Many philosophers have argued in the need to match freedom/rights with responsibilities. They argued that there is no right without responsibility, and if both are not emphasized, it will be misleading. Mahatma – Gandhi designed a list he termed the "Seven Blunders of the World". They are:

    Wealth without work Pleasure
    without conscience
    Knowledge without character
    Commence without morality
    Science without humanity
    Worship without sacrifice
    Politics without principle

His grandson, Arun Gandhi made an eight

    Rights without responsibilities

Omoregbe (1993) mention that:

To talk of rights is of course to talk of duties, since they are correlative terms; the one implies the other. One man's right imposes a duty on another man i.e. the duty to respect it and not to violate it. Moreover, the individual who has a right also has a duty not to use that right in such a way as to infringe on the rights of others. Duty therefore always goes with right; there are no such things as rights without duties".

He further argues that everyone has a duty as a citizen of country. These are moral and legal obligations, which he must do as a marker of necessity and reverently, as it is a mark of moral maturity. Thus: 'Everybody has certain duties towards himself, his family, his neighbours, to the socio or organization, to which he belongs, and towards the state/nation. The government in turn has certain duties towards the citizen, such as the duty to cater for their general well-being, to defend them against any attack, to provide them with education, health services, means of transportation, good roads, food and shelter and jobs etc'. Some of these duties are also mapped out in Articles 27-29 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

3.4   Organ and Agencies involved in the promotion and safeguards of Human Rights

Organizations at national, regional, sub-regional, constitutional and international levels are working tirelessly to protect and promote human rights law. The organs and agencies that are involved in the protection of human rights are:

The Separation of Power and Independence of the Judiciary

This is one of the efforts by countries to protect and promote human rights value. It is believed that enshrining the laws in the constitution is not enough, if the interpreting organs of the government are not independent of the executive and legislature, so, the practice of separation of powers is an effort to promote human rights laws.

The practice of democracy is an important safeguard of human rights and social justice

The military government, which does not only suspend the constitution, but use force to get their work done, cannot promote human rights. But democracy, which is the government of the people, by the people and for the people is more likely to protect human rights and social justices.

Constitution/Constitutionalism

The constitution is one agent that safeguards human rights values and laws. The constitution specifically contains laws that protect the rights and responsibilities of the people. The constitution contains the laws and the operation of the different organs of the government, so, the constitution protects human rights laws.

Organs and Specialized Agencies

International organizations, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), associations of different interest also fight to protect the rights of their members, therefore, safeguarding the human rights laws. African Union (AU) United Nations (UN), Civil Liberty Organization etc. For example, the struggles for women and children's rights are spearheaded by CSOs and it has led to the creation of International Women Society by the UN and the safeguard of women's rights is progressive.

Self Assessment Exercise

Explain the Concept of Human Rights and Social Justice

4.0   CONCLUSION

Human Rights and Social Justice are issues of great concern to the world today. Efforts are made at local and international levels, inside and outside of the legal systems. Advocacy groups and CSOs are pushing for the protection

5.0   SUMMARY

In summary, human right is a doctrine based on the equality of all men. Nobody's life is worth more than the others. This also means that every man is free to live and order her life anyway convenient as long as it does not infringe on the right of others. Its belief is that rights uniformly belong to every man as man. The protection of social justice is so important for harmonious co-existence that a country that violates them is a "pathetic agglomeration of villains, cheat, reprobate and disorderly people" Chukwudozie (2000).

6.0   TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1.   Discuss the interface between Human rights, Social Justice and Peace
2.   Why must Human Rights and Social Justice be promoted?

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UNIT 4   INTERNATIONAL PEACE INSTITUTIONS IN AFRICA

CONTENTS

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

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

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

2.0   OBJECTIVES

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

i.   Identify different parts of the continent where wars were fought in the immediate past and ongoing wars;

ii.   Describe the role of the UN in peace making in Africa; and

iii.   List the sub-regional organizations in Africa and describe their role in mediating conflicts in their region.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   West Africa

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

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

Peace Institution and Roles in Peace Making
Internal and Continental Organizations

The Organizations of African Unity (OAU/AU)

In 1990, OAU Heads of State and Governors made a Declaration recognizing the hindering of conflicts in the economic development of the continent. They resolved to work together to resolve the conflicts and move the continent forward towards peace and development.
During the OAU/AU summit held in Cairo in 1993, they established a Mechanism for Conflict Preventions, Management and Resolution (MCPMR). With the establishment of this mechanism, they have accepted the fact that peace and stability are necessary preconditions for social and economic development.

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

Although, OAU have the potential to co-ordinate the Early Warning System, its capacity to perform is very limited.

United Nations

The United Nations (UN) was originally conceived to be a coalition of nations that came together to fight the Germen and Japanese wars. Although the organisation has gone through many transformations, she still made some land mark achievements; like the pressure to end colonization, and apartheid. She also pushed for economic reforms to reduce poverty in third world countries, raised awareness on the need to protect the environment; and the end of the cold war era, which was noticed when the UN Security Council with United States teamed up to defeat Iraq and liberated Kuwait.
It is the Security Council that provides the legal foundation, which is the mandate for crises management or peace keeping operations; otherwise, there will be serious implication for security of smaller countries and international peace, security and stability in general.

Sometimes, there is an overriding of the Security Council when cases of humanitarian intervention are crucial, and the Council is taking too long to give the authorization for intervention, although, this is a situation that is highly guided against.

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

Another preventive effort of the UN Security Council is the plan to disarm countries of weapons of Mass Destruction. But as we all know,

the UN could not do anything when India and Pakistan declared their status when they tested their nuclear weapons in 1998. But the UN has the "responsibility to enhance security against the threats posed by such weapons by implementing and if necessary, enforcing obligations under the relevant treaties".

ECOWAS

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

The ECOMOG peace keeping force was sent into Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau. The wars in the countries went on for decades and Charles Taylor is the main aggressor who was accused of invading Sierra Leone and destabilized the region. Hundreds of Nigerian, Ghanaian and Guinean tropes were drafted to defend the countries invaded by Liberia. Nigeria is known to play a leading role in ECOMOG and the Liberian President, Ellen Johnson has appealed to Nigerian Government to help rebuild the Liberian Army, and Nigerian Mayor, General Yusuf is appointed the Chief of Armed Forces to head the Liberian Armed forces in March 2006.

ECOWAS also adopted non-military approach in managing conflicts in the region. They also have the ECOWAS Conflict Management and Resolution Protocol which is very active in meditation and diplomatic negotiation. They have the "Council of Wise men" made up of retired Heads of States and respectable statesmen. They are sent to negotiate peace before, during and after conflicts. One success story is the Liberian story where General Abdulsalami mediated in Ghana in 2003/4. This led to the removal of Charles Taylor form Liberia. He was granted political asylum in Nigeria and Liberia, had to reorganize, had election in October of 2005 and President Ellen Johnson emerged as the President of Liberian, who was sworn in January 2006.

3.2   Southern Africa

The political and security situation of Southern Africa remains precarious, years after apartheid in South Africa, with twenty-five years of civil wars in Angola, which ended with the killing of UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi by government army in February 2002. The instabilities in Zimbabwe and Lesotho, and the unending war of Democratic

Republic of Congo (DRC), and the spread of HIV/AIDS has emerged a security threat in this region.

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

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

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

3.3   East and Central Africa

The Great Lake, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Eastern Congo region has experienced complex, multiplicity of interlocking regale and international forces that are either escalating the conflicts, or mitigating them; therefore, making peace making complicated. Conflicts in this sub-region keep moving from one country to the other.

In 1993, over 200,000 died in Burundi, in 1994, there was genocide in Rwanda claiming about one million people, in 1996, it went back to Burundi and DRC, where about 2.5 million people are reported killed

since August of 1998. The DRC war has created about 600,000 refuges and two million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). And the insecurity in Congo-Brazzaville continued to affect security of DRC. In 1997, the former Congolese leader, General Denis Sassou-Nguesso overlooked the government of Pascal Lissouba ending a four- month old elected government. Surprisingly, France and Angola supported the undemocratic government by providing him military and logistical support from 1979-1992. This war left 40,000 refugees and 500,000 IDPs. There has been wars and counter wars that had led to many deaths, refugees and IDPs in the DRC. The military clash between Uganda and Rwanda in the DRC has not only damaged their alliances, but aim to spark off wider arms competition and regional instability.

The security dynamics in this region must be understood within the context of four main factors – (1) ethnicity and political governance (2) the economic factor fueling the conflicts (3) the geographical interest of various actors and (4) regional responses of conflict.

Ethnicity and Political Governance

Just like in different parts of the world and Africa in particular, ethnicity manipulation affiliation and claim has been a source of conflict in Rwanda and Burundi. The ethnic difference between the Tutsi and Hutu was translated into inclusion or exclusion in governance.

The scramble for resources in the DRC is the major source of conflict in that country. These minerals include diamonds, gold, silver, iron, zinc, copper, cobalt etc. Countries in this region are involved in the Congo war because they were extracting resources found in the area. For example, Uganda and Rwanda became greater exporters of diamond, and copper even though, they don't have it in their countries.

The DRC conflict has a regional character where countries outside DRC have a geographical regional reason to get involved. Some of them argue that, their involvement is important because they need to protect their own countries and border. For example, DRC has a 55,000 army and 62,000 soldiers from 6 other African countries.

There is no institutionalized mechanism for responding to conflicts in the region. It is easy for one country to spearhead peace process, as all of them are involved in the conflict.

Peace Institutions in Eastern and Southern Africa

Central African Customs and Economic Union of 1981 and the Economic Community of the Great Lake States was merged to

established the Economic Country of Central Africa States (ECCAS) in 1983 made up of eleven countries aimed to pursue economic development, regional cooperation and establish a Central African Common Market.

In an attempt to address the conflict in the region, Early Warning Mechanism was created in 1996. In 1997, there was a proposal for interstate security cooperation mechanism for the sub-region, with the aim to develop a legal and institutional framework to promote and strengthen peace and security.

Then, the Conseil de Paix et de Securite de l' Afrique Centrale (COPAX) was created to (1) prevent, manage and resolve conflicts in Central Africa and (2) to undertake any necessary action to deal effectively with political conflicts and (3) to promote, preserve and consolidate peace and security in the sub-region.

All these institutes are mere rhetoric because they are not effective due to narrow national interest. For examples, members of the sub-region do not agree on the relationship between ECCA and COPAX.

Another institution established is for peace and sustainable development is the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) in 1994. Although, the economic development of the region motivated the establishment, but it has acknowledged the importance of peace for development take place. The 2000 summit discussed the resources. They even looked into other sub-regional organizations in Africa to shop for ideas and strategy.

The International Authority on Development (IGAD)

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

IGAD had a 2 track approach as the one based in Nairobi deals with peculiar issues like Sudan peace process and the other is based in Djibouti addresses issues which member states have formed a consensus on such as the establishment of a Conflict Early Warning and Response

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Mechanism (CEWARN) with emphasis on campaign against Small Arms and humanitarian issues.

The East African Community (EAC)

The Heads of States of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania met in November 1999 and signed a treaty establishing The East African Community, which entered into force in July 2000. The aim of this treaty is to "improve the standard of living of the population by facilitating an adequate and economically, social and ecologically sustainable development process that allows an optimal utilization of the available resources" (IPA 2002). Also, like other organization, EAC also realized that security and political stability are a prerequisite for sustainable development and they did not hesitate to include conflict management in EAC concentration. The general belief in the pursuit of economic growth is 'that economic prosperity and regional integrations will have the multiplier effect of reducing the possibility of conflict and enhancing security'.

Also, like other organizations, EAC also realized that security and political stability are a prerequisite for sustainable development and they did not hesitate to include conflict management in EAC concentration.

The Horn of Africa

The region of the Horn of Africa comprises Djibouti, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Somalia. A careful analysis of the also reveal that they also form the members of the East and Central Africa. Herberson (2001) in "State Formation and Political Identities on the Horn of Africa" observes that "the region is in the process of redefining the fundamentals that relate to the social contract and who should govern the region reveals an overlap of differing the interdependence of the security system as well as posing critical challenges to regional peace". They are embroiled in intra-inter state conflicts and do not have the capacity to deal with them.

Except for Sudan that has plenty of oil; the other countries have very little natural resources and are threatened by famine and drought. There is no consideration for the wishes of the ethnic communities who are arbitrarily split or lump together under the pressure for national unity, centralization of government has chosen at the abandonment of federalism. The people see the government as a different entity or refer to them in past tense. The dynamics of the conflicts in the region revolves around these three factors – the legacy of the super power rivalry, the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons and the forced migration of population.

Self Assessment Exercise

Regional and sub-regional peace institutions are necessities. Discuss

4.0 CONCLUSION

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

5.0 SUMMARY

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

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1. Identify one conflict in each of four regions and describe the functions/roles of any of these institutions in the management of these conflicts.

2. Why do regions form organizations to tackle economic development, end up expanding to conflict management and how did they structure the functionality of the process?

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UNIT 5   CONFLICT PREVENTION

CONTENTS

1.0   INTRODUCTION

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

out. They argue that different tasks will be carried out for the different stages; if good results are to be achieved.

2.0   OBJECTIVE

At the end of this Unit, you should be able to:
i.   Describe the different theories of conflict prevention;
ii.   Define conflict prevention;
iii.   Identify the different stages of conflict; and
iv.   Describe the tasks involved in conflict prevention.

3.0   MAIN BODY

3.1   Definitions and Critiques of Conflict Prevention.

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

1.   Conflict Prevention 'Actions, policies, procedures or institutions undertaken in particular vulnerable places and times in order to avoid the threat or use of armed force and related forms of coercion by states or groups, as the way to settle the political disputes that can arise from the destabilizing effects of economic, social, political and international change'. Conflict prevention can also include action taken after a violet conflict to avoid its recurrence. (…) Conflict prevention strives to intervene before threats to use force or coercion are made or before [either party] resort to significant armed force or coercion. This means that conflict prevention can occur at two points in a typical conflict's life history:

a).   When there has not been a violet conflict in recent years, and before significant signals of violence [make] possible [the] escalation to sustained violet conflict, conflict prevention aims to keep a conflict from escalation; and

b).   When there has been a recent violet conflict but peace is being restored, conflict prevention aims to avoid a relapse or re-igniting of violence" (Lund, 1997:3-2 3).

2.   Conflict prevention "Measures which contribute to the prevention of undesirable conflict behaviour once some situation involving goal incompatibility has risen. (…) [The concept] refers to two types of effort: those which prevent behaviour defined within the relevant international system as undesirable, and those which attempt to confine conflict behaviour within clearly defined limits of permissible activity. The concept is not new. Older terms such as preventive diplomacy, crisis-prevention or deterrent diplomacy all refer to similar efforts" (Reychler, 1994:4)

3.   Conflict prevention "An approach to conflict prevention should not only rely on removing causes of wars, but also on introducing appropriate preventers… If we accept this view, conflict prevention may be viewed not so much as the interposition of a single preventer in a complex situation.

4.   Conflict "Activities normally conducted under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, ranging from diplomatic initiative to preventative deployments of forces intended to prevent disputes from escalating into armed conflicts or from spreading. Conflict prevention can include fact finding missions; conflict prevention is the deployment of operational forces possessing sufficient deterrence capabilities to avoid a conflict." (British Army, 1997:2).

3.2   Stages of Conflict.

According to Bloomfield (MS) "All conflict goes through a preliminary dispute phase and may also go through one or more hostilities and post hostilities phases. In each phase, identifiable factors generate pressures that may influence the course of the case toward the next threshold and transition into another phase. These factors may be offset by other influential factors that tend toward the prevention of that transition".

He further asserted that: "Change in the relationship among factors will alter the likelihood of a conflict undergoing transition from are phase to another; and "The cause of conflict can be significantly altered by policy measures aimed at reinforcing violence – minimizing factors and offsetting violence – generating factors as appropriate for the phase in question.

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

TheLatentstage:

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

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

TheConflictStage

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

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

ThePostConflictStage

This stage of conflict has different names depending on the author and
her experience, but the most important characteristic of this stage is that,
violent hostility has stopped: there is a cease fire, and killings have

stopped. All efforts are made to avoid a re-escalation of conflict. Plans for reconstruction and repairs at all levels are beginning to emerge and what we have is fragile peace which can go either way.

3.3 Methods of Conflict Prevention per Conflict Stage.

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

The Latent Stage – It is the primary prevention tasks that take place here, which aims to reduce to minimum the chances of a violent conflict occurring. Proactive measures are taken to prevent the emergence of formation of positions or parties to prevent the likely outbreak of conflict between the parties. There are diplomatic activities to contain or control conflicts. This is the stage where early warning is of great use. This activity calls for accurate analysis of any latent or minor disputes, and hopes to develop strategies to resolve it. This system varies in complexity and approach. Early warning activities include fact-finding missions, consultations, inspections, report mechanism and monitoring. Although, many critics have queried early warning and said that early warning is not the problem, but easily response.

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

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

3.4 Conflict Prevention Task

Prevention of conflicts has been seen to be the job of international communities. This view or understanding has led to the inactions of other parties and preventable genocides have taken place. For example, the 1961 Ruwandan government of Gregiore Kayibanda showed the traces of intimidation and injustice that the League of Nations recorded that the government in power is showing traces of racial dictatorship

which should be curtailed, to avoid any future problems. They observed that an oppressive government is been replaced by another. So, the genocide of 1994, was seen coming since 1961, but nothing was done to prevent it. This brings us to the first task of conflict prevention.

1.   **Early Warning:** This is a mechanism that aims to identify the threats of an outbreak of violence. Early Warning could with time allow various preventive measures like preventive diplomacy, humanitarian and military actions to be put is place. Early Warning must address a particular issue. This is why scholars ask this question: Early Warning, about what? There could be Early Warning about: refugee explosion, genocide, state fracture etc. The most important issue is to control conflict escalation, already showing signs of violence.

Another important concept of Early Warning is time, which ask the question that is very difficult to answer; because of the cares of triggers. It is not easy to determine when a conflict will erupt; because there are cases of protracted latent conflicts which could not result into full blown conflicts because of so many internal and external factors. But triggers – impromptu/immediate events that accelerate the outbreak of a conflict could lead to conflict. These events could be, a natural disaster, death of a prominent politician or leader or one misfortune or other. No one has control over these events.

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

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

(Adopted from Schmid, 2000)

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

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

The establishment of an effective liaison and communication network between all parties;
Mutual and balanced reductions in personnel and military equipment;
The separation of forces;
Zonal restrictions on the deployment of weapons and manpower;
Advance reporting of military activities or exercises; and
Joint inspections of disputed areas. (Adopted from Schmid, 2000)

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

Self Assessment Exercise

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

4.0   CONCLUSION

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

5.0   SUMMARY

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

6.0 TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT (TMA)

1.   Conflict prevention is unrealistic, therefore, not necessary. Discuss
2.   Describe the different theories of conflict prevention.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READINGS

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Appendix

UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY COUNCIL   Distr:
                                      General, 31 October 2000

RESOLUTION 1325 (2000)
Adopted by the Security Council at 4213ᵗʰ meeting, on 31 October 2000

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 as well as relevant statements of its president and recalling also the statement of its president to the press on the occasion of the united Nation Day for women's Rights and international Peace (international women's Day) of March 2000 (SC6816)

RECALLING ALSO THE COMMUNICATIONS OF THE BEIJING DECLARATION AND PLATFORM FOR ACTION

(A/52/23) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nation General Assemble entitled "Women 2000 Gender Equality, Development and peace for the Twenty-first Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev, in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

BEARING IN MIND THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLE OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATION and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

EXPRESSING CONCERN THAT CIVILIANS PARTICULAR WOMEN AND CHILDREN ACCOUNT

For the vast majority of those adversely affected by med conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation.

REAFFIRMING THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE PREVENTION AND RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT

And in peace building and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,
REAFIRMING also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law protects the rights of women and girls during and after. Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls.

RECOGNIZING THE URGENT NEED TO MAINSTREAM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE INTO PEACEKEEPER OPERATION, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia plan of Action on mainstream a Gender perspective in Multidimensional peace Support operations (S/2000/693),

RECOGNIZING ALSO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RECOMMENDATION CONTAINED IN THE STATEMENT
Of its president to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations.

RECOGNIZING THAT AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICT ON WOMEN
And girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security.
Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1.   Urges Member states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision – making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanism for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. Encourages the Secretary – General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision – making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. Urges the Secretary General to appoint more women as special representative and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on member states to provide candidates to the Secretary General for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. Further urges the Secretary General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nation field-based operations and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. Expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeper operations, and urges the sectary General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. Requests the Secretary-General to provide to member states training guidelines and material on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace building measures, invites member states to incorporate these element as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and further requests the secretary General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training

7. Urges Member states to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken.

8. Calls on all actors involved when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including inter alia

    a. The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post conflict reconstruction;
    b. Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous implementation mechanisms of the agreements;

c.   Measures that ensure the protection of the respect for human rights of women and girls particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the Judiciary;

9.   Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the Additional protocol thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the protocol thereto of 1969, the Convention on the Elimination of All form of Discrimination against women of 1979 and the optional protocol thereto of 1999 optional protocol thereto of 25 may 2000 and to bear in mine the relevant provisions of the Rome statute of the international Criminal Court;

10. Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measure to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. Emphasizes the responsibility of every one states to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crime including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in his regard stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including the their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000.

13. Encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. Reaffirms its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15.   Expresses its willingness to ensure that security Council missions take into account gender consideration and the rights of women including through consultation with local and international women's group;

16.   Invites the secretary General to carry out a study on the impact of armed submit a report to the security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all member state of the United Nations;

17.   Requests the Secretary General, where appropriate ,to include in his reporting to the security council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18.   Decides to remain active seized of the matter